OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Thirty-Second Republican National Convention

held in

DETROIT, MICHIGAN

July 14, 15, 16, 17, 1980

RESULTING IN THE NOMINATION OF

RONALD W. REAGAN, of California, for President

AND THE NOMINATION OF

GEORGE H. W. BUSH, of Texas, for Vice President

REPORTED BY RALEIGH E. MILTON, OFFICIAL REPORTER

Published by the Republican National Committee

PRINTED IN U.S.A. BY

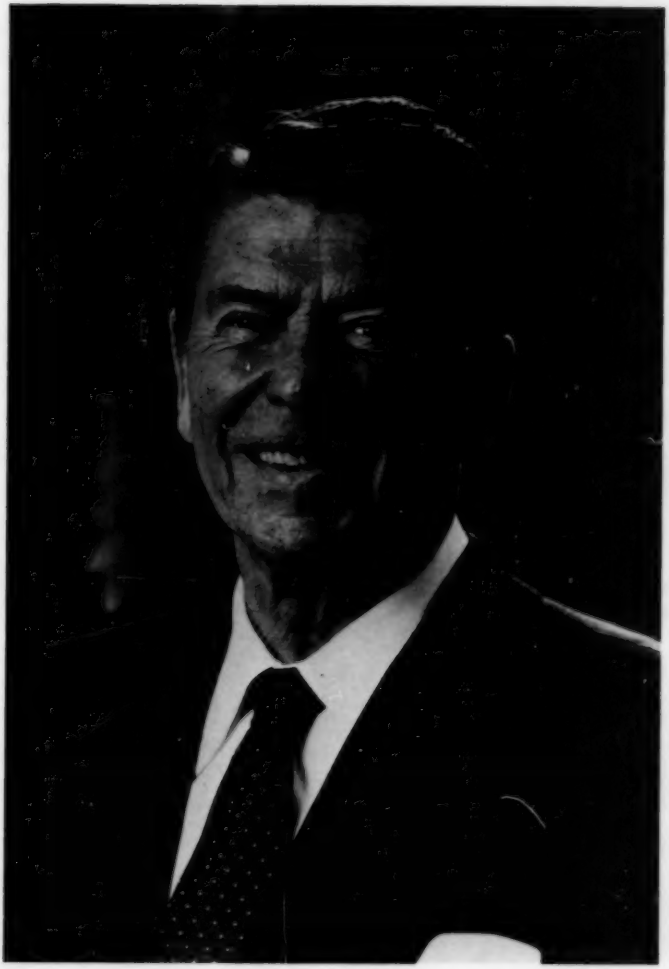
DULANY-VERNAY, INC.

ILLUSTRATIONS

RONALD W. REAGAN

GEORGE H. W. BUSH

	Facing Page
ALLEN, ARIS T.	424
BLISS, RAY C.	422
BROCK, BILL	2
CARTER, ROBERT S.	328
GIBBS, JUNE N.	6
KASSEBAUM, NANCY LANDON	58
LYNN, JAMES T.	212
MARTINEZ, GINNY C.	26
RHODES, JOHN J.	322
SMITH, MARY LOUISE	326
VANDER JAGT, GUY	406



THE HONORABLE RONALD W. REAGAN of California
Nominee for President of the United States

Officers of the Convention

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of Tennessee

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Chief Sergeant at Arms

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of Arkansas

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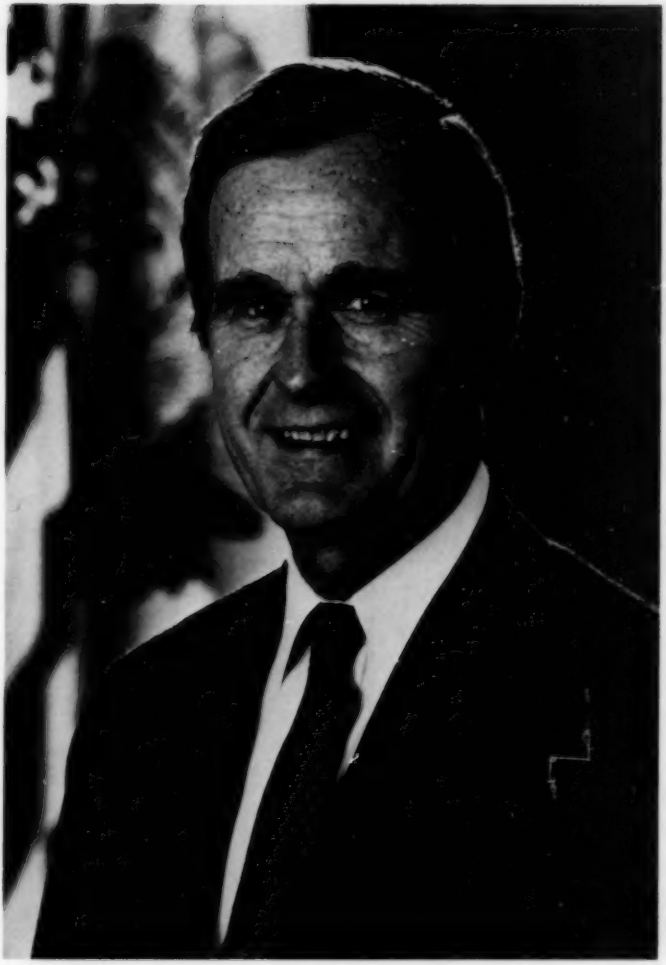

THE HONORABLE GEORGE H. W. BUSH of Texas
Nominee for Vice President of the United States

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Republican National Convention

held at

DETROIT, MICHIGAN

July 14, 15, 16, 17, 1980

FIRST SESSION

JOE LOUIS ARENA
DETROIT, MICHIGAN

MONDAY, JULY 14, 1980

While the Delegates, Alternates and guests assembled, the Convention Orchestra directed by Manny Harmon provided a musical background.

CALL TO ORDER

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE (The Honorable Bill Brock of Tennessee). — By the authority contained in the rules adopted by the 1976 Republican National Convention, the Republican National Committee has directed that the 1980 Republican National Convention be held in Detroit, Michigan starting at 11:00 a.m. on the 14th day of July in 1980.

We are here in the appointed place at the appointed time. It is my privilege to proclaim the thirty-second Republican National Convention in session and call it to order. (The Chairman used the Official Convention Gavel at this point.)

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — You may be interested to know that that gavel was carved from an oak tree in Jackson, Michigan, which has so much meaning to the history of our party.

Without objection, we shall proceed in the order of business proposed and printed by the Republican National Committee. So ordered.

PRESENTATION OF THE COLORS

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — Our colors will now be presented by Boy Scout Troop No. 879 of Tonquish District of the Detroit Area Council. (Pages bearing American flags proceeded into the arena as the Honor Guard came to the front of the podium and faced the Delegates.)

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — The pledge of allegiance will be led by Pat Boone of California.

(Pat Boone led the Delegates, Alternates and guests in the Pledge of Allegiance to the flag).

THE NATIONAL ANTHEM

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — We will now recognize Tanya Tucker and Glen Campbell for the singing of our National Anthem.

(The National Anthem was sung by Tanya Tucker and Glen Campbell.)

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — Thank you.

The Chair now recognizes the Reverend Jerry Moore, a distinguished member of the District of Columbia City Council, for the invocation.

I would ask that you remain standing for a moment following the prayer. The Reverend Moore.

INVOCATION

BY

THE REVEREND JERRY A. MOORE, JR.
Pastor of the Nineteenth Street Baptist Church
of Washington, D.C.

Let us pray.

O Thou, the fountain of life and the wellspring of eternal goodness, mercy, and love, to Thee we raise the concerns of our humble lives.

Thou hast succored us individually and collectively as a nation. In times of stress and strain, as well as pleasure and pain, Thou hast held us fast in Your love. We are thankful for all Thy benefits. We know Thou hast not measured us

THE HONORABLE BILL BROCK of Tennessee
Chairman of the Republican National Committee

by our good intentions but by our deeds. Perfect us to become doers of Your will.

Let not the heavy hammer of internal strivings nor the disconcerted noise of external pressures deter America from her chosen course. Permit the binding force of our great historical documents about freedom, liberty and equality to be forever the strong purpose for which America strives.

Keep open the ears and minds of her responsible leaders and appointed officials to the voices of people in need at home and abroad. Inspire in their spirits the fulfillment of each American's dream. Cause no stone to remain unturned in the pursuit of this noble end. Temper excessive ambition with humility and give vision to inquiring minds.

Forgive our transgressions and strengthen our will to protect, defend and develop our native land. Make us a blessing to the weak and a warning to the aggressor. Encourage our star to always shine brightly as a ray of hope to the fainthearted and a song of courage to the brave. Teach us the dulcet sounds of harmony and unity.

Bless each Delegate at this Convention. In mercy, remember their loved ones at home. In turn, may the decisions made at this Convention reflect equity and justice for those citizens represented by each delegation in all places from which they have come. We beseech Thy blessing on all Americans.

When the curtain rings down on this National Convention and the last gavel has sounded, may we retire from this city assured that through Your grace a Presidential and Vice Presidential nominee have been put before the American people, strong in character, empathetic in spirit, and courageous in conviction to lead our country to more enduring heights, togetherness, and to a new beginning.

In the name of Him in whom we believe, and to Him whom we serve, be glory and majesty, dominion and power, forever and ever, Amen.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — May I ask that you remain standing and observe with me a moment of silence in memory and in respect and prayer for our American hostages in Iran.

(A moment of silence was observed.)

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — Thank you very much.

Please be seated.

I would ask for a special round of applause for the Saginaires Drum and Bugle Corps from Saginaw, Michigan who played so well. (Applause.)

Ladies and gentlemen, a few words — please remain standing while the people are clearing our flags out of the way, or clear the aisle so they can do that.

If you will please remain standing while the flags are withdrawn, we will now withdraw the colors.

It is a great Drum and Bugle Corps. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

PRESENTATION OF FILM

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — Ladies and gentlemen, a few words from some of our good delegates.

(A film was shown of Delegates from various states expressing their thoughts about the Convention.)

INTRODUCTION OF THE MAYOR OF THE CITY OF DETROIT

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — The Chair now recognizes the Chairman of Detroit's Civic Host Committee for this Convention and the Chief Executive Officer of the General Motors Corporation, Mr. Tom Murphy, for the purpose of an introduction. Mr. Murphy.

MR. MURPHY. — Thank you very much, Bill, and welcome, ladies and gentlemen, to Detroit.

The man I am about to introduce, the Governor of our great State of Michigan, Bill Milliken, is around here. I am privileged to serve as Chairman of the Host Committee. It is a privilege to head up such an outstanding group of Detroit citizens who are responsible for making you feel at home in this great Convention City of Detroit.

I can't say enough about the spirit of volunteerism, the number of people who have had the dedication and self-sacrifice that has been involved in making you feel comfortable in the City of Detroit.

It is not a Republican Convention, if you will — there are probably as many Democrats and Independents involved as there are Republicans — but for all Detroitans, and we are proud of this great City of Detroit. We are happy that you came here. We want you to come back. (Applause.)

Our group welcomes this opportunity to show you this city is reborn, it is moving forward, it is the city that loves a good party. We hope you will remember this party for a long time.

Now I would like to introduce to you Mr. Detroit himself, our Mayor, and one of the Nation's responsible politicians. He is also more than a politician, as his being here this morning, in this great hall that he alone really brought into being, demonstrates.

Under the Mayor's leadership, the renaissance of Detroit is continuing. It is more than just the bricks and mortar you see all around here. It is people. It is people under this leadership moving this city forward.

You know what Detroit's bricks and mortar are, the people of any city are more important. The Mayor has brought out the spirit of cooperation between the city and state, between all of the various groups in our community. Largely

due to him is the spirit of cooperation that will carry us forward to solve the city problems of the future.

As a businessman, I can tell you that this is a great place in which to do business and, incidentally, a great place for conventions.

Ladies and gentlemen, I guess someone had to introduce the Democratic Mayor, and that is my privilege. He is the elected Chairman of the Advisory Board of the U. S. Conference of Mayors and the man expected to be chosen to lead all of the Mayors in 1980, our own Mayor of the City of Detroit, the Honorable Coleman Alexander Young.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME TO DETROIT BY THE HONORABLE COLEMAN A. YOUNG, MAYOR

MAYOR YOUNG. — Thank you very much. Thank you very much, Thomas Murphy and Chairman Bill Brock. It is indeed an honor for me to welcome you all to the City of Detroit. This is a very special moment in the history of our city and in the history of the Republican Party. For the first time you have honored our city with your choice as a national convention site.

We know that your choice was a wise one and that you will enjoy the magnificent convention facilities of the City of Detroit.

As proud as we are of the splendid Joe Louis Arena and the other structures in Detroit, even as Mr. Murphy indicated, Detroit's primary asset is not its buildings, not its structures, but lies in its people. And I am sure you have sensed the warmth of those people who are glad to see you here. (Applause.)

Detroiters are delighted by your presence. As you must know by now, you have offered us an opportunity to show the world and ourselves the many unique qualities that characterize our city. We hope you will take advantage and visit and explore some of our attractions, such as the exquisite Highland Park, a social center, nineteen museums and other institutions, and museums of art, literature, kind of exciting these places and experiences, the music in the many clubs and restaurants, where it is available, and by all means, sample the ethnic foods which are largely responsible for Detroit's reputation as a great restaurant city.

As Mayor of this great city and on behalf of all Detroiters, I would like to say thank you to those whose vision and diligence made this moment possible: Governor Milliken, Chairman Brock, Ron Steffens of the Convention Bureau, Tom Murphy, Chairman of our Host Committee and also Chairman of the Board of General Motors Corporation. He has spearheaded an outstanding program designed to guarantee that your days in Detroit are memorable.

Literally thousands of people in the greater Detroit area have worked with the Host Committee to contribute to that end. And so welcome to Detroit. For 275 years consistent tides of migrant people have pursued America's dreams of freedom and equality in this city. Not all our goals have been achieved, but as we

move forward to a new and hopefully more diversified economic future, we thank you for your contributions to that future through your presence. We know that your decision to come to Detroit was not a unanimous one. We are thankful that the good judgment of the majority prevailed, and we hope that the minority having seen our city will now join us in inviting others to come next year to visit, to live, and to hold conventions. (Applause.)

Your decision to come to the heartland of industrial America to address yourselves to the large minority, ethnic, blue-collar groups that constitute this city, in my opinion, was a wise political decision. No party deserves to be elected to lead this Nation that hasn't taken into account the problems of our cities. (Applause.)

I hope your party is wise enough to follow the leadership of our great Governor who has seen the need to help with the needs of our city. I think I would like to see this convention come forward with a program designed to guarantee equal opportunity and equality for all people and all sexes in this Nation, to guarantee progress for our cities and enter into a vigorous contest with the Democratic Party, my own party, as to who can best meet those needs.

Even as I welcome you, I challenge you. After I leave this Convention I am going to go to New York where we will present a program, and may the best party and the best program prevail. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — We sure do welcome the challenge of the gentleman, because we are going to win it. (Applause.)

Coleman will get the Democrats to come to Detroit sometime and show some better judgment.

Thank you very much.

RESOLUTION OF APPRECIATION TO THE CITY OF DETROIT

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — The Chair now recognizes the State Chairman from the State of Texas, the Honorable Chet Upham, for the purpose of presenting a resolution thanking Detroit.

MR. UPHAM. — The state that in 1978 elected Bill Clements for its first Republican Governor in over 100 years proudly presents the following resolution:

> RESOLVED, that we the Delegates and Alternates to the 1980 Republican National Convention acknowledge our appreciation and our gratitude to the city, citizens and officials of the City of Detroit for their friendship, for their hospitality and their assistance in the organization of and the arrangements for this thirty-second National Convention of our Party.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — Thank you very much.

JUNE N. GIBBS of Rhode Island
Secretary of the Republican National Committee

The question occurs on the resolution offered by the Delegate from Texas.

All those in favor of the resolution will say aye.

(Chorus of Ayes.)

Those opposed, no. (No response.)

The ayes have it and the resolution is agreed to. The motion to reconsider is laid upon the table.

That is good. Thank you.

THE CALL FOR THE CONVENTION

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — The Chair states that the Rules of the House of Representatives as modified by the Rules of the Convention are now in effect and do not provide for or require seconds to most motions or to the consideration of resolutions. Without objection, that is also so ordered.

The Chair now recognizes June Gibbs of the State of Rhode Island, Secretary of the Republican National Committee, for the purpose of reading the Call to the Convention.

THE SECRETARY OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE (June Gibbs of Rhode Island):

To the Republican voters of the United States:

> In compliance with the rules adopted by the 1976 Republican National Convention, the Republican National Committee hereby directs that a National Convention of delegated representatives of the Republican Party be held in Detroit, Michigan, at 11:00 a.m., Eastern Daylight Time, on Monday, July 14, 1980, for the purpose of nominating candidates for President and Vice President, to be voted for at the Presidential Election on Tuesday, November 4, 1980, and for the transaction of such other business as may properly come before it.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — The Chair recognizes Arthur Fletcher from the District of Columbia for the purpose of making a motion.

MR. FLETCHER. — Mr. Chairman, I move that further reading of the Call be dispensed with and that the Secretary be instructed to incorporate the Call at this point in the proceedings of the Convention, with the same force and effect as though read in full.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — The motion before the Convention is to dispense with the reading of the Call of the Convention and that the Call be made a part of the permanent record of the Convention.

Without objection, the motion is agreed to, and the motion to reconsider is laid upon the table.

THE COMPLETE CALL FOR THE CONVENTION IS AS FOLLOWS:

To the Republican Voters of the United States:

In compliance with the rules adopted by the 1976 Republican National Convention, the Republican National Committee hereby directs that a National Convention of delegated representatives of the Republican Party be held in Detroit, Michigan, at 11:00 o'clock a.m., Eastern Daylight Time, on Monday, July 14, 1980, for the purpose of nominating candidates for President and Vice President, to be voted for at the Presidential Election on Tuesday, November 4, 1980, and for the transaction of such other business as may properly come before it.

The voters of the several States, the District of Columbia, Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands, who are in accord with the principles of the Republican Party, believe in its declaration of policies, and are in sympathy with is aims and purposes, are invited to unite under this Call in the selection of Delegates to said Convention. Whenever used in the Call "State" or "States" shall be taken to include the District of Columbia, Guam, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, unless the context in which the word "State" or "States" is used, clearly makes such inclusion inappropriate.

Said National Convention shall consist of:

(a) DELEGATES

1. Six (6) Delegates at Large from each of the fifty (50) States.

2. Three (3) District Delegates from the district of each Representative in the United States House of Representatives from each State.

3. Fourteen (14) Delegates at Large for the District of Columbia, four (4) Delegates at Large for Guam, fourteen (14) Delegates at Large for Puerto Rico, and four (4) Delegates at Large for the Virgin Islands.

4. From each State casting its electoral vote, or a majority thereof, for the Republican Nominee for President in the last preceding election: Four and one-half (4½) Delegates at Large plus the number of the Delegates at Large equal to 60% of the electoral vote from each such State. In addition, one Delegate at Large shall be awarded to a State for any and each of the following public officials elected by such State in the year of the last preceding Presidential election or at any subsequent election held prior to January 1, 1980:

(a) A Republican United States Senator: Provided, that no such additional Delegate at Large award to any State shall exceed two;

(b) A Republican Governor: Provided, that no such additional Delegate at Large award to any State shall exceed one;

(c) A Republican membership of at least half of the State's delegation to the United States House of Representatives: Provided, that no such additional Delegate at Large award to any State shall exceed one.

In the event a State shall be entitled to one additional Delegate at Large by the election of any of the above-named officials, the apportionment shown in the Call may be adjusted accordingly without further action on the part of the Republican National Committee.

In the computation of the number of Delegates at Large, any sum of the four and one-half (4½) plus the 60% representing a fraction shall be increased to the next whole number.

(b) ALTERNATE DELEGATES

One (1) Alternate Delegate to each Delegate to the National Convention.

DELEGATES AT LARGE TO THE NATIONAL CONVENTION AND THEIR ALTERNATES AND DELEGATES FROM CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS TO THE NATIONAL CONVENTION AND THEIR ALTERNATES SHALL BE ELECTED IN THE FOLLOWING MANNER:

(a) By primary election in accordance with the applicable laws of such States as required by law, the election of Delegates to the National Conventions of political parties by direct primary and in the District of Columbia in accordance with its law; provided, that in any of these in which Republican representation upon the Board of Judges or Inspectors of Elections for such primary election is denied by law, Delegates and Alternates shall be elected as hereinafter provided.

(b) By Congressional District or State Conventions, as the case may be, to be called by the Congressional District or State Committees, respectively. Notice of the call for any such convention shall be published in a newspaper or newspapers of general circulation in the Congressional District or State, as the case may be, not less than fifteen (15) days prior to date of said convention.

(c) By the Republican State Committee or governing committee in any State in which the law of such State specifically authorizes the election of Delegates or Alternates in such manner.

(d) In selecting Delegates and Alternates to the National Convention, no State law shall be observed which hinders, abridges or denies to any citizen of the United States, eligible under the Constitution of the United States to the Office of President or Vice President, the right or privilege of being a candidate under such State law for the nomination for the President or Vice President; or which authorizes the election of a number of Delegates or Alternates from any State to the National Convention different from that fixed in this Call.

(e) In a Congressional District where there is no Republican Congressional Committee, the Republican State Committee shall issue the call and make said publication.

(f) All Delegates from any State may be chosen from the State at Large, in the event that the laws of the State in which the election occurs, so provide.

(g) Alternate Delegates shall be elected to said National Convention for each unit of representation equal in number to the number of Delegates elected therein and shall be chosen in the same manner, at the same time, and under the same rules the Delegates are chosen; provided, however, that if the law of any State shall prescribe the method of choosing Alternates they shall be chosen in accordance with the provisions of the law of the State in which the election occurs.

(h) The election of Delegates and Alternates from the District of Columbia, Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands shall be held under the direction of the respective recognized Republican governing committee therein in conformity with the Rules of the Republican National Committee or the laws of the District of Columbia, Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands.

(i) Election of Delegates and Alternates shall be certified in every case where they are elected by conventions, by the chairman and secretary of such conventions, respectively, and forwarded to the Secretary of the Republican National Committee, and in the case of election by primary, they shall be certified by the proper official and all certificates shall be forwarded by said duly elected Delegates and Alternates in the manner herein provided.

(j) All Delegates and Alternates shall be elected not later than thirty-five (35) days (June 9, 1980) before the date of the meeting of said National Convention, unless otherwise provided by the laws of the State in which the election occurs.

(k) Delegates and Alternates at Large to the National Convention when serving as Delegates and Alternates shall be duly qualified voters of their respective States. All Delegates and Alternates allocated as Delegates and Alternates at Large shall be elected at large in the several States unless otherwise mandated by State law.

(l) Delegates and Alternates to the National Convention, representing Congressional Districts, shall be residents and qualified voters in said districts respectively when serving as Delegates and Alternates. All Delegates and Alternates allocated to represent Congressional Districts shall be elected by the Congressional District of the several States unless the laws of the State shall otherwise mandate.

(m) No Delegate or Alternate Delegate shall be required to pay an assessment or fee in excess of that provided by the law of the State in which the election occurs as a condition of serving as a Delegate or Alternate Delegate to the Republican National Convention.

DELEGATES TO CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT AND STATE CONVENTIONS SHALL BE ELECTED UNDER THE FOLLOWING RULES:

(n) Except where State law otherwise mandates, only legal and qualified voters who are deemed to be Republicans pursuant to State law or by State party rule shall participate in a Republican primary, caucus, mass meeting, or mass

convention held for the purpose of selecting delegates to a county, district, or State convention, and only such legal and qualified voters shall be elected as Delegates to county, district and State conventions; provided, however, that in addition to the qualifications provided herein the governing Republican committee of each State, shall have the authority to prescribe additional qualifications not inconsistent with law. Such additional qualifications shall be adopted and published in at least one daily newspaper having a general circulation throughout the State, such publication to be at least ninety (90) days before such qualifications shall become effective.

(o) No Delegates shall be deemed eligible to participate in any district or State convention, the purpose of which is to elect Delegates to the said National Convention, who were elected prior to the date of issuance of the Call of such National Convention unless this rule be inconsistent with the law of the State.

(p) District conventions shall be composed of Delegates who are legal and qualified voters therein, and Delegates to state conventions shall be qualified voters of the respective districts which they represent in said state conventions. Such Delegates shall be apportioned among the counties, parishes, and cities of the State or district having regard to the Republican vote therein.

(q) There shall be no proxies at any district or State convention held for the purpose of selecting Delegates to the Republican National Convention. If Alternate Delegates to such selection convention are selected, the Alternate Delegate, and no other shall vote in the absence of the Delegate.

(r) There shall be no automatic Delegates at any level of the Delegate selection procedures who serve by virtue of Party position or elective office.

Participation in a Republican primary, caucus, any meeting or convention held for the purpose of selecting Delegates and Alternates to a county, district, State or National Convention shall in no way be abridged for reasons of sex, race, religion, color, age or national origin. The Republican National Committee and the Republican State Committee or governing committee of each State shall take positive action to achieve the broadest possible participation by everyone in party affairs, including such participation by women, young people, minority and heritage groups and senior citizens in the delegate selection process.

Unless otherwise provided by the laws of the State in which the election occurs, in those states where Delegates and Alternates are elected through the convention system or a combination of convention and primary systems, the precinct, ward, township or county meetings shall be open meetings and all citizens who are qualified shall be urged to participate.

Each State shall endeavor to have equal representation of men and women in its delegation to the Republican National Convention.

No State shall elect a greater number of persons to act as Delegates and Alternates than the actual number of Delegates and Alternates respectively to which they are entitled under the Call for the National Convention, and no unit

of representation may elect any Delegate or Delegates, or their Alternates, with permission to cast a fractional vote.

FILING OF CREDENTIALS AND CONTESTS

(a) Thirty (30) days before July 14, 1980 (June 14, 1980), the credentials of each Delegate and Alternate shall be filed with the Secretary of the Republican National Committee for use by the Secretary in making up the temporary roll of the Convention, except in the case of Delegates or Alternates elected at a time or times in accordance with the laws of the State in which the election occurs rendering impossible filing of credentials within the time above specified.

(b) Where more than the authorized number of Delegates from any State are reported to the Secretary of the Republican National Committee, a contest shall be deemed to exist and the Secretary shall notify the several claimants so reported and shall submit all such credentials and claims to the whole Republican National Committee for decision as to which claimants reported shall be placed upon the temporary roll of the Convention; provided, however, that the names of the Delegates and Alternates, presenting certificates of election from the canvassing board or officer created or designated by the law of the State in which the election occurs, to canvass the returns and issue Certificates of Election to Delegates or Alternates to National Conventions of political parties in a primary election, shall be placed upon the temporary roll of the Convention by the Republican National Committee.

(c) The Chairman of the Republican National Committee has duly appointed a Contest Committee, consisting of at least seven (7) members.

(d) All contests arising in any State electing District Delegates by district conventions, shall be decided by its State convention, or if the State convention shall not meet prior to the National Convention, then by its State Committee; and only contests affecting Delegates elected at large shall be presented to the Republican National Committee; provided, however, if the contest regarding a District Delegate arises out of the irregular or unlawful action of the State committee or State convention, the Republican National Committee may take jurisdiction thereof; and hear and determine the same.

(e) Notices of contests shall be filed thirty (30) days before July 14, 1980 (June 14, 1980), with the Secretary of the Republican National Committee, except in the case of Delegates or Alternates elected at a time or times in accordance with the laws of the State in which the election occurs rendering impossible the filing of the notice of contest within the time above specified, stating the grounds of the contest.

(f) Not less than twenty-two (22) days before July 14, 1980 (June 22, 1980), each of the contesting persons or groups shall file with the Secretary of the Republican National Committee at least three (3) printed or typewritten copies of the brief in support of their claim to sit as Delegates or Alternates in the

National Convention. The Secretary of the Republican National Committee upon receiving the brief of a contesting person or group shall furnish the opposing contesting person or group a copy of said brief.

Each brief shall begin with a summary of not more than one thousand (1,000) words setting forth succinctly a synopsis of the brief and a definite statement of the points relied upon.

(g) The Contest Committee shall make up a report of each contest filed, showing the grounds of contest, the statute and rule, if any, under which the contest is waged, and the contentions of each party thereto. The report shall conclude with a statement of the points of issue in the contest, both of fact and law, and shall be signed by the Chairman. When the Contest Committee has prepared such report stating the issues of law and fact, a copy of the statement of such issues shall be forthwith submitted to a person in the convention city, whom the contestants must appoint at the time of filing the contest, to receive such statement; and a copy shall forthwith be served by the Chairman of the Contest Committee upon the contestants by registered mail.

(h) The contestants shall have eight (8) days to file written objections to the Contest Committee's statement of the issues of fact or law or both unless the Republican National Committee acting as a committee of the whole is called to act upon the contest sooner, in which case such objections shall be made before the meeting of the whole committee. In case the contestants reside in the States of Alaska or Hawaii, or in Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands or Guam, they shall be entitled to ten (10) days to file written objections.

The objections shall contain any additional statement of issue of either law or fact or both, claimed by the contestant submitting the same, to be involved in and necessary to be decided in the contest.

(i) The Contest Committee shall hear and decide the statement of law and fact at once and make its decision as to what issues are involved and submit these issues, either in law or fact, or both, to the Republican National Committee sitting as a committee of the whole, and such issues shall be the sole and only issues passed upon and determined by the committee of the whole, unless the Republican National Committee shall by a majority vote extend or change the same.

If the Contest Committee for any reason shall fail to state the issues either of law or fact, the Republican National Committee shall decide upon what issues the contest shall be tried, and the hearing shall be limited to such issues, unless the Republican National Committee by a majority vote shall decide otherwise.

(j) When the Republican National Committee is called to pass upon any contest that may arise, the members of the Credentials Committee of each State shall also be notified of the time and place of such meeting and shall have the right to attend all hearings of all contests but without the right to participate in the discussion or the vote.

(k) If an appeal is taken from any ruling of the Republican National Committee on any contest, notice of such appeal must be filed with the Secretary of the Republican National Committee within twenty-four (24) hours after the decision and shall specify the grounds upon which the appeal is taken, and only the grounds so specified shall be heard by the Credentials Committee upon such appeal. No evidence other than that taken before the Republican National Committee shall be taken up by the Credentials Committee, unless it shall, by a majority vote of all of its members so direct.

The Secretary of the Republican National Committee is hereby directed to promulgate this Call by sending on November 30, 1979, a copy therof to the Republican National Committeeman, Republican National Committeewoman, Chairman of the Republican State Central Committee or Governing Committee of the Republican Party in each State and by sending to the Republican National Committee member senior in point of service for each State an additional copy of this Call, which copy shall be forwarded by said member to the Secretary of the Republican State Central Committee or Governing Committee of the Republican Party in said member's State.

THE APPORTIONMENT OF DELEGATES TO SAID REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE RULES ADOPTED BY THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION AT KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI, ON AUGUST 17, 1976, AND THE RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE AT MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA, ON JUNE 25, 1979, IS AS FOLLOWS:

ALABAMA	6 Delegates at Large; 3 Delegates from each Congressional District (7) — Total	27
ALASKA	16 Delegates at Large; 3 Delegates from each Congressional District (1) — Total	19
ARIZONA	16 Delegates at Large; 3 Delegates from each Congressional District (4) — Total	28
ARKANSAS	7 Delegates at Large; 3 Delegates from each Congressional District (4) — Total	19
CALIFORNIA	39 Delegates at Large; 3 Delegates from each Congressional District (43) — Total	168
COLORADO	16 Delegates at Large; 3 Delegates from each Congressional District (5) — Total	31
CONNECTICUT	17 Delegates at Large; 3 Delegates from each Congressional District (6) — Total	35
DELAWARE	9 Delegates at Large; 3 Delegates from each Congressional District (1) — Total	12
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	14 Delegates at Large — Total	14
FLORIDA	6 Delegates at Large; 3 Delegates from each Congressional District (15) — Total	51
GEORGIA	6 Delegates at Large; 3 Delegates from each Congressional District (10) — Total	36

GUAM	4 Delegates at Large — Total	4
HAWAII	8 Delegates at Large; 3 Delegates from each Congressional District (2) — Total	14
IDAHO	15 Delegates at Large; 3 Delegates from each Congressional District (2) — Total	21
ILLINOIS	30 Delegates at Large; 3 Delegates from each Congressional District (24) — Total	102
INDIANA	21 Delegates at Large; 3 Delegates from each Congressional District (11) — Total	54
IOWA	19 Delegates at Large; 3 Delegates from each Congressional District (6) — Total	37
KANSAS	17 Delegates at Large; 3 Delegates from each Congressional District (5) — Total	32
KENTUCKY	6 Delegates at Large; 3 Delegates from each Congressional District (7) — Total	27
LOUISIANA	6 Delegates at Large; 3 Delegates from each Congressional District (8) — Total	30*
MAINE	15 Delegates at Large; 3 Delegates from each Congressional District (2) — Total	21
MARYLAND	6 Delegates at Large; 3 Delegates from each Congressional District (8) — Total	30
MASSACHUSETTS	6 Delegates at Large; 3 Delegates from each Congressional District (12) — Total	42
MICHIGAN	25 Delegates at Large; 3 Delegates from each Congressional District (19) — Total	82
MINNESOTA	10 Delegates at Large; 3 Delegates from each Congressional District (8) — Total	34
MISSISSIPPI	7 Delegates at Large; 3 Delegates from each Congressional District (5) — Total	22
MISSOURI	7 Delegates at Large; 3 Delegates from each Congressional District (10) — Total	37
MONTANA	14 Delegates at Large; 3 Delegates from each Congressional District (2) — Total	20
NEBRASKA	16 Delegates at Large; 3 Delegates from each Congressional District (3) — Total	25
NEVADA	14 Delegates at Large; 3 Delegates from each Congressional District (1) — Total	17
NEW HAMPSHIRE	16 Delegates at Large; 3 Delegates from each Congressional District (2) — Total	22
NEW JERSEY	21 Delegates at Large; 3 Delegates from each Congressional District (15) — Total	66
NEW MEXICO	16 Delegates at Large; 3 Delegates from each Congressional District (2) — Total	22
NEW YORK	6 Delegates at Large; 3 Delegates from each Congressional District (39) — Total	123

NORTH CAROLINA	7 Delegates at Large; 3 Delegates from each Congressional District (11) — Total	40
NORTH DAKOTA	14 Delegates at Large; 3 Delegates from each Congressional District (1) — Total	17
OHIO	8 Delegates at Large; 3 Delegates from each Congressional District (23) — Total	77
OKLAHOMA	16 Delegates at Large; 3 Delegates from each Congressional District (6) — Total	34
OREGON	17 Delegates at Large; 3 Delegates from each Congressional District (4) — Total	29
PENNSYLVANIA	8 Delegates at Large; 3 Delegates from each Congressional District (25) — Total	83
PUERTO RICO	14 Delegates at Large — Total	14
RHODE ISLAND	7 Delegates at Large; 3 Delegates from each Congressional District (2) — Total	13
SOUTH CAROLINA	7 Delegates at Large; 3 Delegates from each Congressional District (6) — Total	25
SOUTH DAKOTA	16 Delegates at Large; 3 Delegates from each Congressional District (2) — Total	22
TENNESSEE	8 Delegates at Large; 3 Delegates from each Congressional District (8) — Total	32
TEXAS	8 Delegates at Large; 3 Delegates from each Congressional District (24) — Total	80
UTAH	15 Delegates at Large; 3 Delegates from each Congressional District (2) — Total	21
VERMONT	16 Delegates at Large; 3 Delegates from each Congressional District (1) — Total	19
VIRGINIA	21 Delegates at Large; 3 Delegates from each Congressional District (10) — Total	51
VIRGIN ISLANDS	4 Delegates at Large — Total	4
WASHINGTON	16 Delegates at Large; 3 Delegates from each Congressional District (7) — Total	37
WEST VIRGINIA	6 Delegates at Large; 3 Delegates from each Congressional District (4) — Total	18
WISCONSIN	7 Delegates at Large; 3 Delegates from each Congressional District (9) — Total	34
WYOMING	16 Delegates at Large; 3 Delegates from each Congressional District (1) — Total	19
	Total Number of Delegates	1,993*

June N. Gibbs, *Secretary* Bill Brock, *Chairman*

*Louisiana received one additional delegate by reason of electing a Republican Governor after the Call was issued, thus making the final number of Delegates 1,994.

TEMPORARY ROLL OF CONVENTION

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — The Chair now recognizes June Gibbs as Secretary of the Republican National Committee for the purpose of the presentation of the Temporary Roll of Delegates and Alternates to this Convention.

THE SECRETARY OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — Mr. Chairman, the Republican National Committee has instructed me to present to you this Temporary Roll of the Delegates and Alternate Delegates elected in the fifty States, the District of Columbia, Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — Thank you very much.

The Temporary Roll of Delegates and Alternate Delegates is hereby referred to the Committee on Credentials which will be elected shortly.

PROCEDURE FOR PRESENTING AMENDMENTS

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — The Chair wishes to announce the method of handling any amendments under the Rules of the House of Representatives: Any Delegate desiring to move to amend any matter which is before the Convention, and which is subject to amendment, must submit the proposed amendment to the Chair in writing, prior to offering the amendment from the floor. Written amendments signed by the Delegate offering the same are to be sent to the Chair by delivering them to a Page stationed at the door at the base of this podium. No Delegate will be recognized to submit an amendment to a pending matter until the proposed amendment has been submitted to the Chairman in writing. This procedure should assist the Chair in its responsibilities and insure that anyone with an amendment will have full opportunity to present it.

Also, the Chair wishes to remind the Delegates that proposed changes in the Rules of the Convention could alter this proposed procedure. If this does occur, the Chair will insure that all Delegates are informed concerning the effect, if any, upon the manner of presenting amendments to the Convention.

Without objection, we shall proceed as indicated above.

The Chair would also like to suggest to the Delegates that if any of them wish to be recognized during any session of the Convention, they could assist the Chair by communicating—

VOICE. — Louder.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — by communicating this fact to the podium in advance, as well as indicating the purpose for which that Delegate seeks recognition. This procedure will help the Chair.

VOICE. — Louder.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — You will have to quiet down or the delegates can't hear the rules which they will be operating under. I ask the galleries to please be quiet.

This procedure will help the Chair to protect the rights of individual Delegates seeking recognition, and it is intended to ensure fair and orderly proceedings.

Without objection, the Chair also requests authority to make all necessary clerical and grammatical corrections and to make such technical and conforming amendments as are necessary in reports, motions and resolutions submitted to and/or adopted by the Convention.

Without objection, it is so ordered.

Without objection, the Chair also requests authority to postpone until after the conclusion of the Keynote Address the completion of the consideration of any Convention Committee Report which has not been disposed of prior to the hour of 7:45 p.m. on Tuesday, July 15.

Without objection, it is so ordered.

ELECTION OF TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — It is now time for the Convention to elect its Temporary Chairman. I have been instructed by the Republican National Committee to nominate as Temporary Chairman Senator Nancy Landon Kassebaum of Kansas.

Does the Chair hear any other nomination? Hearing none, all in favor of the election of Senator Kassebaum will say aye.

(Chor .s of ayes.)

Those opposed, no. (No response.)

The ayes have it and Senator Nancy Landon Kassebaum is elected Temporary Chairman of this Convention.

Without objection, the motion to reconsider is laid upon the table.

COMMITTEE TO ESCORT TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN TO PLATFORM

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — The Chair appoints Senator Robert Dole, Representative Keith Sebelius, Mrs. Marynell Reece, and Mr. Huck Boyd to escort the Temporary Chairman to the platform at the appropriate time.

TEMPORARY OFFICERS OF CONVENTION

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — The Chair now recognizes June Gibbs, Secretary of the Republican National Com-

mittee, to read the names of the temporary officers of the Convention as proposed and recommended by the Republican National Committee.

SECRETARY OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — Mr. Chairman, the following persons have been nominated by the Republican National Committee to serve as temporary officers of the Republican National Convention:

Secretary ..... Aris T. Allen, Maryland
Deputy Secretary ..... Noël L. Gross, New Jersey
Parliamentarian ..... James H. Quillen, Tennessee
Assistant Parliamentarian ..... Robert D. Hynes, Jr., Virginia
Assistant Parliamentarian ..... Hyde H. Murray, Maryland
Chief Sergeant at Arms ..... A. Lynn Lowe, Arkansas
Assistant Sergeant at Arms ..... S. Kenric Lessey, New Hampshire
Assistant Sergeant at Arms ..... Bruce B. Melchert, Indiana
Assistant Sergeant at Arms ..... Robert Athey, Illinois
Assistant Sergeant at Arms ..... Robert R. McClanahan, Arkansas
Assistant Sergeant at Arms ..... Silverenia Q. Kanoyton, Michigan
Chief Reading Clerk ..... Joe Bartlett, West Virginia
Assistant Reading Clerk ..... Robert E. Berry, South Dakota
Chief Page ..... Laurie Michel, Illinois
Assistant Chief Page ..... Donnell Berry, Michigan
Assistant Chief Page ..... James Laria, Jr., Ohio
Assistant Chief Page ..... Barbara Gayle Mackey, Maryland
Tally Clerk ..... Fred L. Dixon, District of Columbia
Tally Clerk ..... Sandra Winne Weber, Michigan
Chaplains ..... Reverend Jerry A. Moore, Jr., Pastor
19th Street Baptist Church
of Washington, D. C.
Father William T. Cunningham
Executive Director
Focus Hope
Detroit, Michigan
Aaron Johnson, Member of
the City Council
of Fayetteville, North Carolina
His Excellency Timothy,
Bishop of Detroit
Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of
North and South America
The Honorable William H. Hudnut III
Mayor of the
City of Indianapolis, Indiana
Rabbi Richard Hertz
of Temple Beth-El, Detroit

The Honorable Orrin Hatch
United States Senator
from Utah
His Eminence John
Cardinal Dearden
Archbishop of Detroit
Dr. Donald G. Lester
Executive Presbyter,
Detroit Presbytery

THE SECRETARY OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — That concludes the list, Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — Thank you very much.

The Chair now recognizes the distinguished Congressman from the State of New Jersey, the Hon. Matthew J. Rinaldo, for the purpose of offering a resolution. Mr. Rinaldo.

MR. RINALDO. — Mr. Chairman, I offer the following resolution and ask for its immediate consideration.

RESOLVED, That the officers recommended by the Republican National Committee be approved and elected as Temporary Officers of the Convention.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — Thank you very much, Mat.

Without objection, the previous question is ordered and the question occurs on the resolution offered by the delegate from New Jersey.

All those in favor will so indicate by saying aye.

(Chorus of ayes.)

Those opposed, no. (No response.)

The ayes have it and the resolution is agreed to and without objection the motion to reconsider is laid on the table.

RULES FOR THE CONVENTION

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — The Chair now recognizes the distinguished Delegate from the State of Utah, Mr. Alex Hurtado, for the purpose of offering a resolution.

MR. HURTADO. — Mr. Chairman, I offer the following resolution and ask for its immediate consideration.

> RESOLVED, That the 1980 Republican National Convention be governed by the rules adopted at the 1976 Republican National Convention until such time that the permanent organization is effected and the permanent rules are adopted.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — Thank you, Alex.

Without objection, the previous question is ordered. The question occurs on the resolution offered by the Delegate from Utah.

All those in favor of the resolution will so signify by saying aye.

(Chorus of ayes.)

Those opposed, no. (No response.)

The ayes have it and the resolution is agreed to and without objection the motion to reconsider is laid on the table.

The rules of the 1976 Republican National Convention have been adopted as the Temporary Rules of this convention until the convention adopts its own rules.

Ladies and gentlemen, we have just proceeded through some fairly routine business, but I would ask that you do come to order in order to hear some of the addresses which are soon to follow. There are people here who would like to hear. Those who would like to talk may go elsewhere for the moment. We have our own microphones up here turned up to their peak and I am afraid the microphones are not competent to overcome the volume of the conversation. We do ask your indulgence.

The Chair now recognizes the Chairman of the Young Republican National Federation, Richard Abell, for the purpose of addressing the convention.

REMARKS BY RICHARD ABELL, CHAIRMAN OF THE YOUNG REPUBLICAN NATIONAL FEDERATION

MR. ABELL. — Fellow Republicans and fellow Americans, in the year since the Young Republicans elected me their Chairman, it has been my good fortune to represent the official youth auxiliary of the Republican Party in nearly two-thirds of the States and half a dozen foreign countries.

I am privileged to let you know that more and more of American youth are embracing the principles of our Party and are turning off the cynical bureaucracy spawned by reactionary economics. (Applause.)

Clearly, more progress is desirable but many young Americans are ready, willing and able to help elect Ronald Reagan as our 40th President. (Applause.)

And to provide him with the tools he needs; namely, a Republican House and Senate to turn this country around and give it back to the people who love it so dearly, to slay the chimera of wealth redistribution that stands in our path to destiny.

Yet, I have never been so convinced as I am today that a partnership between the vitality of youth and the wisdom of age, between those who know what America was, and those who know what America can be — that partner-

ship will be found in Ronald Reagan. The difference between a term of progress for America and four more years of witless leadership, unenlightened policies, and honest incompetence that is Jimmy Carter. (Applause.)

Still, I am also convinced that much confusion exists over the role youth should play in our mutual cause to bring America back to prosperity and stability. Very few acknowledge, let alone care, that American youth share one thing in common. They are victims of Jimmy Carter's policies just as much as the aged and infirm, the disadvantaged and the poor, the overtaxed laborer and the overregulated entrepreneur. They are victims, victims with the sneaky suspicion that there may not be a vital America for them to inherit as have the generations before them.

Well, I am privileged to lead an organization of half a million young people dedicated against such a proposition. We have organized them, we have educated them, we have articulated a strong philosophical base for them, and we have prepared them. We have them unified toward a single thought: That we are searching for the America that approves when Americans can improve. An America that approves when Americans can improve.

Think about that for a moment. Does our country seem to approve today when its citizens improve themselves in any way? Does our government any longer reinforce the positive conservative behavior and values that gave the hypocritical social engineers a strong America to wreck? Certainly not. And it won't change so long as the leadership which prevails in Washington today remains in office.

It is the same leadership that has made our citizens junkies to a wide array of government services; the same leadership that balances budgets on the backs of the people; the same leadership that accepts Soviet troops in Cuba and then wonders why the Soviet flag flies in Kabul; that first helps undercut a shah and then gets frustrated when a mad mullah won't follow international law; it is the same leadership that has to scrutinize our goals, categorize our roles and centralize our souls.

As Americans, as Young Republicans, we reject that leadership.

We prefer positive environments, affordable homes, crime-free neighborhoods, effective fundamental education, and equality of opportunity for all Americans. We insist on policies that encourage the good and that don't penalize achievements. Policies that permit us to use our God-given free will to lend a helping hand to the needy rather than cater to the unwilling.

We prefer a world without fear of nuclear holocaust but we would prefer to die free than to live one minute under the hydra of collectivism. Now, we demand policies that will let us make America great again. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — The Chair now recognizes the Co-Chairman of the Young Republican National Federation, Betty Yurchuck, for the purpose of addressing the Convention.

REMARKS BY BETTY I. YURCHUCK, CO-CHAIRMAN OF THE YOUNG REPUBLICAN NATIONAL FEDERATION

MS. YURCHUCK. — Thank you very much, Chairman Brock and fellow Young Republicans of all ages. It is indeed an honor for me to stand before you today. No doubt few Republicans haven't dreamed about addressing a National Convention, especially if they have good news to relate. And it is good news that I bring to you today. We Young Republicans will celebrate our fiftieth birthday next year, and at no time in our history have we been better prepared to serve our Party.

We have never been better prepared to put Ronald Reagan in the White House and help build him a Republican Congress. We have never been better prepared to help attain important victories in every state in the Union, especially my beloved Ohio.

There are many reasons why I can bring you this good news. Probably the first among them is the high quality of the officers with whom it is my pleasure to serve — and I would like to acknowledge them to you now: Chairman Richard Abell of Pennsylvania; Secretary Gloria Hellewell of Colorado; Assistant Secretary Emily Hill of Washington state; Treasurer Clark Horvath of Washington, D.C.; National Auditor David Barron of South Carolina; Vice Chairman at Large Steve Clark of Illinois; and Assistant Treasurer Bill Maszer of New Jersey. They are doing a fine job.

Secondly, under Chairman Abell's leadership and with the full cooperation of our National Committee, the YRNF has been able to rekindle the YR fires in all fifty States, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands and will act this weekend on the charter application of the Island of Guam. We are now a half-a-million-member-family with branches in every corner of the country, and that bodes well for Republican candidates.

Thirdly, through the Young Republican Leadership Conference in Washington and the Regional Leadership Training Schools, we have been able to spread the word and increase the campaign skills of thousands of young people.

Fourthly, for the first time, our National Federation has launched lobbying efforts at specific issues, like the mis-named Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty the Democrats negotiated. We have emphasized issues to the grass roots and that helps make Young Republicans even more prepared to play responsible political roles all over the country.

Fifthly, we are reaching out, to help more and more groups find the hope and progress that is fundamental to positive Republican economics and the Republican approach to government. Our outreach program to minority Americans is a clear example of how we can and do encourage participation by all Americans, naturally, in a system that is color blind, that cares not what creed

you embrace or where your family came from, or that denies you nothing because of gender — a system that recognizes pure achievement.

And speaking of gender, that leads me to my next reason. YRs are proving to be a very worthwhile training ground for women. Being a YR helps them learn about the political process by doing — that helps them develop practical leadership and decision-making skills. It makes women understand those androgynous personality traits so necessary that the energy of women can be unleashed and so that we may further build the pool of women, eager and qualified to accept the challenges of whatever walk of life they choose. YRs teach that acts have consequences, and that freedom and equality are just words if not accompanied by responsibility.

Which leads to the seventh, final, and probably best reason for the preparedness of the YRs. And that is the fact that YRs are possessed to do something, indeed, almost anything, to keep this world from unraveling around us. Better that we work together, because four more years of Jimmy Carter and we doubt that little will be left of this country, its remaining freedoms and its potential to unleash the human spirit in glorious service to our species and the world.

So, that is the good news I bring. That we believe changes must be made now and that there are half a million of us, ready to dedicate ourselves to putting this Party in power and making this country great again. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — Thank you very much.

Please give your attention to the speaker so we can expedite the program.

The Chair now recognizes the Chairman of the College Republican National Committee, Stephen R. Gibble, for the purpose of addressing the Convention.

Mr. Gibble.

REMARKS BY STEPHEN R. GIBBLE, CHAIRMAN, COLLEGE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

MR. GIBBLE. — Ladies and gentlemen, the Republican Party is getting better and better at organizing fewer and fewer people. Surprisingly enough, President Eisenhower made those same remarks over twenty-five years ago.

With Governor Reagan, as with President Eisenhower, the Republican Party has a winning candidate, although there is much hard work ahead.

So, if electing Governor Reagan isn't exactly the biggest problem facing the Republican Party, what is? The Party needs a constituency. We must begin now to build the majority of the future.

From time to time we Republicans pull off a neat screen pass and pick up 18 yards. From time to time we Republicans see daylight down the sidelines and scamper for a touchdown.

But you know what? The Democrats have too many points on the board for us to win that way — and for them to win they need only continue grinding out the yardage.

Republicans must recognize that scoring touchdowns is important only as a means of winning ballgames. Tactics win games — depth on the bench and strategies win seasons. Republicans need a constituency. And College Republicans is the best tool that the Republican Party has to build that majority of the future. (Applause.)

So what about College Republicans?

The students on the 3,600 college campuses are the single, most identifiable group in the history of the world. Are they important? No. They are not important because we don't choose to consider them important. In Europe the student political groups are the source of power for the senior party organizations.

How do we make of 11 million college students a political force instead of a population count? Not, certainly, by taking that young zealot who volunteers his services, sandwiching him between two senior citizens in a campaign headquarters and watching him stuff mailers all day. You will never see him again. Instead, you have got to have an organization. Let him work, let him play, let him achieve amongst his peers.

College students are looking for something more than sandbox politics. College Republicans can change that because we provide skilled leaders, we provide a sustained organization of volunteers, and we have, in fact, the key to organizing that desperately needed majority of the future.

Too many people, on and off the campus, have no opinion. Twenty percent of college students vote. Nine million sit around. College Republicans can get half of them interested, educated and voting. Their multiplying effect on friends and family can determine the political course of this nation.

But we have to make the investment. How much is that investment? It is not much. It is not much at all. The cost of putting into motion a full coast-to-coast program of recruitment on the college campuses is far less than the cost of one slick electro-media piece.

The investment is small; return is high.

Listen to us. If the Republican Party will choose now to build up that majority of the futurity, it must plan for and invest in that future.

Any given campaign manager can be forgiven the sin of expediency. If his candidate isn't elected, his game is over. But the Republican Party cannot be forgiven for the sin of expediency because the sin of that expediency is a minority party forever and ever and picking up a few seats or the Presidency every once in a while.

The Republican Party, in fact, ladies and gentlemen, is the only party that has something to offer, a product which has appeal to middle income surburbia,

to Blacks, to auto workers, to Hispanics, to women, to retired persons, and to young marrieds, and that is an abiding faith in a vigorous, healthy system of economic free enterprise. An abiding faith in a system which is nourished and encouraged by a government which unashamedly believes in the concept of United States, Incorporated as the most sure means of providing opportunity and economic equality for all of its citizens.

You know, at one time Abraham Lincoln said, "You cannot build character and courage by taking away initiative and independence."

We believe that. We believe that there is no such thing as a free dinner. We believe that we do a poor job of telling our people that. The American voter is sold short on intelligence by the American politician. He may not know all the facts of economic life, but we can sure teach him the facts.

The American voter expects to hear the Democrats damn the Republicans and he expects to hear the Republicans damn the Democrats. But, you know, when he sits back and listens to the din he really can't tell the difference.

We don't sell our product. Ask the man on the street for two characteristics that identify the Republicans. He will name two, and they will be slogans laid on us by the Democrats.

We have a similar product, leadership.

Leadership — invest in your College Republicans. Challenge us to make the difference. Challenge us to reveal the basic strength that Governor Reagan has on the college campus. Challenge us to help the Republican Party build that sorely needed majority of the future. And we will help this Republican Party be the majority party two years away from now. (Applause.)

Ladies and gentlemen, I am here today knowing that Governor Reagan is going to be our next President and is going to win on every campus across the country.

It is not going to be done by magic. It is going to be done by a large, cohesive, identifiable group of College Republicans and we will truly make that majority party come up very soon.

Thank you very much. God bless you. (Applause.)

COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — The Chair now recognizes the distinguished Senator from the State of Mississippi, the Honorable Thad Cochran, for the purpose of offering a resolution.

SENATOR COCHRAN. — Mr. Chairman, I offer the following resolution and ask for its immediate consideration.

RESOLVED, That a Committee on Credentials consisting of one man Delegate and one woman Delegate from each State, the District of Columbia,

GINNY C. MARTINEZ of Louisiana
Treasurer of the Committee on Arrangements

Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands and Guam be appointed and that the persons selected by the various delegations whose names are filed with the Secretary of this Convention, shall constitute said committee.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — Without objection, the previous question is ordered and the question occurs on the resolution offered by the Delegate from Mississippi.

All those in favor of the resolution will so signify by saying aye.

(Chorus of ayes.)

Those opposed, no. (No response.)

The ayes have it and the resolution is agreed to and without objection the motion to reconsider is laid on the table.

The Committee on Credentials has been approved and the Chair hereby instructs the Committee to meet in Room 3038, Cobo Hall, and report to this Convention at the earliest time.

COMMITTEE ON PERMANENT ORGANIZATION

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — The Chair now recognizes a distinguished Congressman and the next United States Senator from the State of Iowa,the Honorable Charles Grassley, for the purpose of offering a resolution.

MR. GRASSLEY. — Mr. Chairman, I offer the following resolution and ask for its immediate consideration.

RESOLVED, That a Committee on Permanent Organization consisting of one man Delegate and one woman Delegate from each State, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands and Guam be appointed and that the persons selected by the various delegations whose names are filed with the Secretary of this Convention shall constitute said committee.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — Without objection, the previous question is ordered and the question occurs on the resolution offered by the delegate from Iowa.

All those in favor of the resolution will so signify by saying aye.

(Chorus of ayes.)

Those opposed, no (No response.)

The ayes have it and the resolution is agreed to and without objection the motion to reconsider is laid on the table.

The Committee on Permanent Organization has been approved, and the Chair hereby instructs the committee to meet in Room 3044, Cobo Hall, and report to this Convention at the earliest possible time.

COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — The Chair recognizes Mrs. Kay Orr, a Delegate from the State of Nebraska, for the purpose of offering a resolution.

MRS. ORR. — Mr. Chairman, fellow Delegates, I offer the following resolution and ask for its immediate consideration.

> RESOLVED, That the Committee on Rules and Order of Business consisting of one man Delegate and one woman Delegate from each State, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands and Guam be appointed and that persons selected by the various delegations whose names are filed with the Secretary of this Convention shall consist of said committee.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — Without objection the previous question is ordered and the question occurs on the resolution offered by the Delegate from Nebraska.

All those in favor of the resolution will so signify by saying aye.

(Chorus of ayes.)

Those opposed, no. (No response.)

The ayes have it and the resolution is agreed to and without objection the motion to reconsider is laid on the table.

The Committee on Rules and Order of Business has been approved and the Chair hereby instructs the Committee to meet in Room 3837, Cobo Hall, and report to this Convention at the earliest possible time.

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — The Chair now recognizes the distinguished Chairman of the House Republican Policy Committee, Congressman Bud Shuster from the State of Pennsylvania, for the purpose of offering a resolution.

MR. SHUSTER. — Mr. Chairman, I offer the following resolution and ask for its immediate consideration.

RESOLVED, That the Committee on Resolutions consisting of one man Delegate and one woman Delegate from each State, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands and Guam be appointed and that the persons selected by the various delegations whose names are on file with the Secretary of this Convention shall constitute said committee.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — Without objection, the previous question is ordered and the question occurs on the resolution offered by the delegate from Pennsylvania.

All those in favor of the resolution will so signify by saying aye.

(Chorus of ayes.)

Opposed, no. (No response.)

The ayes have it and the resolution is agreed to and the motion to reconsider is laid on the table.

The Committee on Resolutions has been approved and the Chair hereby instructs the Committee to meet in Room 2001-A, Cobo Hall, and report to this Convention at the earliest possible time.

RESOLUTION DISPENSING WITH THE READING OF THE NAMES SELECTED FOR COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIP

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — The Chair now recognizes Pedro Diaz Perez from the territory of Guam for the purpose of offering a motion.

MR. PEREZ. — Mr. Chairman, I offer the following motion and ask for its immediate consideration.

I move that this Convention dispense with the reading of the names of those selected for committees by the various delegations and that each delegation file with the Secretary of this Convention the names of the delegates who will represent them on each committee and that they will be printed in the proceedings of this Convention.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — Without objection, the previous question is ordered and the question occurs on the motion offered by the delegate from Guam.

All those in favor of the motion will so signify by saying aye.

(Chorus of ayes.)

Those opposed, no. (No response.)

The ayes have it and the motion is agreed to and the motion to reconsider is laid on the table.

MEMBERS OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Alabama	Wallace G. Stanfield
	Martha Ball Harlan
Alaska	Jennings H. Graham
	LaDemma Zuback
Arizona	Tom Van Sickle
	Sue Sossaman
Arkansas	John Allen
	Katheryn Jean
California	Edmund T. Dombrowski
	Jackie N. Harker

Colorado	James W. Aspinwall
	Wendy Sanko
Connecticut	John Berman
	Jo McKenzie
Delaware	Jerome O. Herlihy
	Priscilla Rakestraw
District of Columbia	Oliver T. Carr, Jr.
	Alice H. Banks
Florida	L. James Cherry, Jr.
	Clare A. Barnard
Georgia	James E. Sauderer
	Jan Dickens
Guam	(No Man Delegate)
	Catalina 'Kitty" Ferrante
Hawaii	Allan Barr
	Ann Sutton
Idaho	Randy Ayre
	Pam Bengson
Illinois	Dwight P. Friedrich
	Elizabeth E. Brown
Indiana	John W. Sweezy
	Harriet J. Arland
Iowa	John McDonald
	Sulvei Runge
Kansas	James Jeffries, Jr.
	Delores Polson
Kentucky	Gordon Guess
	Jane E. McCann
Louisiana	C. M. McLean
	Jane R. Steele
Maine	Gordon H. Smith
	Gwendolyn Winchell
Maryland	Carl M. Adair
	Gloria A. Baumgaertner
Massachusetts	George Decas
	Shirley H. Perry
Michigan	Carl Pursell
	Peg Molin
Minnesota	Fred R. McComb
	Donna Kunz
Mississippi	James Moye
	Linda Calcote
Missouri	Tom Fowler
	Diane Crain
Montana	Gregory T. Nelson
	Matilda Pierce

Nebraska	Ken Cameron
	Marilyn Bath
Nevada	Homer Hansen
	Jane Wilson
New Hampshire	Robert Monier
	Elaine Lyons
New Jersey	John P. Renna, Jr.
	Ann D. Flynn
New Mexico	Max A. Torres, Sr.
	Mary Sue Wooten
New York	George L. Clark
	Frances Lopresto
North Carolina	J. A. Dalpiaz
	Helen Merritt
North Dakota	Brooks Keogh
	Phayme Hendrickson
Ohio	J. William Petro
	Beverly Jean Park
Oklahoma	W. Frank Buce
	Anne J. Whitten
Oregon	George "Bun" Stadleman
	Rosalie Huss
Pennsylvania	William R. Hunt
	Rebecca D. Corman
Puerto Rico	Jaime Pieras, Jr.
	Nitza Navarro
Rhode Island	William Blount
	Elizabeth Lee Pratt
South Carolina	Jack Janzen
	Ethel Davis
South Dakota	William Srstka
	Barbara Wait
Tennessee	Todd Gardenhire
	Carolyn Gates
Texas	Jesse Brookshire
	Dorothy Doehne
Utah	C. McClain Haddow
	Georgia Jensen
Vermont	John M. Lindley III
	Harriet Slaybaugh
Virginia	E. David Foreman
	Cassandra P. Riley
Virgin Islands	Luther Benjamin
	(No Woman Delegate)
Washington	William D. Scott
	Inez Jones

West Virginia	Clyde Pinson
	(No Woman Delegate)
Wisconsin	Peter Jansson
	Darlene Wink
Wyoming	Eldon Spicer
	Beverly Calhoun

MEMBERS OF COMMITTEE ON PERMANENT ORGANIZATION

Alabama	Medford H. Roe
	Farie Mae Reed
Alaska	Lloyd F. Hames
	Hope Nelson
Arizona	Emmett McLoughlin
	Dorothy Meyer
Arkansas	Elijah Coleman
	Leona Troxell
California	Julian Virtue
	Gerti B. Thomas
Colorado	Bill Bounds
	Polly Coleman
Connecticut	George Gunther
	Helen Bosley
Delaware	Frank DiMondi
	Joan Donohoe
District of Columbia	John A. Nevius
	Minnie Edwards
Florida	Bill Taylor
	Ernette Haring
Georgia	Orson Swindle III
	Kathie Miller
Guam	(No Man Delegate)
	(No Woman Delegate)
Hawaii	Frank Cooper
	Ruth Gruenberg
Idaho	Dick Bauer
	Ann Rydalch
Illinois	Hamilton B. Talbert, Jr.
	Mary Jo Arndt
Indiana	Virgil D. Scheidt
	Patricia Ravinet
Iowa	Evan Hultman
	Yvonne Schildberg
Kansas	B. B. Andersen
	Hazel Allison
Kentucky	Gus A. Parsley
	Elaine Asher

Louisiana	Michael G. Chittom
	Connie Bass
Maine	Linwood E. Palmer, Jr.
	Karen L. Brown
Maryland	Joseph M. Ayd
	Audrey E. Scott
Massachusetts	Peter Thomas
	Norma Cash Smith
Michigan	Ronald Heinlein
	Karen Czernel
Minnesota	Chuck Hargreaves
	Donna Skagerberg
Mississippi	G. A. Gafford
	Lorine Cady
Missouri	Leroy Iuchs
	Gale Saunders
Montana	John Brown
	Linda Giesick
Nebraska	Kevin Knapple
	Jan Terry
Nevada	James R. Idso
	Eleanor Mills
New Hampshire	Alf Jacobson
	Donna P. Sytek
New Jersey	Arthur L. Sears
	Margaret P. Sievewright
New Mexico	Walter E. Bruce
	Aileen Thompson
New York	Forest Wollaber, Jr.
	Rosemary A. Millus
North Carolina	William T. Evans
	Karol G. Goebel
North Dakota	Kye Trout
	Lois Retzlaff
Ohio	Robert J. Huffman
	Carroll J. Myers
Oklahoma	Dale Leftwich
	Sue Booth
Oregon	Gregory U. Tenney
	Dorotha H. Moore
Pennsylvania	William Goodling
	Elaine P. Zettick
Puerto Rico	Freddie Valentin
	(No Woman Delegate)
Rhode Island	J. Colin Dawson
	Eileen G. Slocum

South Carolina	Glenn F. McConnell
	(No Woman Delegate)
South Dakota	James S. Nelson
	Doris Kumm
Tennessee	David Balloff
	Eleanor Rooks
Texas	Chet Upham
	Delores Clark
Utah	Stuart Hinckley
	Ruby Price
Vermont	Richard A. Snelling
	Barbara Cummings
Virginia	John D. Marsh
	Doriene M. Steeves
Virgin Islands	Kelly Evans
	(No Woman Delegate)
Washington	Garry Pagon
	Charlotte Tochterman
West Virginia	Wade H. Ballard
	(No Woman Delegate)
Wisconsin	John Van Hollen
	K. Sue Mattka
Wyoming	Craig Thomas
	Patti MacMillan

MEMBERS OF COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS

Alabama	Steven J. Allen
	Judy B. Bewley
Alaska	George Walton
	Marilyn J. Gay
Arizona	Joseph F. Abate
	Carolyn Gunter
Arkansas	Jim Burnett
	Sonia R. Ingram
California	Robert H. Tuttle
	Virginia Rice
Colorado	Hal Shroyer
	Jacque Ponder
Connecticut	John Alsop
	Ann Artell
Delaware	Eugene Bookhammer
	Frances Iverson
District of Columbia	Melvin M. Burton, Jr.
	Cynthia D. Chin-Lee

Florida	Vince Fechtel, Jr.
	Paula Hawkins
Georgia	David Smith
	Margaret Holliman
Guam	Ronald (Ron) Edward Teehan
	(No Woman Delegate)
Hawaii	James Dahlberg
	Carla Coray
Idaho	Lee Shellman
	Lydia Edwards
Illinois	Tom Jacob
	Betty Hoxsey
Indiana	Edwin Simcox
	Margaret Hill
Iowa	Terry Branstad
	Sue Yenger
Kansas	Keith Sebelius
	Marynell Reece
Kentucky	Joseph Whittle
	Huda Jones
Louisiana	William B. Moran
	Carol Fisher
Maine	Merton G. Henry
	Henrietta Page Crane
Maryland	Lawrence J. Hogan
	Frances P. Egan
Massachusetts	Frank H. Conway
	Sara C. Woodward
Michigan	John Field Reichardt
	Connie B. Binsfield
Minnesota	Vern Neppl
	Patricia Pariseau
Mississippi	Joh Hinson
	Cindy Baria
Missouri	Glen W. Brogden
	Stephanie Prade
Montana	Kenneth McBride
	Marjorie Siems
Nebraska	Jim Dickinson
	Anne Batchelder
Nevada	Jack Tedford
	Mary Laub
New Hampshire	Lane Dwinell
	Sheila Roberge
New Jersey	John A. Rocco
	Barbara Steele

New Mexico	Wilbur W. Irvin
	Ann Griffin
New York	Joseph M. Margiotta
	Mary Ann Knauss
North Carolina	Hugh J. Beard
	Sheila Wright
North Dakota	John Sellie
	Phyllis Connolly
Ohio	Roger A. Yurchuck
	Carolyn G. Kartavich
Oklahoma	Fox Wood III
	Dona Usry
Oregon	Davis J. Stanger
	Harriett Flanagan
Pennsylvania	Bob Miller
	Dorothy Forney
Puerto Rico	Rafael V. Capo
	Julia Rivera de Vicenti
Rhode Island	Mark Hayward
	Evelyn Munson
South Carolina	Clyde Shirley
	Emily Phillips
South Dakota	Richard D. Kelley
	Mary M. Small
Tennessee	Winfield Dunn
	Alice Algood
Texas	Robert L. Monaghan
	Jane Bergland
Utah	William Arseneau
	Amy Y. Valentine
Vermont	John F. Nicholls
	Nancy Hill
Virginia	William H. Stanhagen
	Naomi Zeavin
Virgin Islands	Leslie Chenet
	(No Woman Delegate)
Washington	Richard Derham
	Noreen C. Thomas
West Virginia	John S. LeRose
	Margaret Miller
Wisconsin	John C. Shabaz
	Helen Bie
Wyoming	Jack Mueller
	Betty Percival

MEMBERS OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Alabama	William M. Acker, Jr.
	Elizabeth P. Bullard
Alaska	Donald E. White
	Carolyn Glover
Arizona	Eldon Rudd
	Judy Gignac
Arkansas	Ed Bethune
	Sharon Shipley
California	John Rousselot
	Verna D. Mattox
Colorado	Phillip L. Pankey
	Freda J. Poundstone
Connecticut	Frederick K. Biebel
	Astrid Hanzalek
Delaware	William V. Roth
	Charlotte Mach
District of Columbia	Stephen I. Danzansky
	Jan A. K. Evans
Florida	Earl T. Smith
	Angel Bradley
Georgia	Joseph J. Tribble
	Dorothy Brewer
Guam	Pedro Diaz Perez
	(No Woman Delegate)
Hawaii	John Leopold
	Mary George
Idaho	James A. McClure
	Ruthie Johnson
Illinois	Robert M. Michel
	Rose S. Vieth
Indiana	Bruce B. Melchert
	Betty Rendel
Iowa	Roger Jepsen
	Marjorie Askew
Kansas	Bob Dole
	Janice Hardenburger
Kentucky	Charles Lamb
	Pat Schafer
Louisiana	Roy Brun
	Marilyn Thayer
Maine	Douglas I. Hodgkin
	Doris Russell
Maryland	George A. Price
	Marjorie S. Holt

Massachusetts	Andrew H. Card, Jr.
	Margaret Heckler
Michigan	David Stockman
	Nancy Chase
Minnesota	Tom Hagedorn
	Jo Ann Muller
Mississippi	Trent Lott
	Beth Lane
Missouri	Thomas B. Curtis
	Pat Keyes
Montana	Everett E. Shuey
	Louise Galt
Nebraska	Don Dworak
	Kay Orr
Nevada	Cliff McCorkle
	Edwina Prior
New Hampshire	Gerald P. Carmen
	Yvette Chagnon
New Jersey	Donald J. Albanese
	Patricia E. Stuart
New Mexico	Frank Bird
	Cobby McKinney
New York	Jack F. Kemp
	Margaret S. Soter
North Carolina	Jesse Helms
	Patric Dorsey
North Dakota	Robert McDaniel
	Alice Olson
Ohio	William G. Batchelder III
	Anne K. Colwell
Oklahoma	Mickey Edwards
	Glenda Mattoon
Oregon	John K. Gram
	Judee Elliott
Pennsylvania	Bud Shuster
	Faith Ryan Whittlesey
Puerto Rico	Oreste Ramos
	Carmen T. Pesquera de Busquets
Rhode Island	James B. Malcolm
	Helen G. Gladney
South Carolina	Floyd Spence
	Joyce C. Hearn
South Dakota	Mike Sougstad
	Charlene K. Haar
Tennessee	Lamar Baker
	Carolyn Campbell

Texas	John Tower
	Fran Chiles
Utah	Robert Sykes
	Alberta "Beppy" Gibbons
Vermont	John McClaughry
	Ruth Stillings
Virginia	Guy O. Farley, Jr.
	Helen Obenshain
Virgin Islands	Philip C. Clark
	(No Woman Delegate)
Washington	Jim Munn
	Ronnie Cannon
West Virginia	J. D. Hinkle
	Judith A. Herndon
Wisconsin	Don Taylor
	Joni Jackson
Wyoming	Malcolm Wallop
	Jerrilyn Wall

The Chair recognizes Anna Chennault, Chairperson of the National Republican Heritage Groups, for the purpose of introducing a special film.

INTRODUCTION OF FILM "REPUBLICANS IN ACTION" BY ANNA C. CHENNAULT, CHAIRMAN, NATIONAL REPUBLICAN HERITAGE GROUPS COUNCIL

MRS. CHENNAULT. — Fellow Republicans, fellow Americans, I am Anna Chennault of Washington, D. C. I speak on behalf of the Nationalities Division of the Republican Party. In this Convention we have 400 Delegates and Alternates representing and identifying with the Nationalities Division. This is the first time in the Republican Party's history.

This morning I speak on behalf of the National Republican Heritage Groups to all of you. Like many citizens, I am a citizen by choice and I am proud of my country. I am proud also of the Republican Party that I have been working for, for so many years.

In 1980, our Party has not only the obligation but opportunity to rebuild the strength of our nation at home and our credibility abroad for the Democrats have too long taken their power for granted and we need a change and we need you to help us to make that change.

The Nationalities Division is particularly proud of our new program which encourages new citizens to get involved and encourages all of them to work to make the system work better, and particularly in 1980, this Convention year, encourages all Republicans, Independents and Democrats together, to renew the confidence of the people of a great nation. We are going to elect Ronald Reagan to the White House.

The Nationalities Division of the Republican Party recognizes that we have eighty million Americans to identify themselves with us. Our program involves every citizen in this country — the young and the old, men and women, people coming from all parts of the world identify themselves with other cultures and other backgrounds. We call for your total involvement and we encourage you to come forward to share the obligations and responsibilities, to show that we care about America.

Our contribution will add strength, not only for the Nation in trouble due to lack of leadership, but also will bring a better future for America and for the free world. We are the party who cares.

For us who have worked for this great party, we know our leaders will not promise anything they cannot deliver and they will deliver whatever they promise. The Democrats have controlled the Senate and the House for much too long.

When you look at this film, you will get a better idea of our activities and our dedication. We ask all of you to join forces with us to help us to vote for Republicans in order to fulfill our commitment, our hope and our dream to our people and to our nation. For every citizen's future is in today's America. The future is our own making. It is time for a new beginning. It is time for a change.

We ask all of you to join us, help us because we need all of you, so that we can work together for this great nation we call America.

God bless America. (Applause.)

(The film "Republicans in Action" was then shown.)

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — The Chair now recognizes the Chairman of the Republican State Chairmen, Don Adams from the State of Illinois, for the purpose of addressing the Convention. Accompanying him to the podium are: Frank Fahrenkopf of Nevada, Chairman of the Western State Chairmen's Association; William D. Harris of Alabama, Chairman of the Southern State Chairmen's Association; and Bernard Kilbourn of New York, Chairman of the Northeastern State Chairmen's Association.

REPORT ON THE ROLE OF REPUBLICAN STATE CHAIRMEN BY DON W. ADAMS, CHAIRMAN, REPUBLICAN STATE CHAIRMEN'S ADVISORY COMMITTEE AND CHAIRMAN, ILLINOIS REPUBLICAN STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

MR. ADAMS. — Thank you, Chairman Brock.

Fellow Delegates and Alternates, on behalf of my colleagues, the Republican State Chairmen, I am happy to report that we are ready, we are willing, we are eager to begin the 1980 campaign. But I want to begin by saying something

nice about each candidate for President. First, the Democrat, Jimmy Carter, is the greatest man ever to come out of Plains, Georgia. Second, the Independent, John Anderson, is the only man that can lose every primary, every beauty contest, every caucus, then announce that he has a mandate to run for President without a party. Third, the Republican, Ronald Reagan, is the able candidate who can attract more Democratic votes as a Republican candidate than Ted Kennedy does in the Democratic Party.

I was asked to give the report from the Republican State Chairmen. That report is simple. Let's leave our differences in Detroit so we can elect new leadership in Washington.

We must not underestimate the work ahead of us. Jimmy Carter likes to characterize his opponents as politicians, but there is no one more political than Jimmy Carter. He can trace his campaign through the primaries by tracking a telegram that came out of the White House. He may not know it, but a whole lot of promises came out of there.

The Republican Party opposes the ultimate liberalism of Ted Kennedy.

But surely the country would have been better off if Jimmy Carter had faced Ted Kennedy on the issues rather than in advertising himself as husband of the year.

Carter came to the White House without his own primary going there, but he wasn't dishonest, he told everybody he was for everybody. By gosh, he is. And if he is not, he will be there next week.

Consequently, almost four years into his term, more Americans know where Reagan stands on the issues than where the incumbent stands. Never have we had a President who could completely rely on polls to tell him what to do. Well, the polls have been telling him a lot lately, that more Americans want Ronald Reagan for President than Jimmy Carter, that more Americans want a President who will be guided by principle than one who is guided by polling.

The third candidate is not recognized by polling or principle so much as publicity. It didn't discourage Anderson to lose every single primary. As long as he got headlines, he played his part.

The Republican Party wants to win over Anderson supporters on the basis of ideas, Jimmy Carter wants those by preconvenience, Anderson by getting on the ballot. Never, in our generation that is, will there be a clearer choice: Carter guided by polling, Anderson guided by publicity; Reagan guided by principle. (Applause.)

The campaign has already begun. No one better than the National Party Chairman knows that it cannot be done alone. On behalf of every State Chairman, I cordially invite you to join the campaign of the States when we all get back home. The White House is final, but governors, senators, congressmen, the statehouse and county courthouse must not be overlooked. To help us prepare we have scheduled a national conference August 11th and 12th

so at the very same time that the Democrats are meeting at Madison Square Garden in indecisiveness and hostility, we will gather in unity and plan for victory.

There are decisions each of you can make here and now that will help to guarantee that victory as delegates of the great party assembled in this Convention

I ask that you give us a sensible platform, give us great rules and give us an honorable vice-presidential candidate who together with Governor Reagan will help create a new beginning for our great country.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — Now I will say for myself, one of the reasons our party has made such progress is we have some of the greatest State Chairmen our Party has ever had, and I am proud of every one of them. (Applause.)

I want you to pay attention. I have an announcement. All Delegates and all Alternates and everyone with proper credentials is invited to attend a reception this evening here in Cobo Hall, adjacent to this building, from 5:30 to 7:30, a reception in honor of the candidate to be, Ronald Reagan.

See you all there, if you come.

PRESENTATION OF GAVEL TO JOSEPHINE L. GOOD, CONVENTION DIRECTOR

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — I want to do something as a point of personal privilege. There is a lady who worked in the 1952 campaign as a volunteer. She joined the Republican National Committee in 1956. She became Director of Conventions in 1958. Since that time she has been absolutely indispensable to every chairman in every convention. And on behalf of all of those who have served in this office, and I hope in behalf of you, I would like to present the gavel to our most eloquent and able committee staff member, Josephine L. Good. (Applause.) A very fine lady.

The Chair now recognizes Nelda Barton from the State of Kentucky for the purpose of addressing this Convention.

THE BUSINESS OF CARING FOR THE ELDERLY BY NELDA L. BARTON NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN FOR KENTUCKY

MRS. BARTON. — Mr. Chairman, Delegates and fellow Americans, I would like to focus my remarks today on the concerns of the senior citizens. Of course, I am deeply concerned about their welfare.

I come from the small town of Corbin, Kentucky, the home of a world-renowned senior citizen — Colonel Sanders. I live in the beautiful Bluegrass

State that not only has great wealth in its many older citizens but is also famous for the Kentucky Derby, coal, tobacco and bourbon — not necessarily in that order.

I have a medical background, for years promoting health careers and health education statewide. I was a registered medical technologist, married to a general surgeon, and am now a provider and administrator of skilled and intermediate long-term care facilities.

My late husband, associates and I, recognizing the dire need for skilled care in the area about nine years ago, due to overcrowded conditions in the hospitals, built our first nursing home. All four of our homes were built in southeastern Kentucky with private funding, supplied by local banks and savings and loan associations. They are in rural areas where many of the elderly are the least visible, poorest, and most underserved. I am proud that our homes are ranked among the best in the state.

We provide quality care in a homelike atmosphere at a very reasonable cost. The homes are not retirement centers; they are health care facilities. The level of care depends on the needs of the individual, and the aim is to help the patient improve enough to return to his own home and community as soon as possible.

The maze of federal red tape and regulation is unbelievable. It hampers service delivery and increases all of the costs. Ladies and gentlemen, the Democrats have certainly been no friend to the senior citizen with runaway inflation, the changes and indecision in HEW leadership, and its multi-layered bureaucracy. The Democrats have dragged their feet on all important legislation affecting older Americans, especially the Older Americans Act.

Now, we realize that skilled and intermediate care is a small but vital part of the services that must be provided to bridge the great gaps in health services for the elderly. Our party advocates more home health services, "Meals-on-Wheels," and rehabilitation facilities. We definitely favor tax incentives for families who care for and maintain seniors in their homes. We must have a well-rounded program to provide the appropriate level of medical care for the individual.

I visit daily with the senior residents in our nursing homes and become more and more aware of their overabundance of wisdom, talent, humor and love. I am also made aware of the many hardships that confront them today. They tell me of their concerns, of their despair and their increasing lack of self-esteem. They are afraid of losing their homes. They are afraid that they will not be able to pay for their food, their clothing, their transportation. Many are completely isolated in the winter.

I travel extensively among our homes and I listen to them on a one-to-one basis. I know whereof I speak — I quiet their fears and I dry their tears.

The widows confide in me, knowing that I, too, have been faced with the trauma of adjusting to the change from a partnership to one solely responsible for one's future.

They feel the estate tax is one of the most unfair taxes we have today. Widows' estates are taxed as though they had no hand in the creation of these estates. Many wives who become widowed in midlife or old age have been partners in the development and operation of farms, stores and businesses. Many times they have to sell their farms or businesses in order to pay this tax, and they are all left without enough funds to care for them in the later years.

For retired persons on fixed incomes, inflation is a catastrophe that drives them to deprivation, dependence on their families, or institutional care. Now, this is a tragic and wholly unnecessary condition of thousands of older persons who saved diligently and fruitlessly for a secure and independent quality of life after retirement. Inflation has more than tripled during President Carter's Administration. Older persons are paying for this domestic policy failure with their purchasing power and the quality of their lives.

Senior citizens are distressed with the direction the American family has taken in the past few years. The older generation was the standard bearer of decency and high morals. They believe in God, country, family and their fellowmen. Well, I do, too. As a mother of four, I recognize the moral crisis we are confronted with — breakdown in discipline, drug and alcohol abuse, street crime and violence. They are appalled by it, as am I.

The Republican Party believes the family is the hub of American life. It adheres to the fundamental values of the traditional American family with a positive faith in economic growth for all American people through a program of economic incentives and a cut in tax rates. We advocate new tax incentives to help those families who care for the elderly within the family environment.

During a previous Republican Administration, spending under the Older Americans Act increased tenfold. Republicans also took the lead in efforts to virtually abolish the mandatory retirement age in order to give many older workers an opportunity to remain active. Our platform reaffirms the commitment.

And there is another problem we are concerned about. That is the social security earnings limitation. This actually prevents people from working. This is done by reducing benefits by $1 for every $2 earned over the present limit of $5,000 for persons 65 to 71. Social security beneficiaries are forced to restrict their earnings to levels below the earnings limitation.

If the earnings limitation were removed for persons sixty-five and over, it is estimated that ten percent would return to work. The Republican alternative to the 1977 Social Security Financing Amendments would have removed the earnings limitation.

One out of nine Americans is sixty-five or over, ladies and gentlemen. That is eleven percent of our Nation. Persons sixty-five and over are the fastest

growing segment of our population. The dependency ratio is changing. The ratio of workers supporting beneficiaries was seven to one in the fifties. It is down to three to one today, and will drop to two to one in the next century.

Due to inflation, our dollar is worth thirty-six cents. For those who have worked hard all of their lives and saved for retirement, it is a gross injustice that they should suffer. Throughout our history, older Americans have played a vital role shaping our Nation. Their contributions have benefited all of us. It is through their hard work and diligence that we enjoy security and prosperity today. The spirit of our people is the strength of our Nation.

Friends, America is changing and our national priorities and leadership must change.

Senior advocacy brought us improvements in Social Security, Medicare, and virtually abolished mandatory retirement. That same senior power will help elect President Reagan and will help his administration restore the greatness we have lost in the past four years.

The Republican Party is aware of the problems confronting the senior citizen today. We have solutions to these problems, and we intend to see that they are carried out.

God bless you. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — The Chair is happy to announce that the next speaker is going to be the next Governor of the State of Indiana. Here is Lieutenant Governor Robert D. Orr from the State of Indiana, for the purpose of an introduction, Bob Orr.

INTRODUCTION OF THE HONORABLE RICHARD G. LUGAR BY THE HONORABLE ROBERT D. ORR

MR. ORR. — Mr. Chairman, Delegates and Alternate Delegates to the Republican National Convention, ladies and gentlemen, it is with genuine pride that I greet you. I am here to introduce a man that Hoosiers know will be the perfect teammate for President Ronald Reagan when he begins the tough job next January of leading America out of a Democratic wilderness.

Dick Lugar embodies the best America can offer. He was an Eagle Scout, a Phi Beta Kappa at Dennison University in Ohio, and a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford, where he gained a master's degree in economics. Just think of that — an elected official in Washington who actually understands the subject. He has been a reserve Naval intelligence officer under Admiral Arleigh Burke. He was thrust early in life into the management of his family's manufacturing enterprise, a typically American small business.

At age 32 he was elected to the Indianapolis School Board. He successfully shares responsibility for managing a 600-acre family farm in central Indiana.

In 1967, at age 35, Dick Lugar burst upon the Indiana political scene as the dynamic Republican candidate for Mayor of Indianapolis, now the Nation's 11th largest city. He won a tough primary, beat a Democrat incumbent in the fall, and carried a Republican council majority into office with him. Then he set in motion a dramatic set of innovations, including unification of city and county government. His aggressive and creative leadership reactivated central city growth, set new records in creating industrial jobs, fostered racial harmony, and produced a series of annual property tax reductions. Unbelievable as it may seem to an over-taxed America, property tax rates were lower in Indianapolis in 1975 than when he took office in 1968.

Four years ago, by the largest majority of any state-wide candidate in Indiana history, Mayor Dick Lugar became Senator Dick Lugar by a margin of 400,000 votes. Republican Senate leadership, seeing him as a man ready for tough assignments and an activist who gets things done, assigned him to several important committees — Agriculture; Select Committee on Intelligence; Banking; Housing and Urban Affairs; and Foreign Relations.

He moved quickly into a leadership role in the U. S. Senate, displaying an amazing ability to bring together coalitions of disparate members of the Senate to foster constructive Republican policy.

Dick Lugar is a bright new star providing dynamic and creative leadership, an expert in management of urban government, who is equally at home in international economics and domestic farming. He has an optimistic and positive attitude whatever the obstacle to be overcome, self-confidence seasoned with a sense of humor, and a unique combination of compassion and no-nonsense toughness.

America is fortunate that Dick Lugar is moving front and center at this stage of history. A true American with fresh ideas and creative ability, ladies and gentlemen, Senator Richard G. Lugar of Indiana. (Applause.)

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE RICHARD G. LUGAR UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF INDIANA

SENATOR LUGAR. — My fellow Republicans, we have come to the great State of Michigan to celebrate where our party got started 126 years ago, the great City of Detroit, confident that we know a great deal about the problems of working Americans.

We have come to Detroit to put America back to work. We have come to Detroit to rearm our country. We have come to Detroit to nominate a great new Republican President of the United States, Ronald Reagan. (Applause.)

Thank goodness for an election year in this country. Thank goodness for a chance to undo the damage of a mistaken Presidency while there is still time.

Jimmy Carter is a troubled man. He loves to run for office but finds himself in way over his head once he gets there. In less than four years, he has nearly blown the prospects for lasting peace. He has pulled all of us into a dangerous predicament which his lack of Presidential ability has created.

In his Notre Dame speech of 1977, President Carter celebrated his freedom from an "inordinate fear of Communism." He said, "The great democracies are not free because we are strong and prosperous." He said, "I believe we are strong and influential because we are free."

How ironic that is. For year after year, Jimmy Carter and the Democratic Congress have combined to produce record high taxes and thousands of new regulations that have left us much less free in our family life, our neighborhood schools, our local governments, our farms and our small businesses.

Worse still, after we have been overtaxed, overregulated and overgoverned, we learn that our taxes and our sacrifices of personal freedom were not used to ensure an adequate defense of our country. President Carter sat and watched the Soviets gain superiority in bombers, in ships, in strategic missiles, in conventional weapons, in almost every military category.

We cannot defend our lifelines of energy and raw materials, and therefore we cannot protect employment in this country or the safety and comfort of our homes.

America has been held hostage because Jimmy Carter has been weak and ineffective. Our enemies have grown bolder as they taunt us. Our friends have been dismayed in their sadness for us. It can now be said of President Jimmy Carter that he has failed in the worst way a President can fail — he has increased the possibility of war.

Thank goodness for an election year, and thank goodness for the next President of the United States, Ronald Reagan. (Applause.)

My fellow Republicans, thank goodness for a new President who understands that Soviet imperialism is the major threat to peace in the world today; who understands that this threat did not begin with the invasion of Afghanistan and will not end when Afghanistan has faded from the conscience of the world; who understands that the strains on the NATO alliance, the risk of conflict in the Persian Gulf, the deadlock of the Camp David process, and the subversion of countless Third World countries are all traceable to the expansionist militarism of the Soviets and their proxies.

Ronald Reagan understands that in no Communist country does the average person live well; that the Communist promise of material progress in exchange for freedom is an illusion; and that if we lose the struggle for world freedom, we will have lost the struggle against world hunger as well.

He understands that the free nations of this world possess fully three-fourths of all the earth's industrial capacity, that we are not fated to be overwhelmed by a Soviet regime which must starve every other sector of a meager economy to feed its war machine.

Ronald Reagan understands that if America offers steady and reliable leadership, we will find support from our allies in Western Europe, Japan, Australia, and elsewhere, and we will rebuild an effective free world alliance. (Applause.)

Thank goodness, too, that we will soon have a new President who understands, with all Republicans, the absolute necessity of economic growth in this country; who sees clearly that full employment will not be attained and poverty will not be alleviated unless the Gross National Product reverses its decline and begins a dynamic and sustained increase; who is prepared to lead the Congress in reducing the taxes of working people; reducing the taxes of businesses, savers and investors, curbing inflationary spending and deficits, and tackling the regulators and their senseless harassments.

In short, we will soon have in Ronald Reagan a President who is prepared to kick out the blocks and let the productive wheels of this great economy roll and roll and roll again.

Thank goodness for a new President who comprehends that the new growth we need and the new strength we must provide are inseparable, who perceives that only dramatic growth can pay the bills for our national rearmament and only effective military power can guarantee the resources and the conditions in which that growth can flourish.

Until recently, America stood for an end to hunger and an end to tyranny in this world. The hope we offered to others was the source of our own national purpose. Jimmy Carter's policies of retreat, defeatism, and intentional recession are not merely unfortunate; they are immoral. They condemn the poor of this country and this world to permanent poverty. They condemn the oppressed of this world to permanent servitude.

As Ronald Reagan and a revived Republican Party restore growth to our economy and strength to our foreign policy, we will restore something equally precious. We will restore the moral confidence of a society whose current leadership has lost sight of our fundamental goals.

At this grave moment in history, the Republican strategy of growth and strength presents a moral imperative for all citizens genuinely determined to see a world free from want and free from tyranny. The American people are eager to reclaim their moral heritage and, with it, the will and purpose to make our Nation great again.

My fellow delegates, history is summoning Ronald Reagan to the Presidency and the Republican Party to the governance of this country.

Thank goodness for an election year and the Republican victory crusade that we have awaited so long.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — That is the way to start it off.

One announcement. A joint closed caucus of Hispanic and Black delegates will be held today at 3:30 in the Mackinac Room of the Detroit Plaza Hotel. This caucus is sponsored by the Hispanic Republican Assembly and the National Black Republican Council. Black and Hispanic Delegates and Alternates are urged to attend.

The Chair now recognizes the Reverend Jerry Moore for the purpose of addressing this convention. I would ask you to rise during the benediction.

BENEDICTION

BY

THE REVEREND JERRY A. MOORE, JR.
Pastor of the Nineteenth Street Baptist Church
of Washington, D. C.

Let us be dismissed.

O Lord our God, holy is Thy name in all the years. For the proceedings of this hour we give Thee thanks. For the spirit of great Americans we give Thee thanks. Go with us and stand by us as we continue further in these proceedings. Give us strength to do Thy will. Provide unto us hope and courage to carry out our great convictions. In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. Amen.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — The Chair recognizes the Governor of the State of Illinois for the purpose of offering a motion to adjourn.

GOVERNOR THOMPSON. — Mr. Chairman, from the home of Joe Louis Arena, we meet in the birthplace of the next President of the United States, Ronald Reagan.

We now move that this Convention recess until 8:00 this evening, Monday, July 14, 1980.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — All those in favor say aye.

(Chorus of ayes.)

Those opposed, no. (No response.)

The motion is agreed to, and the motion to reconsider is laid on the table. We will recess until 8:00 this evening.

(Whereupon, at 1:08 p.m., the Republican National Convention was recessed, to reconvene at 8:00 p.m. this same day.

SECOND SESSION

MONDAY, JULY 14, 1980

The second session of the convention convened at 8:00 p.m. The Convention Orchestra, directed by Manny Harmon, played while the Delegates, Alternates and guests assembled.

CALL TO ORDER

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — The Second Session of the 1980 Covention of the Republican Party is hereby called to order.

PRESENTATION OF THE COLORS

Our colors will now be presented by the Fred Beaudry Post No. 126 of the Detroit American Legion.

(The Colors were thereupon presented by the Fred Beaudry Post No. 126 of the Detroit American Legion.)

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — The Pledge of Allegiance will be read by Jim Webb, one of our Nation's most highly decorated war heroes.

MR. WEBB. — 1980 will be remembered as a year that America rediscovered its values, and your participation at this convention will be no small part of that remembrance. The American Flag is the greatest symbol of the values that we adhere to. I would like you all to join me in the Pledge of Allegiance.

(Mr. Webb then led the Delegates, Alternates and guests in the Pledge of Allegiance.)

THE NATIONAL ANTHEM

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — The Chair now recognizes the distinguished Republican Whip of the House of Representatives, the Honorable Bob Michel of Illinois, for the singing of our National Anthem.

(The National Anthem was sung by Congressman Michel.)

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — The Chair now recognizes the Senator from North Carolina, the Honorable Jesse Helms for the purpose of making an introduction, and I ask that you would please remain standing for the invocation immediately thereafter.

SENATOR HELMS. — Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen of this convention, there have been countless sons and daughters of North Carolina, past and present, whose achievements have meant so much to our Nation and to the world, but there is a very special one, a treasured friend of mine who has dedicated his life to taking the message of salvation to the world. There is not a nation on this globe that has not shared in the blessing of his remarkable ministry. He literally is a beacon of hope for a troubled world because he constantly offers the reminder that God is love.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am honored to present for our invocation this evening my friend and yours, a true servant of the Lord, Dr. Billy Graham of North Carolina.

INVOCATION

BY

DR. BILLY GRAHAM
EVANGELIST
North Carolina

Shall we pray?

Our Father, at the beginning of this great political convention tonight, we thank Thee that You have blessed us and sustained us by Your grace through times of stress and strain during our 204 years as a Nation.

Now we sense again our urgent need of Thy grace for once again we know that we are being tested as a people.

Our problems seem to be beyond us and many wonder whether or not we can make it even through this decade. Others say that we are at the most dangerous point of world history.

We confess that we are now a very sinful Nation. We do not deserve Your blessing. We have forgotten Your law and we no longer seek Your will in our affairs. We remember the words of the great Hebrew Prophet, Jeremiah, spoken just before judgment fell on his land. He said, "But they harkened not, nor inclined their ear, but walked in the counsels and in the imagination of their evil heart and went backward and not forward."

These are times, Oh Father, when we have not harkened to You and are in danger of going backward instead of forward and yet we know from the Bible that You are a God of love and mercy and forgiveness as well as a God of perfect righteousness and justice.

We ask that Your love, mercy and forgiveness may be poured out on us as a nation. As You said through the Prophet Ezekiel, "Turn you, turn you from your evil ways, for why would ye die?" But we also know that forgiveness and restoration comes only when we truly repent.

And so we pray that we may turn to You as Washington did at Valley Forge, as Lincoln did in the dark days of the Civil War and countless others have done throughout our history. Help us to understand that our problems will never be solved by territorialism or technology or education or by our legal political systems alone, but only a spiritual awakening in which individuals turn to You and seek Your forgiveness and Your will.

We pray tonight that You will lead the American people in their choice of leadership for the next four years. We pray especially that You will be with the deliberation of this convention and that Your will will be sought and then done.

We are told in Your Word to pray for all those in authority. So tonight we pray for the President of the United States, the Members of Congress and all others in our Nation to whom You have entrusted the responsibilities of leadership. We pray that You will especially work to bring nations closer together and to help them solve the frightening problem of awesome weapons which are being developed in many parts of the world and which could bring catastrophe to the human race.

Turn us back, we pray Thee, from the road to Armageddon. We commit to Your protection the hostages in Iran, and ask that they might come home soon. Help us tonight to remember all enduring suffering and injustice in our world.

We also pray for refugees in the overall who are streaming across many borders. We remember also our homes and families in America that are under such strain. They are the basic and indisputable unit in our society. Hold them together, we pray.

Hear us, Oh God, because we pray this prayer with a great sense of our need of You and in humility, repentance and dependence, and we pray it in the name of Jesus Christ, our Lord, Amen.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — If you will remain standing, the Chair would ask that you again observe a moment of silence in recognition of the Americans who are currently being held hostage in Iran, and of their families.

(A moment of silence was observed in behalf of the hostages in Iran.)

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — Ladies and gentlemen, a special round of applause for the University of Michigan's Marching Band. (Generous applause.)

We will withdraw the colors.

"WHO ARE THE DELEGATES?"

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — Now some more remarks from a few of our Delegates.

(A short film was shown of various Delegates to the Convention.)

Now, we have tried to improve the quality of our microphone and if you will share the burden by improving the quality of your non-conversation, we will try to proceed as best we can.

The Chair now recognizes the distinguished Lieutenant Governor of our host State of Michigan, the Honorable James Brickley, for the purpose of making an introduction. Governor Brickley.

INTRODUCTION OF THE HONORABLE WILLIAM G. MILLIKEN GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF MICHIGAN BY THE HONORABLE JAMES BRICKLEY LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF MICHIGAN

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BRICKLEY. — Thank you.

Mr. Chairman, and Delegates and fellow Republicans, I am here to introduce to you your host for the week. He is our Governor, and he has never lost an election.

Like many of you, he began his career as a Republican precinct delegate, he was a Republican Chairman, a State Senator, Lieutenant Governor and for more than eleven years he has been Michigan's distinguished Governor.

In twenty years of unblemished public service, he has established a rapport with the voters of this State unparalleled in this State's history. He has graced the political profession with intellectual honesty and personal integrity. His record of public service gives politics a good name.

Under his leadership Michigan has become a model in environmental protection, equitable tax policy, educational reform and, as you see, urban renaissance and job development. His accomplishments have led to increasing margins of victory in his three races for Governor.

At a time when we have too many crossed fingers and too many crossed signals, he has exuded decisiveness and political honesty. In this important election year, when we seek to get the attention of an increasing number of people in politics and when our Party makes our claim for national leadership, I am here to introduce someone who represents the best of politics, the best of leadership. For his wealth of personality, deep concern for the human condition and credibility as a statesman, our Governor, we think, is in a class by himself, and I proudly present to you the Governor of the great State of Michigan, the Honorable William G. Milliken. Governor Milliken.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME TO MICHIGAN BY THE HONORABLE WILLIAM G. MILLIKEN GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF MICHIGAN

GOVERNOR MILLIKEN. — That is the wonderful Michigan delegation down in front of me.

Thank you, Lieutenant Governor Brickley.

Welcome to Michigan, welcome to Detroit, welcome to the Joe Louis Arena. The more than nine million people of Michigan are proud, very proud, ladies and gentlemen, to be your host this week.

Michigan has much to be proud about: our natural resources, our industry, our agriculture, and most of all, our people. One person that we are proudest of is one of our most distinguished native sons, one of Michigan's greatest gifts to our Nation, Gerald R. Ford. (Applause.)

And we are proud, too, of Betty Ford for her role, for her role as First Lady, for her dignity and courage and for her commitment to the remaining struggle for equal rights.

And let me say, ladies and gentlemen, Michigan is proud that you chose our State for this convention. I can assure you that Michigan Republicans are going to work long and hard to assure the strength and the unity necessary for victory in November.

I believe we are strong and we will be united.

One thing that the Republican Party and the City of Detroit have had in common in recent years has been that reports of their demise have been equally premature. The fact is that we are here tonight to tell the world that a resurgent Party has come to a Renaissance City.

And let me say that the Republican Party and the State of Michigan also have much in common, both have great diversity. The strength of both depends so much on the extent to which they can achieve cooperation rather than conflict among their diverse interests. Nowhere in Michigan is this more evident than in your host city of Detroit.

Detroit is a symbol of industrial America, of what it once was, of how it has declined, and of the noble efforts under way to make great cities livable again. It is succeeding because it has mobilized its diverse interests, including a unique cooperation between government at all levels and private enterprise.

The Renaissance Center is perhaps the Nation's most spectacular commitment by private enterprise to the future of our cities. This arena, ladies and gentlemen, which was not even built when you made your decision to hold this convention in Detroit, is another monument to the Renaissance City. But you need not go far from here to see rubble and ruin that all too often in all too many cities threaten to make them death mounds, not monuments of our civilization.

This week, as we try to campaign for America's future, we need only look about us for examples, not only of the successes of urban America, but also the suffering of urban America. Urban America is not reflected just in the shiny glass towers that are about us, it is reflected as well in the broken glass of abandoned storefronts that also are about us. It is reflected in the eyes of the poor, the jobless, and so many others who live here and all over our urban America without hope. Those eyes are upon us this week. Let them see from this convention a commitment to the cities and a compassion for those who dwell within them. Let all of America see that we at this convention remember the first Republican Convention in Jackson, Michigan, where our Party was founded on the bedrock of human rights for all. All signs are that this Party is at the threshold of victory. That will mean that we are at the threshold of responsibility for America's economic recovery and no state has a greater stake than Michigan in this recovery because no state has suffered more than Michigan from the Carter economy.

We in this state are proud that it was a man from Michigan who, as President, battled inflation and reckless spending to a standstill and left to his successor a thriving economy, a strong defense, a buoyant and proud America, all of which have since been lost by mismanagement. Because of that mismanagement and because we intend to be strong and united in the fall behind a strong candidate, I believe we are about to nominate the next President of the United States, Ronald Reagan. (Applause and cheers.)

So, let this convention be a great celebration of Republican resurgence, but let it also be a great recommitment to those historic Republican principles which to our credit have guided our Party in the worst of times as well as the best.

Thank you.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — The Chair now recognizes the distinguished Congressman from the State of California, the Honorable John Rousselot for the purpose of offering a resolution.

MR. ROUSSELOT. — Mr. Chairman, I offer the following resolution and ask for its immediate consideration.

Resolved, that we the Delegates and Alternates to the 1980 Republican National Convention, acknowledge our extended appreciation and further gratitude to the entire citizenry and to all the officials of the State of Michigan for their kindness, their consideration, and their cooperation in making this a convention of grand success for our great Party and for our Nation.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — Without objection, the previous question is ordered. The question occurs on the resolution offered. The question occurs on the resolution offered by the Delegate from California.

All those in favor of the resolution will signify by saying aye.

(Chorus of Ayes.)

Those opposed, no. (No response.)

The motion is agreed to. We thank you very much, Congressman Rousselot.

Incidentally, that resolution was adopted without objection and the motion to consider is laid on the table.

INTRODUCTION OF THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN BY THE HONORABLE ALF M. LANDON

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — We are honored tonight to have the introduction of our Temporary Chairman by her father, the Honorable Alf Landon, our Republican candidate for President in the 1936 election, a former Governor of the State of Kansas, and one of the grandest men in this grand Party of ours, our former nominee, Alf Landon.

(Film introduction of Temporary Chairman by the Honorable Alf M. Landon.)

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE NANCY LANDON KASSEBAUM UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF KANSAS

SENATOR KASSEBAUM. — Thank you. Thank you very much. In 1936, in Topeka, Kansas, in his speech accepting the Republican nomination for President, my father said, "In common with all my countrymen, I look forward to the America that is to be. It should be an America that shall bring to bear the whole of her spiritual force in common effort; an America, for the sake of all mankind, as well as ourselves, that shall never lose the faith that human freedom is a practical ideal."

In 1980 we continue our search for practical ideals. Receptive to new ideas, we are searching for new directions and appealing for new leadership. Historians will write that in 1980 the Republican Party answered its nation's call.

The problems of society, of justice and government are as resistant to absolute solution as they ever were. While recognizing this, we must bolster our confidence in progress in human affairs.

The Republican Party looks forward to the demands and challenges of the new decade. We believe that uncertainty should be the occasion for determination, not despair. Where others see crisis, we see opportunity; where others see malaise among the people, we see the failure of leadership.

Democratic stewardship has given us a government at odds with itself, a government that is immense but weak, a government that involves itself in nearly every problem imaginable. We have come to expect more and more from Government and less and less from ourselves. We have been brought to doubt our ability to nobly govern ourselves.

The Republican Party will provide leadership which draws consensus from confusion, leadership that recognizes the need for tolerance and flexibility within our own ranks, common sense leadership which refuses to allow the single issue to obscure the common purpose. But most importantly, the Republican Party will provide a vision of the future, a vision embodying ideals tempered by reality and bold in its hope for a revived America.

Some see Republican opportunity in the 1980's; Republicans see national opportunity. But America shall miss this opportunity if we fail in our duty to state the plain facts. The plain fact is that economic growth is not only possible, it is essential.

We cannot continue tax policies that discourage investment and depress employment. Policies that breed inflation and dependence and regulatory policy that handicaps productivity and initiative. It is a productive economy that provides a compassionate nation with the resources necessary to reach the disadvantaged.

The plain fact is that cheap, abundant, and secure energy is passing. We cannot continue with energy policies that discourage exploration and discovery. We have to find a realistic balance between environmental protection and energy production.

New bureaucracies and government control of future technologies is nothing more than abdication of the spirit of American innovation.

The plain fact is that society's well-being depends on the strength of American agriculture.

Yet inflation, high interest rates and explosive farm programs have crippled our agricultural economy. The farmers' return on investment is the lowest since the depression. The Republican Party recognizes the value of a strong family farm system. We recognize the need to be aggressive in developing new markets. We understand that American agriculture can only be healthy if it is open to opportunity.

The plain fact is that our national defense must remain strong enough to secure the respect for peace. At the same time, we believe in a foreign policy consistently open to the possibility of negotiation. Peace between nations, as well as individuals, must be founded upon restraint as well as trust, respect as well as affection. Friends should not be deceived, foes should not be underestimated, and potential friends should not be forgotten.

All the nations of the world must know what they can expect of us and what we expect of them.

The plain fact is that we will fail to realize our hopes for a more stable society if the institutions that stand between the individual and government are allowed to wither. We should nourish, not starve local institutions, whether they be religious, educational or political. The Republican Party believes that when the fabric of our society is woven of legalistic relationships, the result is

moral mediocrity. We are dedicated to the revitalization and preservation of community values.

I am confident that we can meet the challenges ahead but it will require, as Abraham Lincoln said, "the best cultivation of the physical world around us and beneath us and the spiritual world within us."

We seek a nation that secures the personal freedoms essential to human dignity. We seek a nation that never wavers in its commitment to equal rights, equal opportunities and equal justice. We seek a nation that conducts its political life in a spirit of mutual respect and good will.

Finally, we seek a nation that, as the beacon of freedom and hope, recovers its rightful influence in world events. Such a nation is truly a practical idea. We have the freedom to struggle to realize this vision or to do nothing.

I hope you will join with me and with my Party in dedicating ourselves to the America that is to be. (Standing ovation.)

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — Madam Chairman, I am honored to turn this gavel of this convention over to the first Temporary Chairwoman in the history of this Party, or any other Party, Senator Nancy Landon Kassebaum.

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN (Senator Nancy Landon Kassebaum). — Thank you, thank you very much.

I am very appreciative of my Escort Committee, the National Committeeman and the Committeewoman, Marynell Reece and Huck Boyd from Kansas, Congressman Keith Sebelius and, of course, my Senior Senator and a colleague that I am very proud of, Senator Bob Dole.

Thank you.

The Chair now recognizes, for the purpose of making an introduction, Senator William Cohen from the State of Maine.

Senator Cohen.

SENATOR COHEN. — Four years ago, during the Presidential campaign, I experienced the sensation of walking through a maze of mirrors where reality could not be distinguished from reflection and where the multiplication of reflection produced a sense of disorientation and confusion. President Ford was running two-to-one behind a formerly obscure Governor from Georgia who promised that he would balance the Federal budget, cut Federal spending, reduce the size of the Federal bureaucracy and maintain a strong national defense.

Perhaps Republicans should have been flattered that our platform and philosophy were being plagiarized and promoted by the Democratic candidate. But while Republicans were being flattered, the American people were being fooled. What they were promised they did not receive, and what they saw they did not get. And the broken promises of this Administration stand stacked upon each other like so much refuse waiting to be collected.

THE HONORABLE NANCY LANDON KASSEBAUM of Kansas
Temporary Chairman of the Convention

World events have dominated our thoughts in recent months, as well they should. And the global landscape is littered with the bones of our failure of analysis or our failure of action. Our allies have lost faith in the American strength and leadership. They now treat us with either open contempt or undisguised ridicule, and we insist that a separate detente for Europe is but a code word for the cultivation of appeasement.

But our fall from a position of real and perceived strength has not been confined to foreign affairs. The same inconsistency, indecision and paralyzation of thought and action has afflicted our domestic policy as well. The budget has not been balanced, Federal spending has not been reduced, and the bureaucracy has continued to grow.

While American productivity was declining because of a lack of capital investment, expansion and modernization, President Carter proposed a $50 tax rebate for every family. He then turned to attacking lawyers and doctors on the "three-martini lunch". When each of these proposals predictably failed to cure our economic difficulties, he fired his Cabinet, he blamed the American people, and he said we were suffering from a deep malaise.

I say this by way of introduction of our speaker this evening because the level of frustration and discontent over what has happened to our country for the past three and a half years has soared so high that some are saying that the center can no longer hold, and in poet Yeats' words, that "The best lack all conviction, while the worst are full of passionate intensity."

One of the best is here tonight. As all of us know, he is not lacking in conviction. It is his conviction that the American tradition has offered each individual the idea of hard work, competitive achievement and self-fulfillment and freedom and that that freedom is being destroyed by oppressive taxes and a government that is growing more arrogant and authoritarian every day.

Our former Secretary of Treasury believes that America's strength and greatness are found in an opportune society and not a guaranteed society, in a work-oriented country and not a welfare state, and that we should reward those who save and invest and produce and not passively watch them being ground into submission under the boot heel of a collectivism mentality.

It has been said, ladies and gentlemen, that the world is too dangerous a place for anything but the truth. Bill Simon believes more passionately than any person that I know that it is a time for truth, that we cannot continue to lurch from crisis to crisis and drift toward economic catastrophe, that we have to reset our sails and return to a course that does not change whenever the shift in prevailing winds of popular opinion occurs. We have to develop and maintain a coherent and cohesive economic philosophy that is not marked by frenzy one day and by despair on the next.

Ladies and gentlemen, the American people do not want leaders who will tell them only what they want to hear, but, rather, those who will tell them what they have to know. And they do not want leaders who will hold a wet

finger in the air or harbor a professional pollster in the White House. They want good judges of the public interest, not good judges of popular opinion.

So it is a great personal honor for me to introduce to you tonight a man who believes that the American people must be told the truth and that the time for truth is now. Please join me in welcoming William E. Simon.

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE WILLIAM E. SIMON FORMER SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

MR. SIMON. — Ladies and gentlemen, fellow Republicans, fellow Americans, there is much bad news as we meet here this evening. In just three years Jimmy Carter has driven our economy to the edge of crisis. But, my friends, there is also great good news, and that is in six months' time he will be gone. (Applause.)

Yes, in six months' time, with the support of the American people, we will have a new Congress, and there, working at their side, a new President, Ronald Reagan. (Applause.)

In six months' time we will have strong, steady hands at the helm, and in six months' time we can finally begin the reverse course.

That is the vision that draws us here tonight united, together, forging a new beginning.

But let me open this convention with a solemn warning. The hour is late and the crisis is near, and only with a united effort can we pull ourselves back from the brink.

My friends, this is a time for truth, and the truth is that our economy — once the wonder of mankind — is in a deplorable state. The massive failures of the past are now apparent. So, too, are the sham and the deceit of the politicians in Washington who have insisted that we could live beyond our means year in, year out, and never pay a price. But now the piper has come to be paid, and his price is very high indeed.

The tragedy is that four years ago we were beginning to move in the right direction. Our economic ship of state had encountered some rough seas, but we were sailing into smooth waters. Yes, because Gerald Ford had given us leadership, he had worked so hard and avoided all the easy answers, there was a fresh buoyancy coming into American life.

Four years ago, the inflation rate was only 4.8 percent, and was coming down. Interest rates were coming down. Employment was going up. And our overseas trade was coming into balance. But candidate Jimmy Carter said that wasn't good enough. Up and down the land he excoriated Gerald Ford and vowed he would change things.

Well, he sure did change things, all right. As soon as Jmmy Carter got his hands on our economy, everything that was going up started coming down and everything that was going down went through the roof.

Now, at first one could be forgiving with all of this fumbling and bumbling. After all, the Carter team came in with precious little experience. Why, it even took them six months to figure out that the West Bank wasn't one of Bert Lance's creditors out in Chicago. But now they have had their chance and they blew it. Surely this Administration will go down in history as the worst stewards of the American economy in our lifetime.

And I say to you tonight that the time has come to clean house in Washington, D.C.

The sad truth, my friends, is that the trail from Plains to the White House is littered with broken promises and broken dreams.

As a candidate, Jimmy Carter promised he would never raise taxes. As President, he has raised taxes more than any President in our history. Candidate Carter promised he would hold down Federal spending. President Carter has increased spending more than any other President in our history. In just the past four years, Washington has pumped out more money than in the first 175 years of our history combined.

Candidate Carter promised he would balance the budget. President Carter has produced larger deficits than any other president in our history. Today our national debt is one-third higher than the day he was elected.

Sometimes, my friends, I think that Mr. Carter has the Midas touch in reverse. Everything he touches turns to mush.

But let me assure that in the coming weeks, as the election draws near, White House trumpets are going to surely blare forth the many accomplishments of this Administration, and no doubt the taxpayers will wind up paying for the trumpets as well.

But the American people are not going to be easily fooled. They know full well the despair and disillusionment that these years have brought. They know full well the yoke they have borne. In the past four years, we have endured the worst inflation rates in our history, the worst interest rates since the Civil War, the worst rates of personal savings in 33 years, the worst leap in unemployment since the great Depression, the worst blows to our housing and auto industries in memory.

Ladies and gentlemen, four years ago Jimmy Carter asked us, "Why Not The Best?" Well, I ask you tonight, why in heaven's name should anyone now vote for four more years of the worst?

Now, Mr. Carter's secret hope in this election is to persuade people that no one in Washington can do any better and that inflation and unemployment are beyond control. He has become a master at lowering our expectations, and given his record, I can see why.

But we have to burn away the fog he has created to lift people's eyes to the uplands that lie before us and to illuminate the path to the top.

Let Mr. Carter continue to offer his counsel of despair. We shall be the party of confidence and of hope. And let me assure you our hopes aren't unreal. Just look overseas at the West Germans and Japanese — vibrant, living proof that prosperity is still possible in today's world.

Now, you might ask why they have succeeded where we have failed. The answer, ladies and gentlemen, is simple — because they have strong leaders and have adhered to sound economic principles. That is exactly the prescription we must follow — to put a strong leader back in the White House and sound principles back into our economic life.

There are five principles that I believe must prevail in the 1980's. First, Washington must learn to live within its means. A balanced budget, coupled with firm statutory limits on spending must be imposed because only by holding down the cost of government can we hold down the cost of living.

Second, we must moderate the growth of money supply. Over the past two decades the irresponsible spending policy of the Congress has forced our Federal Reserve system to become a powerful engine of inflation.

Third, we must enact a continuing series of tax reductions, reductions aimed not only at bringing the American people well earned relief from the burdens of higher and higher taxes but also directed at increasing capital investment and creating new jobs.

Fourth, we must rein in the army of regulators who have camped too long on the banks of the Potomac.

And, finally, we must regain control over our energy destiny. For more than a quarter of a century we have been trying to live in an energy dream world, a world where the Government could artificially depress prices and yet guarantee plentiful supplies, a world where industry was expected to produce new supplies, even though its hands were tied, and a world where consumers could have as much as they wanted.

In the next four years, we must snap out of that dream world. And while we are at it, let's finish the job by getting rid of the Department of Energy. For too long we have been stopped dead in our tracks by a bunch of bureaucrats who wouldn't recognize a barrel of crude oil if they fell in it.

Now, with these five principles as our guide, I believe we as Republicans can go to the rest of the country and we can say, this is a sound program. This is a good program, a program that will reindustrialize America. Yes, unlike the Carter Administration, we haven't abandoned our dreams. This is a program that can once again turn those dreams into a living reality for all Americans — and believe me, I mean all Americans — because the prosperity that we seek is a shared prosperity, touching the lives of everyone from the bottom to the top.

Fellow Republicans, in this election year, let us reach out to all of our people and ask them to join us as partners, crusaders, if you will, bent on reviving America, a new spirit of enterprise, and bent on restoring America's

proud place in the world. And with the help of the united people, let me assure you it can be done.

After all, the fight to restore fiscal sanity to our national Government and to overcome stagflation is above all a fight for the freedom, the dignity and the prosperity of all Americans.

Now, Americans are a practical and compassionate people, and that is why it is vital to broaden public understanding of the misguided policies that hobble American productivity and to demonstrate that those who have the most to gain from an economic revival are the poor and the elderly, the sick and the disadvantaged.

Now we are repeatedly told there are no simple solutions. Well, there are, and there always have been. And the answer lies in the ballot box. All we have to do is to bring back into power those who are committed to the American dream. All we have to do is to elect to high office those who understand that we ourselves are responsible for our own conditions, those who understand the linkage between economic freedom and our precious political freedoms, those who understand that private enterprise is the source of all of our abundance. And to others who engage in a worldwide "Knock America" campaign, those that insist our decline is inevitable, let us say remember the resilience of our people. Sure, we have our problems. But all the single — and I might say simple-minded focus on these problems without an appreciation of our great strength is dead wrong. No, our greatest strength remains our people whose courage, determination, initiative and compassion were born and sustained on the crest of our traditional freedoms. And our people need only to be reawakened to claim our greatness as a nation.

But when our leadership says America is weak, that we lack confidence, how can we appear strong? When the people we elect are inexperienced and weak, how can we be brave and innovative? When the policies our elected politicians pursue are aimed at media victories and triumphs in *Time* magazine, how can we survive and prosper? And when the sole objective of government policy is the reelection of politicians, who will speak up for our children?

No, what we need more than anything else in Washington are men and women in office who understand that their first responsibility is not to themselves, but to the next generation. (Applause.)

We need leaders who are dedicated to a single goal, and that goal is to turn our country over to our children and our children's children, a country that is stronger and better economically and financially, morally and spiritually than the one that we inherited. That is the sacred mission upon which we are embarked as a party. That is the mission that we begin here in Detroit. And that is the mission of the Reagan Administration. (Applause.)

Now, deep within all of us we know that we face difficult choices as a nation. The irrational, unrealistic policies of the past have so damaged our economy that unless we soon reverse course, financial collapse is probable before

this century is out. Even now I am not sure that we can avoid the many tragic consequences of our past actions. But let us make no mistake. The longer we delay making the hard choices, the less likely we are to succeed. Much is at stake, much more than simply our material well-being. Our national security is on the line.

Now, America remains the hope and the inspiration of a free people everywhere. But let us remember that only if we are strong at home can we be strong abroad, because never in the history of nations has a country that is weak internally been able to maintain a posture of strength externally. Beyond that lies an even more profound issue, whether freedom itself will survive, because ultimately the greatest threat posed by the mistakes of the past is to our personal liberty. The fundamental decision we Americans must make in 1980 is whether we will surrender the liberty that is the envy of the world, in exchange for the hollow promises of the welfare state or whether we will restrict Government to a more limited and proper role.

And yes, we must tell our critics we must tell those apologists for big government who characterize our fight for liberty as reactionary, that in the long trail of history, coercion has always been the great reactionary force and liberty has been progressive. We must tell them that the twin ideas of human liberty and the free market were born only yesterday. We must tell them that allowing millions upon millions of individuals to pursue their material interest with minimal interference from the state will unleash an incredible and orderly output of innovation and wealth.

Finally, we must tell them that today a lack of vision now threatens to extinguish the brightest light ever to appear in the long night of tyranny and privation that is the history of the human race. Yes, ladies and gentlemen, we must tell them about America. Thank you. (Applause.)

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — The chair now recognizes Senator Jake Garn from the State of Utah for the purpose of making an introduction.

SENATOR GARN. — Madam Chairwoman, my distinguished Senate colleague from Kansas, whom I also have the opportunity to serve on the Senate Banking Committee with, fellow Delegates, Alternates, guests and friends of the Republican Party: I welcome this opportunity to add my congratulations to those who have gathered here for this great convention, at a time when the Republican Party is at the threshold of a great new era.

We stand as a party united and eager to bring new leadership to this great nation of ours. This will be a Republican year because it is time for a change. This country simply cannot afford four more years of Jimmy Carter.

It is my honor to introduce to you one of the Republican Party's most prominent young advocates of change and a man who well represents the kind of leadership our Party offers to the country in the 1980's. The depth of this man's experience is enormous. In his 48 years, he has met and mastered challenges across the broad range of business, government and politics. He served four

terms in the U. S. House of Representatives, having been elected for the first time in 1962 at the age of 30.

In 1969, he resigned from Congress to become a member of the President's Cabinet and served as Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

In 1971, he was appointed Director of the Cost of Living Council where he learned first hand the dangers of excessive Government interference in our free market system.

In 1973, he became U. S. Ambassador to NATO, returning the following year to protect and direct Gerald Ford's transition to the Presidency, and then served President Ford as White House Chief of Staff and a member of his Cabinet.

In 1975, he became the 13th Secretary of Defense. He is the youngest man to have ever served in that capacity, and he was the first Secretary of Defense to reverse the trend of a declining commitment of real resources to national defense.

Unfortunately, a change in the Presidency put an end to that hopeful development in 1977, and a change in the Presidency is what is needed to turn it back the other direction.

Since June of 1977, he has been the successful Chief Executive Officer of a major international business where he has been widely recognized for his ability and his excellence. He is a young man of vast experience, a man with a message, a man whom we should all listen to. He is a man that I am very proud to introduce, our next speaker, the Honorable Donald Rumsfeld.

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE DONALD H. RUMSFELD FORMER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

MR. RUMSFELD. — Thank you, delegates to this Republican Convention, Reverend Billy Graham, ladies and gentlemen. Senator Jake Garn, I thank you for your introduction.

I thank you for your outstanding contribution to our country. Everyone in this hall values your service to the Nation and wishes you well in your reelection to the United States Senate.

There was a time when there was little doubt about America's future. Our house was in reasonable order, and we were hard at the task of strengthening our national defense. We had every prospect as a Nation of ensuring peace and stability.

The President was then Gerald R. Ford, and he was a terrific one. Today, four years later, Mr. Carter is President and our situation is vastly different. We are here tonight because the time for this Presidential term is running out. You have heard proposals to increase the President's term to six years. The best argument I know against the six-year term is sitting in the White House

tonight. Mr. Carter's time in the White House must end. It must end because it is risking our future. It must end because it was a mistake. In fact, the Presidency of Jimmy Carter has been one enormous mistake.

It has been a mistake that we in this hall and all Americans must not allow to be repeated. Look at our world. We see peace threatened, our defenses weakened, the military balance tipped, the Soviet Union and its agents from Cuba and Vietnam expand, exploit, invade, and repress.

In Eastern Europe, in Asia, in Africa, in Latin America, and in the Middle East, in many parts of this dangerous and untidy world, freedom is on the run.

When the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan, Mr. Carter said that we were facing the gravest crisis since World War II. He is correct — although it is not clear to me that he understands quite why. I don't believe that even now he realizes that our margin for error is gone.

If there is a message I would leave tonight, for everything I know and have experienced, it is that the margin for error for the United States of America has disappeared.

In an earlier period we could make some mistakes, but our abundance of political, economic and military power would absorb our errors. Our country had a margin for error. If we mismanaged relations with our allies, it could be absorbed in a reservoir of good will. An error in an arms negotiation or an unwise defense cut by the Congress could be absorbed because of our vast military power. No one mistake could tip the scale because we still had a margin.

But with that margin gone, Presidents, the Congress, allies, each of us, is called upon for a higher standard of wisdom and insight. The casual priorities of an earlier period, a more forgiving period, will no longer do.

In the 1930s, the world was in danger and the West stood unprepared. One man rose up in dissent. The balance of power, he said, was shifting. Weakness, he warned, could one day lead to conflict. Beware the gathering storm. But his fellow citizens did not listen until it was too late. Only then, 40 years ago this summer, was that man of vision, Winston Churchill, called forward. Free people have long regretted that his warnings went unheeded.

Today it is not one man, but one party, our Party, that is sounding the warning. And the American people know what is right and they know that on this crucial issue the Carter Administration is wrong.

The first task of government is to provide for the security of its people. Adequate national security is not our only goal as a people; we have higher purposes. But without it, without a healthy deterrent, none of our other goals or hopes is possible.

The most significant world event in the past 35 years has been the massive shift in power, military power, away from the United States to the Soviet Union. That shift, long in coming, is today injecting a fundamental instability into the world equation.

It is not mere coincidence that political and economic anarchy has grown in direct proportion to the decline of America's strength and of America's leadership. Our weakness today is provoking predator nations to act out their worst instincts, and it is provoking those among our friends and allies who once looked to America to attempt to steer their own course.

The Carter Administration represents a dangerous and embarrassing episode in our country's history. It has been wrong, wrong not simply because they cancelled the B-1, delayed the MX, slashed the Navy shipbuilding program and still today refuse to pay adequate wages to the men and women of our armed services, all of which it has done and done despite intelligence information which has been uniformly adverse to the United States. There are other compelling reasons why this period has been so damaging. The Soviet Union has spent for its military in current dollars some $200 billion more than the United States over a decade.

Democratic Congresses have cut more than $40 billion from three Presidents' defense budgets. And in the face of all this, the Carter Administration came into office pledging to cut, and it has cut $38 billion from the last Republican defense program.

The result is that the Soviet Union today is spending $50 billion more than the United States each year for ships, guns, tanks and planes. Even after Afghanistan, Mr. Carter's defense budget buys fewer naval aircraft than we lose each year through accidents and attrition. The Soviet Union is engaged in the most massive arms buildup in the peacetime history of mankind. I know that numbers can be difficult, but think of the weight and momentum of that effort. Think of the options those capabilities provide.

One of the reasons we face a gathering storm is that Mr. Carter is perhaps the most naive President in modern times. The things we need to keep the peace have been unilaterally scuttled and nothing, not one concession, has been received in exchange. You know, it has been said by columnists, it has even been said by members of Mr. Carter's own political party, that the Carter Administration is the surprised Administration — surprised when the Russians invaded Afghanistan, surprised that the Russians lied to us, surprised the first time our Embassy in Iran was seized, surprised the second time our Embassy in Iran was seized. Mr. Carter was even surprised to discover how his own Ambassador voted on Israel in the United Nations, or so he says.

I submit that those who campaigned in 1976 to reduce our national security investment, who, despite repeated warnings from all sides, have mindlessly presided over the weakening of our security, cannot not be entrusted with our future. A man who has been sleepwalking for four years of America's decline cannot now be entrusted to wake up and open his eyes in the next four years.

Our problems as a nation can still be managed. They must be managed. But the time for correction is short. The fact — and it is a fact — that Mr. Carter

cannot lead or govern successfully does not mean that the American people will not respond to leadership. America can be governed. America can be led. And it will be led when we elect Governor Ronald Reagan president of the United States.

And we will have leadership that knows that the first requirement of a great nation's foreign policy is that there be one.

We will have steady leadership, leadership that will not, by lack of clarity or comprehension, by understatement, or overcommitment, risk miscalculation of friend or adversary; leadership that knows, as night follows day, that nothing endangers our freedom, our independence, our hopes, indeed nothing risks peace as inexorably and inevitably as the steady erosion of American strength; and leadership that will negotiate, as we should, from a position of strength, not weakness.

In closing, honorable people can differ as to the reasons which led us to this situation. But given the velocity of world events, who among us really believes that the Carter Administration is capable of getting us out of it? We will be condemned in history and should be condemned if through indecision or misdirection we as a people let peace perish. There is nothing in Providence to assure our security in freedom. But there is everything in the will, the resources and the history of the American people to show that we can rise to the task.

Those in this hall and listening across the nation join with us as we reach out to all Americans and join with us as we go out from this convention determined to earn the right to govern this great country once again.

Thank you and good night. (Applause.)

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — Ladies and gentlemen, your attention please.

(A film was shown at this time covering the life of The Honorable Gerald R. Ford.)

VOICE. — Ladies and gentlemen, the 38th President of the United States, Gerald R. Ford and Betty Ford. (Applause, standing ovation and cheers.)

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE GERALD R. FORD FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

PRESIDENT FORD. — Please sit down.

Betty and I are deeply grateful for your wonderful, wonderful welcome and for your many, many kindnesses and we are especially grateful for your friendship. Our country and our Party have given us every honor that any two people could hope for. We thank you from the bottom of our hearts.

It's good to be home in Michigan. Governor, we are proud of this great State and thank you for this wonderful welcome.

Some call me an elderly statesman. I don't know. I don't mind telling you that I am not ready to quit yet. (Applause and cheers.)

I've got good news for this Convention and for Jimmy Carter, this Republican is going to do everything in his power to elect our nominee to the Presidency of the United States. (Applause and cheers.)

We've got a lot of work to do and you are looking at one volunteer who will try harder, work longer, and speak with more conviction to get this country a confident President again. (Applause and cheers.)

Elder statesmen are supposed to sit quietly and smile wisely from the sidelines. I have never been much for sitting. I have never spent much time on the sidelines, but I will tell you that this country means too much to me to comfortably park on the bench. So when you and this great convention field your team for Governor Reagan, count me in.

Four years ago all of us were given a new measure of Presidential effectiveness. It was called Misery Index. In 1976, candidate Carter said, if you added up the unemployment rate and the inflation rate, you had a true measure of misery in America. He said then that the Misery Index was so high that the President ought to be removed from office. When I left the Presidency, the so-called Misery Index was 12 percent. Just two months under Carter, the Misery Index was 24 percent, twice as high.

That is twice the reasons Jimmy Carter has to go. But no statistics can tell the misery and depression of workers who have lost their jobs, no statistics can explain the fear of senior citizens whose life savings are gone, no statistics can relate the suffering of hostages who have lost their freedom. Statistics cannot explain the agony of allies who have lost their confidence in America, no statistics can tell the jeopardy of the nation whose leaders lose faith in their future.

This election may be the most important in the long and proud history of this country because our faith in ourselves is on the line, which means that our country is on the line. By his own statistics, Mr. Carter has failed. There is no alternative, he's got to go. We cannot take four more years like the last four. We cannot stand four more years of soaring inflation, sky-high interest rates, rising unemployment and shrinking take-home pay.

We cannot stake our survival on four more years of weak and wavering leadership with lagging defenses. We dare not fall another four years behind with dangerous dependence on foreign energy. We cannot sink helplessly into second rate status in this world with economic stagnation at home.

But let's talk about the future. We have had miseries before. We've always overcome before. We've always had the grit in every crisis to know this great Nation of ours can do anything that it sets its mind to. I know that Ronald Reagan believes that. Republicans, Democrats, most independents and most Americans believe that.

I don't know what the Carter Administration believes. They've sold America short. That's good enough reason to run them out of office in November.

Our confidence in the future is up to the leadership of this country. If our leaders are inept and timid, America will be inept and timid. If our leadership is bold and confident, America will be bold and confident and we will be successful.

You have heard all the Carter alibis: Inflation cannot be controlled; the world has changed; we can no longer protect our diplomats in foreign capitals nor our workingmen in assembly lines. We must lower our expectations, we must be realistic, we must prudently retreat. Baloney!!! (Applause and cheers.)

There is something seriously wrong with the White House leadership today. They have no faith in the people of this great country. Perhaps they believe that the American adventure is at an end. You and I know it is just beginning and it is going to get bigger and bigger and better and better in the years ahead.

The American people don't need any convincing that we are in trouble. We know that our Republican candidates can do a better job in the Presidency and in the Congress. We promise no more than we can deliver, but we deliver everything we promise. (Applause and cheers.)

We will be responsive and responsible in making this nation prosperous and strong again. We must adopt a party platform that faces facts, that will assure people that we understand and we will take prompt and practical action to deal successfully with the grave problems which the Carter Administration has created and ignored. We will be candid, consistent, and confident. There is nothing the American people cannot do when we try.

Our Republican Party endures so long as it speaks and acts for the American people who suffer in silence. During my term in office as your President, I learned once again the importance of knowing how to listen and what to do. We must keep our minds open as well as our ears.

In uniting our Party, let generosity and good will demonstrate for all to see that the Republican Party is capable of dealing justly and tolerantly with the dissenting minority opinion for this is crucial in governing a country.

It was my responsibility and my privilege to lead our Nation through a tragic and troubled time and to a third century of freedom. Faith in our heritage, in our record of achievement, and in our future was never more evident than during the Bicentennial celebration four years ago. That faith has been shaken, but we are still strong. Despite the doubletalking out of Washington, despite the setbacks that we have suffered, there is no doubt in my mind that we are going to dig in like we always have and get it done like we always have.

If there are some of you listening who have come to doubt the future of America, it is the result of leadership filled with its own self doubt that gives up before the battle has begun, leadership whose only answer is retreat.

They tell us it's just the harsh fact of today's economy that workers must give up their jobs. They tell us it is the inescapable price of this inflationary age that America's elderly must give up their savings. They tell us that America's young people must give up the dream of owning their own home. They tell us it is just a sign of the times that American industry must give up hope for growth and prosperity. They tell America's farmers they must give up all trade with the Soviet Union and the American Olympic team must give up their golden dream. How much better it would have been to have had the intelligence and the foresight to maintain our military strength to deter our adversaries before Afghanistan rather than to punish and penalize our own people after Afghanistan. (Applause.)

They give up and accept the unacceptable reality of a Soviet combat brigade in Cuba. They give up to Soviet and Cuban adventurism in Ethiopia, Cambodia, the Middle East and Central America. They give up to terrorism in Iran, Pakistan and Libya. They give up on plans to build up a stronger Navy. They give up the neutron bomb. They give up the B-1 bomber and then they say the SALT II Treaty they negotiated is necessary because we are so weak. I am not against the SALT II Treaty, but we'd better have one negotiated from strength. (Applause.)

Now, after four years of retreat before every challenge, Mr. Carter wants to be re-elected. He says, "Don't blame me. The problems are too tough, too serious, too complex for any President to do a good job." He asks the American people to be satisfied with good intentions. He says that the job is too big for any one person. He has given up on the Presidency and still wants the job.

Well, I know something about that, I have been there. (Applause and cheers.)

To give up on the Presidency is to give up on America. If Jimmy Carter doesn't feel up to the job, he shouldn't be in it.

You can ask the American people to sacrifice, but you cannot ask them to give up hope. When our President thinks our greatest days are behind us, is it so strange for the people to doubt the future? When America gets trimmed back to limited vision and limited skills in the White House, we've got the wrong President. We need a new one, a President who believes in America's future. (Applause and cheers.)

When the refugees from Vietnam, Cambodia, Cuba, and Haiti leave their oppression and squalor behind, where do they go? They come here because we offer freedom and opportunity and human dignity and those people know America's greatest days are still ahead of us.

We are a peaceful nation because we are a free, happy and united people in a system that works, unlike the Soviet Union which uses fear to keep a death grip on its people. It hasn't worked, and it won't work. The 60-year experiment in communism is a failure without a future. Our 200 years of freedom is man's most important achievement, and the best days in America are still to come.

Just look around the world and other nations, assassins who got there by force, despots who came to power by fear and not by free elections. Our leaders come from our people, a continuous constitutional line of men and women from our people from Grand Rapids, Michigan, from Plains, Georgia, and soon from Dixon, Illinois.

Let's never doubt America's greatness; let's have pride in it; let's embrace it. Let's start talking like winners and being winners. That is the real spirit of America. The America that overcame every obstacle to open our own West can overcome every obstacle to open new sources of energy for a safe future. The America that put a man on the moon in the sixties can put a man in a fuel-efficient car in the eighties.

The America that developed the destructive power of nuclear energy to end a world war can now safely harness the constructive power of nuclear energy to fuel our own land.

We launched the clipper ships that traded anywhere in the world; we can rebuild our industrial base to compete with anyone, anywhere. We nurtured a nation of Horatio Algers; we can sever today's red tape and regulation that is strangling business, big and small. We compassionately provided welfare for those who needed help. We must provide and safeguard the jobs of those who want to make it on their own. We made housing and voting rights and civil rights real for all our people. We must give them real economic opportunity in the future.

Our country that has met every generation's challenge of equal rights throughout its history can surely today meet the obligation to the mothers, the sisters, the wives and the daughters of this land.

Our country gave job opportunity to yesterday's workers. We can give security to them today as senior citizens. Our country that twice gave its sons and daughters for the peace of Europe can regain the confidence of our NATO allies. Our country that fought and won a global war can commit itself to a modern navy. Our country that has paid for the most sophisticated weapons in the history of mankind must pay our servicemen and women what they deserve for defending our country.

We have forged a giant government out of a compassion for the needy. Now we can trim that government out of compassion for the taxpayers. We controlled inflation four years ago. I know we can do it again.

I am an optimist. So is Governor Reagan. So are most Republicans. So are most Democrats. The choice before us is as clear as it is critical. When Mr. Carter looks to the future, he sees problems. He asks how much misery and humiliation will America accept? When we, the American optimists, look to the future, we see opportunities and ask how much excellence America will achieve.

If we believe in God and in ourselves, America's future can be as great as the glorious past. We just need to remember who we are: the most blessed, the

most creative, the freest, the most optimistic people on the face of the earth and we are going to stay that way in the future.

Last November 4th, more than fifty among us were taken hostage in Iran. This November 4th, with their tragedy burning in our conscience, we will vote to elect a new American President, and when we do, we are not going to give up on America's future. We are going to live up to America's greatness. America must lead again and with your help, we will.

Thank you very much. (Applause and cheers.)

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — Thank you, Mr. President. Thank you for a very dramatic and memorable launching of our 1980 Republican Convention.

The chair now recognizes our National Chairman, Bill Brock, and the chairman of the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee, Congressman Guy Vander Jagt, for the purpose of making a presentation.

CHAIRMAN BROCK. — Mr. President, what a fantastic speech. (Applause and cheers.)

I think it is his birthday, but he gave us a present and that is sort of nice.

On behalf of the Republican Party and the American people, we have a couple of presents for you.

Ladies and gentlemen, this man has had four loves in his life in these past few years. You know three of them, his country which honored him with the Presidency, his family which honors him with their love and his Party which has honored him with our nomination.

On behalf of his Party first, may I ask you, Mr. President, to accept on behalf of all of us this solid gold badge from the 1980 Convention.

His fourth love has been his dream of completing the Gerald Ford Library in Ann Arbor and Museum in Grand Rapids, Michigan, to house his Presidential papers.

We estimate he traveled over 700,000 miles to personally collect the $10.2 million for the library and museum. All but $500,000 has been raised. Never once has he ever asked us to write our Republican contributors for a penny of help, but Guy Vander Jagt and I know that the friends of Jerry Ford would like to say thank you, Mr. President, so we wrote them and the returns are starting to come in.

Guy?

MR. VANDER JAGT. — Mr. President, this is a presentation of the thousands upon thousands of birthday cards and contributions that have come pouring in for the Ford Library and Museum and the total now exceeds, Mr. President, $325,000 from the American people.

The greetings were still pouring in late this afternoon and we know that many more are still on their way because we know the American people realize

that in the rough and tumble that is American politics, criticism comes more often than praise, and we know that tens of thousands of American people will use your birthday, Mr. President, as the opportunity to let you know how much love and affection we feel for you and Betty and how deep is our gratitude and appreciation for all that you did for America.

This birthday greeting comes from the gratitude and love of the American people and the singing of "Happy Birthday" from this great convention for a wonderful person, a great President, our President, Jerry Ford. (Applause.)

(All joined in singing "Happy Birthday".)

PRESIDENT FORD. — Let me just express on behalf of Betty and myself to you, Bill Brock; to you, Guy Vander Jagt, to all of you wonderful people and delegates, to all of the wonderful friends throughout the United States, this has been a great birthday. I am deeply appreciative, Bill, for this convention medal and to you, Guy, and all who contributed and participated. From the bottom of my heart, I thank you. I can never repay you.

Thank you and good night. (Applause and cheers.)

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — Ladies and gentlemen, I am going to have to ask the Sergeant at Arms to clear the aisles because we will soon need the aisles clear for the evening's entertainment. Would you please clear the aisles?

The chair now recognizes Benjamin Fernandez of the State of California for the purpose of addressing the Convention. Mr. Fernandez?

THE HISPANIC COMMUNITY
BY BENJAMIN FERNANDEZ

MR. FERNANDEZ. — Buenas noches.

America is the greatest nation on earth. Its greatness comes from its people, the land, and the free enterprise system. It has permitted us all to enjoy the good life. All was going well until the tragedy of 1976 when the American people made a mistake and elected Jimmy Carter to the Presidency of the United States.

Jimmy Carter, James Earl Carter, is the most inept President of the 20th century. Under his administration, we have seen our country move to the brink of economic disaster. He and the Democratic Party must be held accountable for the events which have occurred since 1976. Earlier this year we saw inflation soar to a disastrous 20 percent, inflation which will return after the general election as a direct result of a bloated unbalanced budget.

The prime interest rate spiraled to a dazzling 20 percent and then triggered the Carter recession. As a result, approximately 1,800,000 Americans have lost their jobs in the last 90 days.

The President's inability to make our country self-sufficient in its energy needs best demonstrates the disaster known as the Carter Administration.

The inner city has not been rebuilt, the quality of education has diminished and unemployment is rising. America's dream under the Carter Administration is becoming a myth. A change in leadership is imperative.

Since 1976, the United States has been humiliated in the field of foreign affairs. We have seemed to have forgotten certain basic words so essential in maintaining a position of leadership among the family of nations: dignidad, respeto, honor; dignity, respect and honor. It is time to restore them as a way of life for the nation.

Is there any honor in the way Mr. Carter has dealt with Iran? No. The spectre of 52 Americans being held hostage by a fanatic Ayatollah Khomeini is an unreal situation which is compounded by an American President who lacks the will or the ability to make the hard decisions necessary to secure the safe release of our people.

Our defense preparedness is so bad that when the Soviets invaded Afghanistan all that Mr. Carter could do was to rattle a wooden sabre. Under his Administration, the United States has become a second-rate military power. The Soviets have four million people under arms, we have two million; they have five times more tanks than we do, and they are better than ours; they have a backfire bomber which flies circles around the antique B-52s. Where is the B-1 bomber whose production was terminated by Jimmy Carter? The Soviets' navy in quantity and quality is in an upward trend, ours is in a downward trend. The U. S., in order to survive, must maintain a position of economic and military superiority at all times.

Perhaps the most appalling situation in foreign affairs is the communist movement in the Western Hemisphere.

During the past three years, Marxist Communist governments have been created throughout the Caribbean, all influenced by Fidel Castro of Cuba, and the first Soviet satellite in Central America was established in 1979 when Jimmy Carter withdrew economic and military aid from the Government of Nicaragua.

Nicaragua today is a Marxist nation, the first of the dominoes in Central America to fall. It is frightening when the future of the United States lies with the countries of the Western Hemisphere. We are tied together geographically, economically, culturally. We must move in this direction. We have no alternative. Our nation today is being surrounded across our soft underbelly by a direct communist movement and Jimmy Carter is sound asleep in the oval office. No one seems to care.

The United States is fortunate to have a leader who does care, a man who has the ability, the determination to move the nation out of the wilderness, Governor Ronald Reagan. America needs a President who can inspire its citizens, who can motivate us and get us to move, a President who can move us to patriotic heights, a President who can guide America into a renaissance of spirit reestablishing those four great economic values, the work ethic, freedom

of choice, opportunity, the free enterprise system. That man is Ronald Reagan. (Applause and cheers.)

We can make the American dream a reality once again. We Americans dream of a decent job and a decent income to raise our families, a decent home in which to live and decent educational opportunities for all. A marvelous dream which has been all but shattered.

Governor Reagan believes that these goals are achievable by way of the private sector and certainly the 1980 Republican Platform reflects this view. He has the ability to gather us together, to move us together to vote together, for the Republican Party is truly the party of the open door.

Under his direction and the National Republican Heritage Groups Council we can look forward to an intense campaign in the fall by American ethnics such as the Asians, Armenians, Croatians, the Greeks, the Italians, the Poles, the Ukrainians, the Hungarians, the Baltic groups, the American Indians and others, a special effort must be made to attract Black America into our Party. They have been betrayed by Jimmy Carter with his false hopes for jobs, education and housing. It is inconceivable to me that they would support him this fall after such a betrayal. We must give them hope. They must be assured that under Governor Reagan's administration they can make it also in this great country that we all love so well. Come home, come home, it is time to come back to the Republican Party.

And certainly the fastest growing ethnics, the Hispanics, must be motivated to vote for Ronald Reagan. Gubernatorial elections in New Jersey and New York clearly demonstrate that when Republican candidates spend the time and the money to woo these beautiful conservative hard-working Americans, they vote Republican. It is a golden opportunity for the GOP and, of course a marvelous opportunity for the Republican National Hispanic Assembly. I for one dedicate myself to the election of Ronald Reagan to the Presidency of the United States. He is the man who can restore order to chaos, who can make us all proud that we are Americans who truly believe that the free enterprise system is as viable today as ever. As you return to your homes after this convention, I urge you to think of Ronald Reagan and all of the leadership that he stands for, and, at the same time, think of the American Eagle for they are inseparable; they are one and the same, strong, tough, free, and proud. I know that with your help and with the help of God in 1980 Ronald Reagan shall be elected the next President of the United States.

Muchisimas gracias. Vaya con dios.

Thank you. (Applause and cheers.)

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — Thank you very much, Mr. Fernandez, for your usual stirring speech.

Would the aisles be cleared?

Ladies and gentlemen, please take your seats.

The Vermont delegation is all in its seats — or is that Nebraska.

Please take your seats. Ladies and gentlemen, the chair now recognizes Mayor Vincent A. Cianci, Jr., City of Providence, and the next Governor from the State of Rhode Island, for the purpose of addressing the Convention.

REMARKS BY THE HONORABLE VINCENT A. CIANCI, JR. MAYOR OF THE CITY OF PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND

MAYOR CIANCI. — Thank you.

Delegates, friends, Republicans and fellow Americans, greetings from the great State of Rhode Island and the proudest city in America, the City of Providence.

Before I go any further with my remarks, I want to say how proud I am as an urban ethnic Republican Mayor and as an American to stand here tonight on the same podium where on Wednesday night my Party will nominate the next President of the United States, Ronald Reagan.

We are here in the shadow of Detroit's Renaissance Center to mark the beginning of a new Republican Party and a new beginning for all Americans, a new beginning that will draw its strength from the farms of the West, from the small towns of the South, and from the ethnic urban centers of the East, where my constituents from the rich cultural cities like Woonsocket, Pawtucket, and Providence cry out for leadership from a President, a President who promised plums four years ago and delivered us peanuts instead.

During the three and a half years of the Carter Administration, inflation has soared out of control, victimizing not only the wage earner, but especially the elderly who live on fixed incomes in our cities. Unemployment has soared, inflicting hardship, especially upon the unskilled minorities who live in our cities. Government spending has soared, creating a new class of poor, the middle class.

First the Democrats took their votes. Then they took these groups for granted.

If a Carter Democrat asks what is up, tell him — prices, unemployment, inflation, taxes, and the tenure of the President of the United States, the one who made it all happen.

This is my sixth year in the office of Mayor of the City of Providence. This city that I love is the core of an industrialized metropolitan area, with nearly a million people, with strong Democrat leanings. I can tell you they didn't need public opinion surveys or statistics or an economics professor to tell them the state of our state is the same as the state of our nation.

Our economy is in trouble. People are frightened about their future. They are frightened when Americans can no longer do what they want to do. They cannot buy a home or heat it. They cannot buy a car or keep it fueled. They

cannot afford to feed their families. They cannot afford to educate their children. This is not what America is all about.

What happened to this land of opportunity our forefathers migrated to and succeeded so well in? They would not tolerate this condition in the country they helped build. No longer can we tolerate it. No longer will we tolerate it. Concerned Democrats wouldn't tolerate it, and we as Republicans surely won't tolerate it any longer.

When the history is written about this election year, it will be noted that 1980 was the Democrats' 1932.

The Carter Administration has done no better in the field of foreign affairs. Our missile policy is misguided. The Arabs have us over a barrel, and the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty is not worth a grain of salt.

I have heard that a new Japanese geography book describes the United States as that place across the ocean where Datsuns, Toyotas and Sonys go. Worse yet, we have a jobs flight from America to countries spread around the globe. And I tell you that you don't have to leave Detroit to find that the Americans who are in the labor movement know that, too. America cannot survive unless American businesses, large, medium and small, have an opportunity to be competitive, an opportunity to conduct their business and provide jobs for our citizens with Government as their partner, not their adversary.

In addition, our foreign policy has become a game of the ins and outs. The Russians are still in Afghanistan, the hostages are still in Iran, and our athletes are out of the Olympics.

No wonder why they call it foreign policy. The President has pursued a policy that is foreign to our national interest, foreign to logic, and foreign to common sense.

Yes, it may seem like we have lost confidence in America. I sense a new alignment in the eighties. Republicans will regain the cities and Carter Democrats will run well only where the population is dense — from the neck up.

During the past three-and-a-half years, America has experienced two energy crises — one at the gas pump and the other in the White House. Neither should be allowed to continue. The Republicans have a remedy for both. His name is Ronald Reagan.

Let us go forward with a renewed sense of purpose and dedication, not only for our Party, but for our country; not only to win an election, but to win the hearts of our countrymen. Let us go forward, building a new coalition of concern that will demonstrate to all Americans that America is more important than the politics that now divide us. America is waiting to follow us and be a part of us if we but ask. Their dreams are our dreams. Their hopes are our hopes. Their future is our future. Their America is our America. And let it be known that when the mantle of leadership is passed from one party to the other in November, our victory will be their victory, too.

Thank you all very much. (Applause.)

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — Thank you very much, Mayor Cianci. Next year I am sure you will be the Governor from the State of Rhode Island.

If the aisles could please be cleared a bit more for the evening's entertainment to follow. Impromptu entertainment is entertainment that is fun.

Ladies and gentlemen, a great many friends of the Republican Party have come to this convention tonight especially to speak to us in the ways that they know best, through words and music. They have come to share their pride and enthusiasm. This program is called, appropriately, "Together . . . A New Beginning". And those are truly exciting words for all of us. Look at your program and look at some of the marvelous diversity of America's past, present and future.

SPECIAL THEME PRESENTATION

The Delegates, Alternates, guests and news media representatives were entertained for one hour by the following program: "Together . . . A New Beginning" with Susan Anton, Vikki Carr, Mike Connors, Buddy Ebsen, Dorothy Hamill, Gordie Howe, Michael Landon, Vicki Lawrence, Wayne Newton, Donny & Marie Osmond, Richard Petty, Ginger Rogers, Jimmy Stewart, Lyle Waggoner, and Efrem Zimbalist, Jr. Produced by Syd Vinnedge. Production Consultant, Art Fisher. Written by Rod Warren. Song: "Together . . . A New Beginning" by Lieutenant Governor Curb of California.

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — Ladies and gentlemen, the chair recognizes the City Councilman Aaron Johnson from the State of North Carolina for the purpose of addressing the Convention.

Will you please stand for the benediction?.

BENEDICTION

BY

AARON JOHNSON
Member of the City Council of
Fayetteville, North Carolina

May we prepare now for the benediction. It has been a good day, a long, hard day, but we Republicans would not leave here without thanking God for the way He has blessed us today.

We feel in our hearts that it is a new beginning. Almighty and wise God, we are one nation under God, with liberty and justice for all. We stand at this moment to reaffirm our faith in Your holy will, as the one in whom we have placed our full trust. You are the supreme ruler of this universe, worthy of our praises. Your government is just. Your laws are perfect, just, good and righteous. Your love for Your children is unfailing. Bless this day as we bring it to a

close. If we were wrong in any of our decisions, correct us. If we made any mistakes, forgive us. It is our desire, our Heavenly Father, that You would make this convention and this Republican Party an instrument of Your divine will, for righteousness exhorts a nation, but sin is a reproach.

As we assemble here in this arena, named in honor of a great champion, Joe Louis, we pray that You will make us champions, too. Make us champions of those eternal values that have sustained this Nation in peace and war. Make us still champions for liberty, justice and freedom for all. Make us, please, dear God, champions of the worth and dignity of individuals created in Your own image. Give us the strength to stand up for the principles of equal opportunity for every man, woman and child in the land of the brave. We ask now that You would bless Your servant, Ronald Reagan. Make him a champion and a winner of the people. America needs a champion. Grant him courage, wisdom, knowledge, and understanding. America, in one of its darkest hours, needs a champion of the people, a man after God's own heart. Be with him, we pray, all the way.

Now, above all we thank You for the gift of life.

Life is the most precious thing we have. Protect the lives of the born and the unborn, who were conceived in this free land, in a world where it seems that freedom is threatened from within and without.

God give America the strength and the will to maintain a strong defense that freedom might be preserved. But of course we know that our strongest defense is our strong faith in Thee. Tonight, God bless America, the land that we love. Stand beside her and guide her through the night from above. Amen.

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — The chair recognizes the distinguished Congressman from Louisiana, the Honorable Bob Livingston, for the purpose of offering a motion to adjourn.

MR. LIVINGSTON. — Madam Chairman, I move that the convention adjourn until 5:00 o'clock p.m., Tuesday, July 15, 1980.

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — Without objection, the previous question is ordered.

The question occurs on the motion of the Delegate from Louisiana.

All those in favor of the motion signify by saying aye. (Chorus of ayes.).

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — All those opposed? (No response.)

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — The ayes have it and the motion is agreed to.

The convention is adjourned until 5:00 p.m., Tuesday, July 15.

Good night.

Whereupon, at 12:00 Midnight, the Republican National Convention adjourned to reconvene at 5:00 p.m., Tuesday, July 15, 1980.

THIRD SESSION

TUESDAY, JULY 15, 1980

(At 5:00 p.m., The Temporary Chairman of the Convention, The Honorable Nancy Kassebaum, United States Senator from Kansas, presided. The Delegates, Alternates and guests were entertained by the official Convention Orchestra, under the direction of Manny Harmon, and the Republican Glee Club of Columbus, Ohio, prior to the start of the session.)

CALL TO ORDER

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — The Third Session of the 1980 Covention of the Republican Party is hereby called to order.

PRESENTATION OF THE COLORS

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — Our colors will be presented by the Shafer Rachelle Veterans of Foreign Wars, Post 678 of Detroit.

(The Colors were presented.)

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — The Pledge of Allegiance will now be led by Don Defore of California.

MR. DEFORE. — Good afternoon, fellow delegates. I want you to know that I deem it an honor and a pleasure to have been asked to lead you today in the Pledge of Allegiance to that beautiful flag, a symbol of this great country of ours, a country that allows Delegates such as we in its free election process to gather once again, four years after Kansas City, for our great second chance to nominate our candidate and to give our candidate that great second chance.

So will you join me in the Pledge of Allegiance.

(Don Defore led the Assembly in the Pledge of Allegiance to the flag.)

THE NATIONAL ANTHEM

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — The chair now recognizes Judith Dow of Detroit for the singing of the National Anthem.

(The National Anthem was sung by Judith Dow of Michigan.)

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — The chair now recognizes Bishop Timothy of the Greek Orthodox Church in Detroit for the purpose of the invocation, followed by a moment of silence for the hostages in Iran.

INVOCATION

BY

HIS EXCELLENCY TIMOTHY
BISHOP OF DETROIT, GREEK ORTHODOX ARCHDIOCESE OF
NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA

Blessed is the Lord our God, now and forevermore, Amen.

Almighty Father, Lord our God, with Your great mercy and love for mankind, bestow upon us all Your blessings in abundance who guided the Founding Fathers and through them established and blessed these United States of America as the refuge of the weak and oppressed peoples. We bless Your Holy Name and beseech You to look down upon and to give guidance to all gathered here at this conclave of the Republican Party.

Be mindful of them, inspire them in their deliberations for the glory of this great country and the benefit of the world.

Grant us all Your peace so that with brotherly love, harmony and justice, we as a nation may continue to grow in wisdom and stature, in Your presence, and that we may continue to be instruments of Your justice in our homes, our communities, our Nation, and the world.

Strengthen the moral fiber and the resolve of our people sb that we may rediscover and regain the loftiness and values and precepts of the Founding Fathers, as well as of the illustrious leaders of this Republican Party, to the fulfillment of the promise and to the mission that is America and to the greater glory of Your Holy Name. Amen.

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — Ladies and gentlemen, I mentioned earlier the moment of silence, and if you would, please join with me, as has been the custom at this Convention, to observe a moment of silence for the Americans who are currently being held captive in Iran.

(A moment of silence was observed for the hostages in Iran.)

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — Would you join with me in a special round of applause for the Republican Glee Club of Columbus? (Applause.)

And now a word from some of our delegates.

(Presentation of film, "Who Are the Delegates?")

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — I really think that that special film presentation is a wonderful addition to the Convention. It has been interesting to me to see the diversity of the representation here among the Delegates. I think it is fun to see our own States there with the various membership of the delegations represented.

Would the Delegates who are here please take their seats?

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — The Chair now recognizes John McDonald, the distinguished National Committeeman from the State of Iowa and Chairman of the Committee on Credentials for the purpose of presenting the report of the committee.

MR. MCDONALD. — Madam Chairman, the Committee on Credentials met pursuant to the rules of the Convention on July 14, 1980. As the first order of business, the committee elected the following officers: John McDonald, Chairman; Cassandra P. Riley of Virginia, Vice Chairman; Robert Monier of New Hampshire, Secretary.

At the hearing of the Committee on Contests held on July 8, 1980, in Detroit, Michigan, contests involving the States of Kentucky and Massachusetts were presented. In turn, the reports and recommendations of these contests were presented to the Republican National Committee, sitting as a whole, on July 9, 1980.

The Committee on Contests' findings in both cases were unanimously adopted by the National Committee. Only the protest of Kentucky was appealed to the Committee on Credentials, and this was overwhelmingly denied. In eight states changes with reference to Delegates and Alternates were requested and approved.

In all of the proceedings of the Committee on Credentials, we were advised by able counsel, Jim Day and Jim Mitchell, and were assisted by our Executive Director, John Stevens.

Madam Chairman, I offer the following resolution and ask for its immediate consideration:

> RESOLVED, That the Temporary Roll of Delegates and Alternates as presented to the Convention on July 14, 1980, and as amended in relation to the Delegates and Alternates from eight states, become the Permanent Roll of the Convention and that the report of the Committee on Credentials be adopted by this Convention.

Thank you.

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — Without objection, the previous question is ordered. The question occurs on the resolution offered by the delegate from Iowa.

All those in favor of the resolution will so signify by saying aye. (Chorus of ayes.)

Those opposed, no. (No response.)

The ayes have it and the resolution is agreed to.

Without objection, the motion to reconsider is laid on the table.

PERMANENT ROLL

ALABAMA

(Twenty-seven Delegates)

Chairman of Delegation: Guy Hunt

Note: Opposite each Delegate is shown the Alternate for that particular Delegate.

AT LARGE

Delegates	*Alternates*
Guy Hunt .....Holly Pond Route 2, Box 78, 35083	Jim R. Hicks .....Birmingham Post Office Box 9501, 35215
Elizabeth P. Bullard .....Birmingham 4508 Old Leeds Road, 35213	V. M. Parker .....Chickasaw 504 Woodlore Drive, 36611
Judy B. Bewley .....Birmingham 3508 Old Leeds Terrace, 35213	Jim Arendall .....Mobile 3903 Hampton Place, 36608
Steven J. Allen .....Birmingham 204 A Chastaine Circle, 35209	Douglas Moore .....Montgomery Post Office Box 1181, 36102
Ann Tutwiler .....Birmingham 3032 Cherokee Road, 35223	Margaret Tutwiler .....Birmingham 3032 Cherokee Road, 35223
Mildred Anne Lee .....Birmingham 4227 Overlook Road South, 35222	Candy M. McMillan .....Brewton 424 Belleville Avenue, 36426

DISTRICT

1—J. D. Kuffskie .....Mobile 1124 Chalet Drive West, 36608	1—William P. Armstrong ....Daphne 157 Rolling Hill Drive, 36526
Medford H. Roe .....Mobile 3604 Cedars Avenue, 36608	Judy McPherson .....Mobile 6524 Creekwood Court, 36609
Jeremiah A. Denton, Jr. ....Mobile 3201 Dauphin Street, 36606	Mavanee R. Bear .....Mobile 162 South Georgia Avenue, 36604
2—Richard A. Britt .....Dothan Post Office Box 894, 36303	2—Loretta Bach .....Montgomery 1833 Croom Drive, 36106
Brooks C. Barganier ....Greenville Route 1, Box 149, 36037	Jack Hagopian .....Montgomery 2727 Gywnnbrook Road, 36116
Ray W. Scott, Jr. ....Montgomery One Bell Road, 36141	Fred C. Crawford ....Montgomery 2142 Kingsbury Drive, 36106
3—Martha Ball Harlan .....Auburn 831 South Gay Street, 36830	3—James M. Sizemore, Jr. ..Sylacauga Post Office Box 801, 35150
Patrick F. Owens .....Prattville 103 Country Club Drive, 36065	Reginald J. Ray .....Wetumpka Route 3, Box 431G, 36092
J. Robert Burton, III .....Auburn 755 Moores Mill Road, 36830	Margaret D. Stout .....Anniston Route 5, Box 680-A, 36201
4—Leonard Wilson .....Townley Post Office Box 39, 35587	4—Ganus Gray .....Gordo Route 4, 35466
Brice F. Marsh .....Trafford Route 1, Box 213B, 35172	James M. Kampfer .....Gadsden 1305 Monte Vista Drive, 35901
Anne W. Shumaker .....Centre 270 East Main Street, 35960	William M. Bouldin ...Russellville Post Office Box 940, 35653

ALABAMA (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
5—Farie Mae Reed.....Huntsville 904 Kennamer Drive, 35801	5—Charles W. Thrasher....Scottsboro Post Office Box 611, 35768
C. W. Martin.....Muscle Shoals 404 West Grand Avenue, 35660	Ed Moss.....Rogersville Post Office Box 53, 35652
Barbara K. Lucero.....Huntsville 2903 Drexel Drive Southeast, 35801	Connie H. Walker.....Florence 213 Shirley Drive, 35630
6—Frank L. Mason.....Birmingham 2825 Canoe Brook Lane, 35243	6—Holly H. de Buys....Birmingham 3032 Cambridge Road, 35223
William M. Acker, Jr. Birmingham 2121 Highland Avenue South, 35205	Katherine Ross Thoman Birmingham 3545 Victoria Road, 35223
George G. Seibels, Jr. .Birmingham 4016 10th Avenue South, 35222	Katherine J. Nielsen ..Birmingham 136 Main Street, 35213
7—Jim Allen Randall.....Northport 12933 Northwood Lake, 35476	7—Richard Rhone.....Tuscaloosa Route 1, Box 406, 35405
Wayne W. Killion....Shoal Creek 403 North Carnoustie, 35094	James A. Holliman.....Bessemer 1610 4th Avenue, 35020
Clayton Davis.....Tuscaloosa Post Office Box 1571, 35403	Carlye C. Best.....Montevallo Route 2, Box 296, 35115

ALASKA

(Nineteen Delegates)

Chairman of Delegation: Marilyn J. Gay

At Large

Delegates	*Alternates*
Donald E. White.....Anchorage Post Office Box 3157, 99501	Frank W. Harris.....Anchorage 1805 Scenic Way, 99501
La Demma Zuback.....Anchorage Post Office Box 1420, 99510	William de Schweinitz.....Anchorage 8621 Swiss Place, 99507
Lawrence A. Dinneen.....Barrow Post Office Box 129, 99723	Ruthe R. Burg.....Anchorage 2004 West 45th Avenue, #2, 99503
William A. Moffatt.....Eagle River Post Office Box 708, 99577	John J. Eufemio.....Kodiak Post Office Box 907, 99615
James Crawford.....Anchorage 420 Cherry, 99504	Charles Dickey.....Anchorage 9700 Chenega Drive 99507
Gloria J. Tokar.....Anchorage 2324 Hialeah, 99503	Ed R. Darby.....Anchorage 4341 Klutina Drive, 99504
John C. Gonzales.....Clear Post Office Box 320, 99704	Paul J. Wingren.....Ketchikan Post Office Box 5197, 99901
Hope Nelson.....Anchorage SRA Box 2073-N, 99506	William B. Ratcliffe.....Juneau Route 6, Box 4060-36, 99803

ALASKA (Continued)

Delegates

Lloyd F. Hames ..... Sitka
Post Office Box 397, 99835
Jennings H. Graham ..... Ketchikan
Post Office Box 5544, 99901
James Thompson ..... Juneau
Route 4, Box 4180-44, 99803
Carolyn Glover ..... Anchorage
9101 Brayton Drive, 99507
George M. Sullivan ..... Anchorage
Municipality of Anchorage,
Pouch 6-650, 99502
George Walton ..... Fairbanks
201 Iditarod, 99701
Mary E. Pike ..... Fairbanks
2690 Talkeetna, 99701
Paul Gavora ..... Fairbanks
SR Box 31472, 99701

Alternates

Cindy Lee ..... Anchorage
1444 G Street, 99501
Joe Shooshanian ..... Anchorage
3243 Commercial Drive, 99501
Kenneth Stout ..... Anchorage
6208 East 34 Avenue, 99504
Clifford J. Groh ..... Anchorage
1576 Coffey Lane, 99501
Mark W. Phillips ..... Anchorage
1314 Birchwood Street, 99504
Tim Ewell ..... Anchorage
Post Office Box 6784, 99507
Del Allison ..... Willow
SRA Box 252, 99688
Ray Mix ..... Fairbanks
Post Office Box 60450, 99706

At Large District

Ted Stevens ..... Anchorage
1110 West 6th Ave., 99501
Eldon R. Ulmer ..... Anchorage
Post Office Box 1420, 99510
Marilyn J. Gay ..... Anchorage
1710 South Salem Drive, 99504
Katherine Nussbaumer ..... Fairbanks
SR Box 20212, 99701
Vicki Lacy ..... Fairbanks
SR Box 60967, 99706
Hazel Heath ..... Homer
Post Office Box 676, 99603

ARIZONA

(Twenty-eight Delegates)

(Chairman of Delegation: Thomas J. Pappas)

At Large

Delegates

Nonavie Dyer ..... Phoenix
3444 West Belmont, 85021
Robert E. Steinebach, Jr. ..... Tucson
1525 W. Otilia Drive, 85705
Victor R. Mott ..... Sedona
RR 1, Box 253, 86336
Joseph F. Abate ..... Phoenix
2302 E. Northview Avenue, 85020
Tom Van Sickle ..... Scottsdale
6102 East Exeter, 85252

Alternates

Kathie Baldwin ..... Phoenix
1622 West Clarendon, 85015
Theda Lines ..... Yuma
3430 8th Street, 85364
Michael T. Hellon ..... Phoenix
2209 E. Cactus Wren Drive, 85020
Rex Waite, Sr. ..... Tucson
8917 E. Calle Kuehn, 85715
Caroline Coronado ..... Phoenix
2736 North 40th Avenue, 85009

ARIZONA (Continued)

Delegates

Thomas J. Pappas .....Phoenix
420 East Roosevelt, 85004
Robert Stash .....Tucson
7701 North Northaire, 85704
Carolyn Gunter .....Phoenix
721 W. Port Royale Lane, 85023
Jim Crosby .....St. Johns
Post Offfice Box 487, 85936
Katherine Moore .....Show Low
Post Office Box 1012, 85901
G. Arnold Jurn .....Buckeye
308 5th Avenue West, 85326
Emmett McLoughlin .....Tucson
5898 E. South Wilshire, 85711
Jan McGill .....Phoenix
3829 W. Montebello, 85019
Dorothy Meyer .....Tucson
920 South Beverly, 85711
Edith Richardson .....Scottsdale
47 Thornwood Acres, 85251
Agnes P. Murphy .....Phoenix
4429 North 31st Place, 85016

Alternates

Mike Masson .....Scottsdale
4535 E. Joshua Tree Lane, 85253
Patricia Wright .....Glendale
5818 West Northern, 85302
Norman Foster .....Phoenix
8833 North 4th Avenue, 85021
Joan Heskett .....Phoenix
1037 E. Northview Avenue, 85020
Edward L. V. Reed .....Scottsdale
4832 East Hearn, 85254
Susan Bitter Smith .....Scottsdale
5806 East Lewis Avenue, 85257
George Hussey .....Phoenix
4696 W. Thomas Road, 85031
Ann Forshay .....Tucson
7505 E. Knollwood Dr., 85715
Louis Lust .....Tempe
1059 E. Broadmor Drive, 85282
Sarah Wuertz .....Coolidge
Route 1, Box 115-A, 85228
Jay C. Stuckey, Sr. .....Phoenix
1020 West Rovey 85013

DISTRICT

1—Warren D. Steffey .....Mesa
1439 Ivyglen Street, 85203
Chuck Lemon .....Tempe
2008 E. Cairo Drive, 85282
Sue Sossaman .....Higley
RR 1, Box 80, 85236
2—Jeffrey Hill .....Tucson
9511 East Creek, 85730
Judy Gignac .....Sierra Vista
565 Raymond Drive, 85635
Jim Click, Jr. .....Tucson
6403 East Miramar, 85715

3—Evan Mecham .....Glendale
8544 N. 59th Avenue, 85302
Terrance S. Martin, Lake Havasu City
3600 Washita, 86403
Al Face .....Yuma
1961 W. 13th Place, 85364

1—Dean K. Sellers .....Gilbert
621 E. Horwell Road, 85234
Beau Jones .....Tempe
1038 Driftwood, 85283
Thomas J. Dunlavey .....Scottsdale
6941-A East Osborn, 85251
2—Dan Gebhart .....Tucson
2030 W. Saddle Hills Dr., 85705
Mary Anne Burr .....Tucson
3135 Via Palos Verdes, 85716
Ron St. John .....Tucson
University of Arizona
Student Union Room #106,
85721

3—Betty Clarke .....Phoenix
3402 W. Windrows Drive, 85029
Eugene D. Lopez .....Flagstaff
1623 Mountain View, 86001
Anna Belle Young .....Sun City
9967 W. Hawthorne Drive, 85351

ARIZONA (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
4—Bob Corbin .....Phoenix 8101 North Central, 85020	4—Linda Palmer .....Globe 328 S. Hill Street, 85501
Leo Corbet .....Phoenix 6302 N. 13th Street, 85014	James Mumme .....Eloy 4125 North Catalina, 85321
Eldon Rudd .....Scottsdale Post Office Box 873, 85252	Murray W. Karsten .....Sun City 10830 West Hibiscus, 85373

ARKANSAS

(Nineteen Delegates)

Chairman of Delegation: Harlan "Bo" Holleman

Note: Opposite each Delegate is shown the Alternate for that particular Delegate.

At Large

Delegates	*Alternates*
John Paul Hammerschmidt ...Harrison Post Office Box 999, 72601	R. D. (Bob) Munger .....Little Rock 915 North Street, 72201
Ed Bethune .....Searcy 72143	Dana Collins .....Harrisburg 706 East South Street, 72432
A. Lynn Lowe .....Texarkana 25 Arnold Drive, 75501	Clayton Quackenbush .....Hot Springs Route 6, Box 921 A, 71901
Leona Troxell .....Rose Bud Route 1, 72137	Benjamin Anthony .....Marianna Route 2, Box 21, 72360
Ada Mills .....Clarksville Box 468, 72830	Lois Matsch .....Rogers Ro Lynn Hills, 72756
Horace (Pete) Sickel .....De Valls Bluff Route 1, 72041	Phyllis Kincannon ...North Little Rock #3 Belair Court, 72116
Elijah Coleman .....Pine Bluff Route 4, Box 208 A, 71601	Natalie Kilmer .....Hot Springs 213 Hermlee, 71901

District

1—Harlan (Bo) Holleman .....Wynne Route 1, Box 130, 72396	1—Floyd E. Curtis .....Helena 217 Beech, Box 573, 72342
John Allen .....Walnut Ridge 421 N. W. 3rd, 72476	Rick Griffin .....West Memphis 1008 Rich Road, 72301
Jim Burnett .....Clinton Main Street, 72031	Randy Philhours .....Paragould 407 Tech Street, 72450

ARKANSAS (Continued)

Delegates

2—Doyle Webb .....Benton
Post Office Box 13, 72015

Wm. T. Kelly .....Little Rock
6413 Pleasant Place, 72205
Odell Pollard .....Searcy
Box 100, 72143

3—Sharon Shipley .....Fort Smith
3500 South Boston, 72901
Len Blaylock .....Perryville
Route 1, 72127
William H. Clements
Mountain Home
Route 3, Box 44, 72653

4—Katheryn R. Jean .....Magnolia
1022 Lawton Circle, 71753
L. Philip McClendon .....Crossett
702 Walnut Street, 71635
Sonia R. Ingram .....Pine Bluff
2600 West 42nd Avenue, 71603

Alternates

2—Robert Decker .....Little Rock
2000 Rebsamen Park Road,
#201 A, 72202
Janet Browne .....Little Rock
2712 North Taylor, 72202
Tandy Allen ....North Little Rock
#8 Rita Drive, 72116

3—James C. Patterson .....Lavaca
Route 1, Box 152, 72941
Larry Hayes .....Fort Smith
10000 Old Mill Road, 72903
Dotson Collins .....Huntsville
Route 3, 72740

4—Steve Lux .....Pine Bluff
2012 Wellington, 71601
Malissa West .....Tinsman
Box 214, 71767
Margaret Harris .....Hope
Route 4, Box 330 LH, 71801

CALIFORNIA

(One Hundred Sixty-eight Delegates)

Co-Chairmen of Delegation: R. D. "Bob" Nesen, Michael K. Deaver

At Large

Delegates

Daryl Arnold .....Newport Beach
1811 Quail Street, 92663
Jolly Gissel .....Pacific Palisades
1788 Palisades Dr., 90272
Victor Blanco .....Arcadia
1023 Old Ranch Road, 91006
Alfred Bloomingdale .....Los Angeles
131 Delfern Drive, 90024
Margaret M. Brock .....Los Angeles
2220 Avenue of the Stars, 90067
William Campbell ...Hacienda Heights
14505 Cabinda Drive, 91745
Charles Cook .....Pasadena
480 Madeline Drive, 91105

Alternates

Frank Pollock .....Los Angeles
107 North Delfern Drive, 90024
Henry Lucas .....San Francisco
34 Ora Way, 94131
Dixon Arnett .....Claremont
4440 Live Oak Drive, 91711
Jospeh Baird .....Los Angeles
166 Groverton Place, 90024
Bonnie McClure .....Beverly Hills
1600 Summit Ridge Dr., 90210
Kimberley Borcherdt .....Los Angeles
401 South June Street, 90020
Lola M. Brekke .....Carmichael
7106 Trabert Court, 95608

CALIFORNIA (Continued)

Delegates

Jack Courtemanche .....Los Angeles
621 South Lorraine Boulevard, 90048

Theodore B. Gummings ..Beverly Hills
860 North Camden Drive, 90210

Mike Curb .....Beverly Hills
1820 Carla Ridge Road, 90210

Justin Dart .....Los Angeles
444 North Faring Road, 90024

Michael K. Deaver .....Sacramento
1415 38th Street, 95816

John V. Diepenbrock .....Sacramento
3931 Wycombe Drive, 95825

George Deukmejian .....Long Beach
5366 Broadway, 90803

Ernest J. Dronenburg, Jr. ....El Cajon
5001 Ligia Street, 92020

Herbert E. Ellingwood .....Rocklin
3523 Bucksin Court, 95677

Marz J. Garcia .....Menlo Park
698 Menlo Oaks Drive, 94025

Carol Hallett .....Atascadero
Post Office Drawer W, 93422

S. I. Hayakawa .....Mill Valley
Post Office Box 100, 94941

Jacquelin H. Hume .....San Francisco
3355 Pacific Avenue, 94118

Earle M. Jorgensen .....Los Angeles
960 Bel Air Road, 90024

Mary B. Benz ....Rancho Palos Verdes
6638 Monero Drive, 90274

David H. Margolis .....Palm Springs
1196 Abrigo Road, 92662

A. Morgan Mason .....Beverly Hills
Beverly Hills Hotel
9641 West Sunset Boulevard, 90210

Gertrude C. McDonald .....Fremont
310 Orchard Drive, 94536

Edward Mills .....La Mirada
14727 Alondra Boulevard, 90638

R. C. "Bob" Nesen ....Thousand Oaks
890 West Potrero Road, 91360

Neil Reagen .....Rancho Santa Fe
3941 Via Valle Verde, 92067

Alternates

Darwin D. Cohee .....Brawley
450 South Sycamore Drive, 92227

Loris Zarian .....Glendale
1770 Golf Club Drive, 91206

Jose Deetjen .....San Marino
556 Sierra Madre Boulevard, 91108

Don DeFore .....Los Angeles
2496 Mandeville Canyon Road, 90049

Dan O'Keefe .....Cupertino
20032 Rodriquez Ave, 95014

Carla Hills .....Calabasas Park
4678 Park Mirasal, 91302

George Fritzinger .....Los Angeles
244 Muirfield Road, 90004

Mark A. Spiegel .....Los Angeles
1415 Comstock Avenue, 90024

Harvey A. Goldstein .....Tarzana
4250 Ellenita Avenue, 91356

Don C. Heyl .....Anaheim
4381 Oak Hill Drive, 92807

Marcia Wilson Hobbs .....Los Angeles
1053 Stone Canyon Road, 90024

David G. Kelley .....Hemet
44381 Bautista Canyon, 92343

Carlos J. Moorhead .....Glendale
1106 North Louise, Apt. C, 91207

Jeanne I. Nemo .....Tarzana
18109 Bromley Street, 91356

Douglas Liddicoat .....Watsonville
400 Skylark Lane, 95076

Lois A. Lundberg .....La Habra
1341 Carmela Lane, 90631

John L. Moriarity .....Calabasas Park
4413 Park Mallorca, 91302

Frank T. Murphy .....Glendale
234 North Kenwood, 91206

Nicholas C. Muskey .....Encino
15751 Morrison Street, 91436

Bonnie Nofziger .....Los Angeles
3358 Moore Street, 90066

John E. Mason, Jr. .....Los Angeles
1630 Mandeville Canyon Road, 90049

CALIFORNIA (Continued)

Delegates

Virginia Rice .....Hanford
408 Porter Street, 93230
John Rousselot .....San Gabriel
327 East Live Oak, #J, 91776
William French Smith .....San Marino
1256 Oak Grove Avenue, 91108

Albert A. Spiegel .....Beverly Hills
907 North Elm Drive, 90210
Holmes Tuttle .....Santa Barbara
1237 East Mountain Drive, 93108
Robert H. Tuttle .....Los Angeles
166 South Greenfield, 90049
Julian Virtue .....Rolling Hills
#2 Bowie Road, 90274
Caspar Weinberger .....Hillsborough
1615 Floribunda Road, 94010
Charles Z. Wick .....Los Angeles
120 South Mapleton Drive, 90024
William A. Wilson .....Los Angeles
10475 Bellagio Road, 90024
Jack Wrather .....Los Angeles
172 Delfern Drive, 90024

Alternates

Erlenne Perkins .....Brentwood
351 South Cliffwood Avenue, 90049
Gwen Pruter .....Los Angeles
2453 Mandeville Canyon Road, 90049
Maureen Reagan .....Los Angeles
1255 South Beverly
Glen Boulevard, 90024
Don Rogers .....Bakersfield
3500 Kaibab Avenue, 93306
Norma R. Bordelon ...Woodland Hills
22318 Algunas Road, 91364
Phillip V. Sanchez .....Fresno
1015 East Alluvial, 93710
Paul Gann .....Carmichael
2512 Los Feliz Way, 95608
Alex Stiglitz .....Los Angeles
7569 Waring Avenue, 90046
Marshall Turner .....Belvedere
270 Madrona, 94920
June Walker .....Los Angeles
2500 Mandeville Canyon Rd., 90049
Phillip D. Wyman .....Tehachapi
110 Walnut Drive, 93561

DISTRICT

1—Wanda Agostini .....Redding
3309 Wilshire Drive, 96002
Euguene Chappie .....Roseville
524B Arlene Drive, 95678

Shirley West .....Graeagle
Post Office Box 68, 96103
2—Robert W. Matthews, Jr. ...Eureka
2433 L Street, 95501
C. Robert Barnum .....Eureka
4441 Fairway Drive, 95501
Leif D. Soderling .....Windsor
10216 Herb Road, 95492
3—Frank D. Azvedo .....Elk Grove
9416 2nd Avenue, 95624
Esther Greene .....Sacramento
1500 7th St., Penthouse 4, 95814
Jean Moorhead .....Sacramento
3824 Payton Street, 95821

1—Roy Brophy .....Folsom
121 Hillswood Drive, 95630
Fredric H. Nagel, Jr. ...Susanville
Happy Valley Ranch
Elysian Valley Road, 96130
Joan Morgan .....Chico
1524 Manchester Rd., 95926
2—Margie L. Handley .....Willits
16000 Hearst Road, 95490
Don Clausen .....Crescent City
Post Office Box 899, 95531
Robert J. Nicholas .....Sonoma
Post Office Box Y, 95476
3—Mable M. Hay .....Sacramento
1316 San Augustine Way, 95831
James Arliss Pollock ...Sacramento
492 Crocker Road, 95825
Yubi G. Separovich ....Fair Oaks
5309 Wedge Circle, 95628

CALIFORNIA (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
4—Jane Foster Carter .....Colusa 909 Oak Street, 95932	4—Terry Biffel .....Vacaville 370 Butcher Rd., #16, 95688
Wayne A. Bartholomew .....Davis 1604 Redwood Lane, 95616	Eleanor M. Mackensen .Yuba City 1993 Colusa Highway, 95991
James W. Nielsen .....Woodland 1602 Cottonwood, 95695	Coral A. Schmidt .....Vallejo 111 La Montanita Court, 94590
5—Robert G. Nelson ....San Francisco 527 26th Avenue, 94121	5—William Filante .....Greenbrae 810 S. Eliseo Drive
Bobbe Vargas .....Belvedere 18 Eucalyptus Road, 94920	Marilyn J. Miskimen ...San Rafael 24 Dominican Drive, 94901
Elena A. Walker .....San Francisco 2810 Laguna Street, 94123	Robert S. Verhey .....Tiburon 150 Hacienda Drive, 94920
6—Steve M. Jeong .....San Francisco 146 Wood St., Apt. 8, 94118	6—Richard J. Hazlewood San Francisco 405 Davis Ct., Apt. 1005, 94111
Sue C. Woods .....San Francisco 59 Vienna Street, 94112	Francis McGinnis, II .San Francisco 1298 Sacramento St., 94108
Robert O. Johns .....San Francisco 4347 20th Street, 94114	Dorothy Vuksich ....San Francisco 177 San Aleso Ave., 94127
7—Rose Mary Ramsay....San Ramon 24 Barcelona Court, 94583	7—John M. Boyles, Jr.....Richmond 3028 May Road, 94803
Jean M. Schwafel .....Danville 432 Sycamore Circle, 94526	Susan Heffernan ....Walnut Creek 1439 Marchbanks, #4, 94598
Dennis Wilson .....Concord 1166 Victory Lane, 94520	Paul Cahill .....Kensington 21 Sunset Court, 94707
8—Gerti B. Thomas .....Albany 555 Pierce St., #1106, 94706	8—Janet M. Glocker .....Orinda 31 Carisbrook Drive, 94563
Jacob Margosian .....Moraga 8 Wandel Drive, 94556	James O. Hartman .....Lafayette 3251 Camino Colorados, 94549
Mike Evans .....Lafayette 15 White Oak Dr., 94549	M. Anne Woodell .....Oakland 1724 Indian Way, 94611
9—Evva B. Stivers .....Hayward 21808 Vallejo Street, 94541	9—Russell V. McGuire .Castro Valley 20342 Wisteria St., Apt. 7, 94546
Arline I. Martin .....Alameda 381 Anchor Way, 94501	Richard G. Bigelow .Castro Valley 17015 High Pine Way, 94546
Julius Levine .....Hayward 25051 Fairview Ave., 94542	Peggy S. Waters .....Hayward 21775 Vallejo Street, 94541
10—Vernon J. Cristina .....San Jose 454 Golfview Drive, 95127	10—Patrick V. Colglazier ....Hayward 256 B Street, 94541
Cynthia L. Mozzetti .....Fremont 397 Walnut Avenue, 94536	Jeffrey S. Conner .....Fremont 4598 Piper Street, 94538
James H. Stanhope .....Fremont 2346 Castillejo Way, 94538	James Lacey, Sr. .....Fremont Post Office Box 368, 94537

CALIFORNIA (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
11—William Royer ....Redwood City 1016 Blanford Blvd., 94062	11—Carol Ann Bledsoe .....San Carlos 228 Edgehill Drive, 94070
Lorraine J. Schumacher Foster City 1051 Beach Park Blvd., #314, 94404	Elizabeth M. Cookson Hillsborough 5 Denham Court, 94010
Robert E. Sholaas .....San Mateo 26 De Sabla Road, 94402	Jeanne Mahan .....Daly City 19 Eastgate Drive, 94015
12—Isabella M. Dunn ....Menlo Park 1959 Camino de los Robles, 94025	12—Audrey H. Fisher .....Los Altos 120 Hawthorne Avenue, 94022
Elizabeth J. Quick ....Santa Clara 482 Woodhams Road, 95051	G. W. "Hank" McCullough Woodside 300 Olive Hill Lane, 94062
Robert Naylor .....Menlo Park 2308 Olympic Avenue, 94025	Walter "Wally" Smith ...Stanford 50 Serra, Stern Hall, 94305
13—Lawrence L. Fargher ...Santa Clara 2481 Golf Links Circle, 95050	13—Roy P. McCloskey .....Saratoga 12563 Cambridge Drive, 95070
Elizabeth V. Simms .....San Jose 5123 Elmwood Drive, 95130	James Hyde .....Los Gatos 124 Capistrano Pl., 95030
Louis J. Mariani .....Saratoga 15221 Piedmont Road, 95070	Lawrence Turpen.....San Jose 1206 Rockhaven Drive, 95120
14—Ed Reinecke .....Placerville 3800 Bucks Bar Road, 95667	14—Lorene F. Hanford South Lake Tahoe 2459 Alma Avenue, 95702
Michael E. Spinetti .....Jackson Post Office Box 118, 95642	Elizabeth Nevin .....Placerville Post Office Box 269, 95667
Martha A. Nielsen .....Stockton 845 North Orange Street, 95203	Fred D. Cuneo .....San Andreas Star Route #2, 95249
15—Ken Maddy .....Fresno 4314 N. Emerson Ave., 93705	15—Sandra J. Boese .....Merced 1289 E.N. Bear Creek Dr., 95340
Ruth B. Massey .....Mariposa 5439 Hiway 140, 95338	Joan M. Recca .....Modesto 1314 Edgebrook Dr., 95354
Bette Witmer Swann ....Modesto 3408 W. Point Drive, 95350	Louina J. Sakajian .....Fresno 3002 N. Farris Avenue, 93704
16—Jay Stream .....San Luis Obispo Route 3, Box 212, 93401	16—Timothy J. Morgan ...Santa Cruz 1046 Western Drive, 95060
Robert P. Nimmo.....Atascadero 7375 Bella Vista Rd., 93422	Carol Lee Munger .San Luis Obispo 1240 Ocean Aire Dr., 93401
Howard W. Bowden .....Salinas 22325 Davenrich, 93901	Eric Seastrand .....Salinas 1445 Linwood Dr., 93906

CALIFORNIA (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
17—Clara Rutherford .....Porterville 33195 Success Valley Dr., 93257	17—Peter Gadd .....Visalia 2302 Sunset Drive, 93277
J. Dewey Axtell .....Reedley 10300 Kings River Rd., #22, 93654	Donald A. Jackson .....Fresno 1355 West San Bruno Ave., 93711
Truman Campbell .....Fresno 1215 South Phillip, 92727	Barbara J. Spear .....Hanford 1601 Whitmore Street, 93230
18—William M. Thomas...Bakersfield 1910 Alta Vista, 93305	18—Frances K. Gulbranson ..Lancaster 44840 Kingtree Avenue, 93534
Frank Anthony Visco....Palmdale 39747 Eadmer Avenue, 93550	William Park .....Bakersfield 3040 19th Street, 93308
Robert W. Karpe .....Bakersfield 221 South Garnsey, 93309	Marie C. Porter .....Bakersfield 5701 Cypress Point Dr., 93309
19—Michael Hermreck .....Nipomo Post Office Box 217, 676 Grande St., 93444	19—Charles R. Imbrecht .....Ventura 1079 Belfast Lane, 93001
Eldon Haskell .....Santa Barbara 1978 Mission Ridge Rd., 93108	W. Don MacGillivray Santa Barbara 1450 La Vista Road, 93110
Marian North Koonce Santa Barbara 802 E. Calle Laureles, 93105	Emily S. Wullbrandt ..Carpinteria 5554 Calle Arena, 93013
20—Frank D. McDonald Thousand Oaks 425 Rimrock Road, 91360	20—Janet Earl .....Granada Hills 17525 Tuscan Drive, 91344
Michael D. Bradbury ...Camarillo 830 Empress Avenue, 93010	Judith Lea Stevens .....Valencia 25309 Avenida Ronada, 91355
Paul Priolo .....Malibu 21006 Pacific Coast Hwy., 90265	Edward M. Davis .....Chatsworth 10442 Oso, 91311
21—Lynn Davis .....Granada Hills 15816 Chatsworth St., 91344	21—Bobbi Fiedler .....Northridge 17052 Malden Street, 91324
J. Robert Hayes ....San Fernando 606 Hagar Street, 91340	Arleigh R. Kerr, Jr. ..Northridge 18550 Citronia St., #3, 91324
Bert Boeckmann .....Encino 4194 Regal Oak Drive, 91436	Sherry N. Klinger North Hollywood 6133 Whitsett Ave., #21, 91606
22—Patrick J. Nolan .....Glendale 515 North Jackson, #204, 91206	22—William Ivers La Canada-Flintridge 609 W. Inverness Drive, 91011
Virginia M. Braun .....Pasadena 1585 Orlando Road, 91106	Gwyneth L. Gayman ...La Canada 2136 Sunnybank Drive, 91011
Tirso Del Junco .....Pasadena 1570 San Pasqual, 91106	Gordon R. McLean .....Pasadena 225 Madeline Drive, 91105

CALIFORNIA (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
23—Jackie N. Harker .....Encino 4500 Densmore Avenue, 91436	23—Teresa A. Keeshan .....Encino 5263-3 Newcastle Aveue, 91316
Fred H. Gottfurcht ...Los Angeles 10501 Wilshire Blvd., 90024	Reese L. Milner.....Los Angeles 228 North Layton Dr., 90049
Evelle J. Younger ...Beverly Hills 611 N. Alta Drive, 90210	M. Joyce Van Schaack ....Tarzana 4616 Caritina Drive, 91356
24—Dan J. Smith .....Los Angeles 1956 Apex Avenue, #3, 90039	24—Rita De Marco .....Los Angeles 3004 Beachwood Drive, 90068
Richard E. Gulbranson N. Hollywood 10071 Valley Spring Lane, 91602	Marjorie Pope .....Los Angeles 135 S. Sycamore Avenue, 90036
Joan Castle Joseff ..N. Hollywood 10060 Toluca Lake Ave., 91602	Francis A. Vollstedt...Studio City 11007 Wrightwood Lane, 91604
25—Richard E. Ferraro ...Los Angeles 4351 Eagle Rock Blvd., 90041	25—Gordon G. Bennett...Los Angeles 4565 Round Top Drive, 90065
Yoshio Takagaki .....Los Angeles 3910 Somerset Drive, 90008	Ray Hanzlik .....Los Angeles 888 W. 6th Street, Penthouse Floor, 90017
James L. Flournoy....Los Angeles 4155 Mt. Vernon Drive, 90008	Frank Veiga.....Los Angeles 5353 East Beverly Blvd., 90222
26—Joseph M. Crosby .South Pasadena 316 Alta Vista Ave., 91030	26—Arline E. Fry .....Arcadia 234 W. Orange Grove Ave., 91006
Dixie J. McIntee ....Temple City 4840 Camellia Avenue, 91780	Marcella A. Whitmore....Arcadia 512 Santa Maria Road, 91006
Michael B. Montgomery South Pasadena 2033 Monterey Road, 91030	Richard Mountjoy .....Monrovia 423 Lotone, 91016
27—Robert G. Beverly...Manh. Beach 2700 Highland Ave., 90266	27—A. Walt Rognlien...Santa Monica 515 Ocean Avenue, 90402
Theodore B. Olson Palos Verdes Estates 909 Via Coronel, 90274	
Robert K. Dornan ..Santa Monica 2222½ 20th St., 90405	Edwin Thomas...Palos Verdes Es. 1439 La Selva Place, 90274
28—Eddie Ray .....Los Angeles 4017 Country Club Dr., 100, 90017	28—Lilyan Townsend .....Los Angeles 3662 S. Arlington Ave., 90018
Robert A. Curtis .....Los Angeles 1141½ W. 27th Street, 90007	Stephanie Lee Miller ..Los Angeles 4515 Don Quixote Drive, 90008
Peter Dauterive .....Los Angeles 4351 Mount Vernon Dr., 90043	Gilbert G. White ....Los Angeles 4905 Escalon Avenue, 90043

CALIFORNIA (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
29—Linda Carole White . . .Los Angeles 549 West 43rd Place, 90037 Leslee P. Sherrill . . . . .Los Angeles 671 West 28th Street, 90007 Julie Rae Andrews . . .Los Angeles 834 West 28th Street, 90007	29—Andrew J. Littlefair . .Los Angeles 2390 Portland St., #202, 90007 Blanche M. Gomez . . .Los Angeles 1542 West 51st Place, 90062 Tim Riley . . . . . .Agoura 5314 Lewis Road, 91301
30—Mary C. Hagen . . . . . .El Monte 4558 La Madera Ave., 91732 Agnes Arakawa . . . .Monterey Park 1688 Kempton Avenue, 91754 Joe A. Valverde . . . . . .Montebello 1527 Beach Boulevard, 90640	30—Gerald B. Hodges . .Monterey Park 420 West Riggin Street, 91754 Lodi Flores . . . . . .Monterey Park 1955 Cerco Alta Drive, 91754 Alex P. Lopez . . . . . .Montebello 911 Bolker Way, 91754
31—Paul T. Bannai . . . . . .Gardena 1401 W. 169th Street, #1, 90247 Armand M. Vaquer . . .Hawthorne 4923 W. 129th Street, 90250 George Armstrong . . .Los Angeles 644 W. 164th St., Apt. 301, 90247	31—Gwendolyn J. Duffy . . . . .Gardena 1147 W. 162nd Street, 90247 Woodley Lewis . . . . . .Los Angeles 5566 W. 63rd Street, 90016 Manuel Caldera . . . . . .Hawthorne 3355 El Segundo Blvd., 90250
32—Verna D. Mattox . . . . . .Torrance 22647-B Nadine Circle, 90505 Robert M. Toomajian .Long Beach 3810 Chestnut Avenue, 90807 Jean M. Tomlinson . . . . .Torrance 22700 Date Avenue, 90505	32—Gerald Felando . . . . . .San Pedro 1422 Averill Avenue, 90732 Steven G. Plakos . . . . . .San Pedro 4017 Bluff Place, 90731 Jean Elizabeth Rieper .Harbor City 920 W. 245th Street, 90710
33—Albert C. Zapanta . . . . . .Whittier 10310 Lindesmith Ave., 90603 Travis Manning . . . . . .La Puente 17350 Temple Avenue, 91744 Robert F. Bauer . . . . . .Whittier 8602 Via Santa Cruz, 90605	33—Charlotte J. Heagney . . .La Mirada 15811 Whitepost Lane, 90638 Clarence C. Hobdy . . . . . .Norwalk 14513 Dumont Avenue, 90650 John E. Dempsey . . . . . .Walnut 20042 Emerald Meadow Dr., 91789
34—Dennis Brown . . . . . .Signal Hill 2621 E. 20th Street, #3, 90804 Daniel E. Lungren . . . .Long Beach 5102 Pageantry, 90808 Ollie Speraw . . . . . .Long Beach 3661 "G" Country Club Dr., 90807	34—Elva W. DeLyre . . . . .Long Beach 1100 El Mirador Avenue, 90815 Daniel C. Montano Huntington Beach 6721 Lafayette Drive, 92647 Windy Diane Weber Huntington Beach 17060 Edgewater Lane, 92649

CALIFORNIA (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
35—William Lancaster .....Covina 1502 Colver Place, 91724	35—Donna L. Allgeier .....Covina 19540 E. Dexter Street, 91724
B. Ruth "Rusty" Feddersen West Covina 1512 E. Portner Street, 91791	Walter R. Buerger .....Covina 20769 E. Mesarica Road, 91724
June J. Wallin .....Ontario 1540 N. Euclid Avenue, 91762	David Dreier .....La Verne 3066 Knollwood, 91750
36—Les Richter .....Riverside 1405 Via Vallarta, 92506	36—Thelma Bane .....Palm Desert Post Office Box 363, 92260
Zephia V.R. "Sandy" Bock Palm Springs 1175 Sagebrush, 92262	Douglas G. Jacobs .....Riverside 2154 Gainsborough Drive, 92506
Scott Edward Darling ...Riverside 7955 Magnolia Ave., #3A, 92262	Norma G. Pepiot .....Riverside 6108 Pachappa Drive, 92506
37—Jerry Lewis .....San Bernardino 5328 Park Lane, 92404	37—Walter Max Binswager Palm Desert 74710 Old Prospector Trail, 92260
Edmund T. Dombrowski Redlands 1321 Knoll Road, 92373	William R. Leonard ....Highland 3162 Belvedere Street, 92346
Dick Darling .....Palm Springs 1655 E. Palm Canyon Dr., #101, 92262	Myra Goldwater ....Palm Springs 1241 Sunshine Way, 92262
38—Constance B. Bleick .....Cypress 4951 Lemon Avenue, 90630	38—Betty J. Hoke .....Cypress 11689 Midway Drive, 90630
Dennis Ray Catron ..Westminster 8562 Bermuda Avenue, 92683	May Koleff .....Stanton 12360 Arrowhead Street, 90680
Alleyne Reed .....Westminster 10451 Florence Avenue, 92683	Del Kanode .....Cypress 5184 Melbourne Drive, 90630
39—William E. Dannemeyer .Fullerton 834 Granview Avenue, 92632	39—Juanita M. Firth .....Santa Ana 12105 Red Hill, 92705
Bruce Nestande .....Orange 2028 Orangeview Lane, 92667	Alberta J. Southard .....La Habra 840 Teakwood Avenue, 90631
Robert F. Beaver .....Fullerton 1235 Margarita Drive, 92633	Louise M. Steel .....La Habra 1410 SansinenaLane, 90631
40—Charlotte Mousel .....Tustin 14475 Galy Street, 92680	40—Marian Bergeson ..Newport Beach 1721 Tradewinds Lane, 92660
Willard S. Voit .....Balboa 2103 Granada Avenue, 92661	Cynthia B. Bunnell Newport Beach 1301 Santiago Drive, 92660
Robert E. Badham .Newport Beach 1242 Rutland Road, #6, 92660	Vera Manning .....Laguna Hills 521-0 Calle Aragon, 92653

CALIFORNIA (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
41—Velma Farmer .....San Diego 2744 Chatsworth Blvd., 92106	41—Thomas M. Sullivan ...San Diego 3953 Oregon Street, 92104
Gordon C. Luce .....San Diego 369 Silvergate Avenue, 92106	Doris A. Tusch .....San Diego 3940 La Cresta Drive, 92107
Peter B. Wilson .....San Diego 4146 Genesee Avenue, 92111	Albert Anderson, Jr. ...San Diego 1540 Garrison Place, 92106
42—Michael J. Clark ....Lemon Grove 7086 Broadway, 92045	42—Dorothy B. Bradley ....San Diego 3344 Brant Street, 92103
Eleanor Ring Storrs .....Coronado 801 Tolita Avenue, 92118	Janice K. Madigan .....San Diego 3010 Curlew Street, 92103
Lawrence C. Mattera ...San Diego 2838 Juniper Street, 92104	Armando Ramirez Chula Vista 729 Nolan Avenue, 92011
43—Norman C. Roberts .....La Jolla 2810 Hidden Valley Rd., 92037	43—John T. Dailey .....Escondido 157 Vladic Lane, 92027
James B. Coles .....Del Mar RFD 44, South Lane, 92014	Albert B. Frowiss Rancho Santa Fe Post Office Box 909, 92067
William D. Evans .....La Jolla 7819 La Jolla Vista Dr., 92037	Gary G. Kreep .....Escondido 460 E. Washington Ave., Apt. 142, 92025

COLORADO

(Thirty-one Delegates)

Chairman of Delegation: Holly Coors

Note: Opposite each Delegate is shown the Alternate for that particular Delegate.

At Large

Delegates	*Alternates*
Willard L. Walker .....Loveland Route 1, Box 217, 80537	Wayne B. Fawks .....Bailey Box 311, 80421
Jacque Ponder .....Aurora 2573 South Lima Way, 80014	L. Mindy Meiklejohn .....Arvada 7540 Kline Drive, 80005
Steven K. Bosley .....Boulder 1650 Park Lake Drive, 80301	John K. Singlaub .....Tabernash 80478
William L. Armstrong .....Englewood 5256 E. Princeton, 80110	Brinkley Brown, III ..Glenwood Springs Box 1192, 81601
J.L. "Bud" Johnson .....Greeley 23 Alles Drive, 80631	Dave Rowland .....Pueblo West 298 South Falcon, 81007
Hal Shroyer .....Westminster Post Office Box 232, 80030	J. Edgar Chenoweth .....Trinidad Box 48, 81082

COLORADO (Continued)

Delegates

Ken Kramer . . . . . .Colorado Springs
3803 Half Turn Road, 80917
Freda J. Poundstone . . . . . .Englewood
9500 Poundstone Place, 80110
Pepe Mendez . . . . . .Denver
1350 Lafayette, #405, 80203
Alvin Jenkins . . . . . .Campo
Box 99, 81029
Richard Whitney . . . . . .Montrose
19382 Highway 550, 81401
Nancy Strauss . . . . . .Colorado Springs
5407 Cambria Drive, 80918
Carl M. Williams . . . . . .Denver
160 Cherry Street, 80206
Wendy Sanko . . . . . .Denver
981 South Race, 80209
Holly Coors . . . . . .Golden
100 Castle Rock Drive, 80401
Phillip L. Pankey . . . . . .Littleton
5763 Shasta Circle, 80120

Alternates

Pat Winterfield . . . . . .Colorado Springs
5120 Park Vista Boulevard, 80918
George W. Foulk . . . . . .Las Animas
Route 1, Box 136D, 81054
R.B. Flemons . . . . . .Pueblo
1626 Horse Shoe, 81001
Carole J. Lowe . . . . . .Cheyenne Wells
Post Office Box 188, 80810
Wallace Higgins . . . . . .Grand Junction
493 Grand Valley Drive, 81501
Eleanor Von Bargen . . . . . .Denver
5555 East Yale, #3, 80222
Frank H. Randall . . . .Colorado Springs
1270 Hathaway Drive, 80915
Darrell Campbell . . . . . .Canon City
Post Office Box 996, 81212
Joel M. Karlin . . . . . .Lakewood
6305 West 6th Avenue, 80215
Roger Candelaria . . . . . .Pagosa Springs
Box 1649, 81147

DISTRICT

1—James W. Aspinwall . . . . . .Denver
2776 South Clayton Street, 80210
Paul W. Powers . . . . . .Denver
650 South Cherry Street, 80222
Lucio "Rod" Rodiguez . . . . .Denver
2720 West Florida Avenue, 80219
2—Athenia Michel . . . . . .Lakewood
411 South Otis, 80226
Richard J. Morgan, IV . . . .Boulder
7301 Petursdale Court, 80301
Tom Tancredo . . . . . .Arvada
6543 Owens Court, 80004
3—Scott R. Tipton . . . . . .Cortez
702 Arbor Street, 81321
Polly Coleman . . . . . .Saguache
Box 196, 81149
Frances Mathews . . . . . .Pueblo
3208 Del Mar, 81008

1—Randi Lynn Kates . . . . . .Denver
1030 South Harrison, 80209
Lowell W. Weiss . . . . . .Denver
5732 East Ithaca Place, 80237
Margaret D. Sawyer . . . . . .Denver
700 Franklin Street, 80218
2—Dave Ozman . . . . . .Boulder
1343 Wildwood Court, 80303
Donald E. Couch . . . . . .Lakewood
1038 South Alkire, 80228
John J. Fitzpatrick . . . . . .Golden
7387 Orion Street, 80401
3—Carolyn D. Farnsworth . . . . .Pueblo
776 Paseo Dorado Drive, 81108
Barbara Sarver . . . . . .Durango
375 North East Circle, 81301
Steven R. McDowell
Colorado Springs
1201 Forest Road, 80906

COLORADO (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
4—Ted Poliac .....Westminster 9768 Meade Circle, 80030	4—Steve Johnson .....Fort Collins 217 Parmelee, 80521
Dan Thurlow .....Grand Junction 1979 East 7/8 Road, 81503	Mike McClain .....Craig 1734 East Highway #40, 81625
Lynn D. Young .....Greely 1925 28th Avenue, #32, 80631	Al Ross .....Fort Morgan Box 1020, 80701
5—Bill Bounds .....Parker 8400 East Ponderosa Drive, 80134	5—Jeannie Jolly .....Deer Trail Box 26, 80105
Ruth Peterson .....Littleton 6322 South Williams, 80122	Bob H. Edens .....Littleton 7562 South Madison Circle, 80122
William H. Becker Colorado Springs 1448 Bellaire Drive, 80909	Arthur J. Marquez .....Thornton 9111 Delwood Court, 80229

CONNECTICUT

(Thirty-five Delegates)

Co-Chairmen of Delegation: Ralph E. Capecelatro & Malcolm Baldrige

AT LARGE

Delegates	*Alternates*
John Davis Lodge .....Westport 129 Easton Road, 06880	Robin Moore .....Westport 279 Sturges Highway, 06880
Paul J. Manafort, Sr. .....New Britain 45 Overhill Avenue, 06053	Yvonne Hill .....Simsbury 42 Barry Lane, 06070
George Gunther .....Stratford 890 Judson Place, 06497	Stephen Michaels .....Stratford 180 Rosebrook Drive, 06497
Henry Povinelli .....Milford 5 Atwood Street, 06460	Bonnie Bastien .....Fairfield 388 Birch Road, 06430
Jo McKenzie .....Ivoryton Copper Beech Inn, Main Street, 06442	John W. Hughes .....Stratford 415 Housatonic Avenue, 06497
Anthony Nania .....Canaan West Main Street, 06018	Richard Slawsky .....Orange 372 Orange Center Rd., 06477
Robert Katz .....Bridgeport 570 State Street, 06604	Lyman Rogers .....Newton Shepard Hill Farm, 06470
Alexander Haig .....Farmington 29 Mountain Spring Road, 06032	Anne Scherr .....Hamden 660 Mix Avenue, 06514
Stewart B. McKinney .....Fairfield 4480 Congress Street, 06430	Betsy Heminway .....Greenwich Deer Lane, 06830
John Alsop .....Avon 70 Talcott Notch Road, 06001	Lillian Ludlam .....New Hartford Town Hill, 06057
Malcolm Baldrige .....Woodbury 14 Tomlinson Road, 06798	Thomas Melady .....Fairfield 637 Rock Ridge Road, 06430

CONNECTICUT (Continued)

Delegates

Prescott Bush, Jr. .....Greenwich
Deer Park, 06830
Helen Robbins .....Farmington
792 Farmington Avenue, 06032
Julie Belaga .....Westport
9 Berndale Drive, 06880
Louis Clapes .....Stamford
171 Dogwood Lane, 06903

Helen Bosley .....New Haven
24 Ramsdell Place, 06506
Sylvio Preli .....Windsor Locks
156 Elm Street, 06096

Alternates

Thomas Collamore .....Bloomfield
4 Hillside Drive, 06002
Richard Fish .....Wolcott
31 Evergreen Drive, 06716
Selma Kaufman .....West Hartford
132 North Main Street, 06107
Donald Earnshaw .....Stamford
Continental Can,
Landmark Square, 06901
Maria Brunski .....Meriden
100 D Avenue, 06450
Dan Lufkin .....Lakeville
Wells Hill Road, 06039

DISTRICT

1—Antonina Parker .....Glastonbury
187 Sunset Drive, 06033
Marvin Ruzansky ...West Hartford
267 Ridgewood Road, 06107
John Berman .....West Hartford
37 Glenwood Road, 06107
2—Joseph Lombardo .....Middlefield
Chestnut Hill, 06455

Vincent Amato .....Middletown
Ridgewood Road, 06457
John N. DeMerell .....Essex
River Road, 06426
3—Ralph E. Capecelatro .....Orange
148 Englewood Drive, 06477
Frederick K. Biebel .....Stratford
485 Ocean Avenue, 06497
Lawrence DeNardis .....Hamden
790 Still Hill Road, 06518
4—William L. Hanley, Jr. ..Greenwich
81 Butternut Hollow Road, 06830
Ann Artel .....Norwalk
29 Catherine Street, 06851
Michael Morano .....Greenwich
44 Railroad Avenue, 06830
5—George Guidera .....Weston
227 Lyons Plain Road, 06883
George Lewson .....Danbury
Autumn Drive, 06810
John Mannix .....Wilton
166 Nod Hill Road, 06897

1—Vanessa Bryant .....Hartford
87 Harold Street, 06109
Barbara Mooney .....East Hartford
99 Sterling Road, 06108
Curt Smith .....Manchester
52 Downey Drive, 06040
2—Barbara Brown .....Norwich
RFD #3, Northwest
Corner Road, 06360
Edward J. Seder .....Norwich
69 Sherwood Lane, 06360
George Whitham .....Storrs
954 Storrs Road, 06268
3—Carol Lyons .....Madison
52 Wall Street, 06443
Elaine Capecelatro .....Orange
148 Englewood Drive, 06477
Paul Bujalski .....New Haven
488 Whitney Avenue, 06511
4—Emil Benvenuto .....Riverside
1155 Post Road, 06878
William Patrick .....Darien
17 Rocaton Road, 06820
Jean Mayer .....Greenwich
Spring House Road, 06830
5—John Anglace .....Shelton
676 Long Hill Avenue, 06484
Louise Accardi .....Weston
28 Blue Spruce Circle, 06883
Richard Foley .....Oxford
O'Neil Road, 06483

CONNECTICUT (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
6—Edward Simpson .....Simsbury 21 Harvest Hill Road, 06070	6—William McCabe .....Winsted Old Colebrook Road, 06098
Astrid Hanzalek .....Suffield 155 South Main Street, 06078	Bonnie Wooding .....Morris West Shore Road, 06763
Russell Post, Jr. .....Canton 45 Lawton Road, 06019	Barrie Shaw .....Canton 430 Dowd Avenue, 06019

DELAWARE

(Twelve Delegates)

Chairman of Delegation: Pierre S. duPont, IV

Note: Opposite each Delegate is shown the Alternate for that particular Delegate.

At Large

Delegates	*Alternates*
John Donohoe .....Wilmington 2612 West 17th Street, 19806	Rosalie Obara .....Wilmington 747 South Harrison Street, 19805
Albert Jackson .....Wilmington 28 Cliffside Court, 19810	George C. Hering, III ....Wilmington 1905 Field Road, 19806
William Roth .....Wilmington Old Kennett Road, 19807	Paul Hart .....Wilmington 1910 Floral Drive, 19806
Thomas B. Evans .....Wilmington 1111 Brandon Lane, 19807	Roger Roy .....Wilmington 210 Decalb Avenue, 19804
Frances Iverson .....New Castle 25 Queen Avenue, 19720	George Connors .....Wilmington 316 Maple Avenue, Cedar Heights, 19804
Al Pagano .....Newark 18 Mattei Lane, 19713	William W. Britton, III ...New Castle 417 Delaware Street, 19720
Pierre S. duPont, IV .....Dover Governor's House, Kings Highway, 19901	William Felty .....Dover 111 Rose Valley Raod, 19901
Frank DiMondi .....Wyoming Post Office Box 113, 19934	Leon Trivits .....Seaford RD 4, Box 24, 19973
Charlotte Mach .....Lewes Beach 1206 Bay Avenue, 19958	Rowland Wollston .....Seaford 121 Hall Street, 19973
Jerome O. Herlihy .....Wilmington 121 Delview Drive, 19810	Mary Beth Boykin .....Wilmington 3200 Tanya Drive, 19803
Priscilla Rakestraw .....Hockessin RD 3, Box 247, Graves Road, 19707	Marilyn Forney .....Montchanin 3601 Montchanin Road, 19710
Eugene Bookhammer .....Lewes RD 2, Box 1236, 19958	Pegi Slack .....Bear 71 Caravel Farms, 19701

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

(Fourteen Delegates)

Chairman of Delegation: Arthur A. Fletcher

Note: Opposite each Delegate is shown the Alternate for that particular Delegate.

AT LARGE

Delegates	*Alternates*
Alice H. Banks ..... Washington 3636 16th Street, N.W., 20010	Elsie T. Neely ..... Washington 4231 Colorado Avenue, N.W., 20011
Melvin M. Burton, Jr. ..... Washingon 700 7th Street, S.W., 20024	Connie Mack Higgins ..... Washington 710 4th Street, S.E., 20003
Oliver T. Carr, Jr. ..... Washington 4935 Quebec Street, N.W., 20016	Russell Train ..... Washington 1803 Kalorama Square, N.W., 20008
Cynthia D. Chin-Lee ..... Washington 3223 Chesapeake Street, N.W., 20008	Ann F. Heuer ..... Washington 4831 Indian Lane, N.W., 20016
Stephen I. Danzansky ..... Washington 1120 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., 20036	Edward B. Burling, Jr. ..... Washington 1339 29th Street, N.W., 20007
Minnie Edwards ..... Washington 3930 Benning Road, N.E., 20019	Margaret K. Taylor ..... Washington 3636 16th Street, N.W., 20010
Jan A. K. Evans ..... Washington 3033 Woodland Drive, N.W., 20008	Edith H. Hogan ..... Washington 213 11th Street, S.E., 20003
Arthur A. Fletcher ..... Washington 516 G Street, S.W., 20024	Milton Bins ..... Washington 1120 Columbia Road, N.W., 20009
Rockwood H. Foster ..... Washington 3047 West Lane Keys, N.W., 20007	Orlando W. Darden ..... Washington 8000 16th Street, N.W., 20012
Cecil G. Grant ..... Washington 1820 Shephard Street, N.E., 20018	Maxine W. Snowden ..... Washington 1628 15th Street, N.W., 20009
Samuel C. Jackson ..... Washington 5111 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., 20016	Jeannine Smith Clark ..... Washington 1844 Randolph St., N.W., 20011
Jerry A. Moore, Jr. ..... Washington 1612 Buchanan Street, N.W., 20011	John West ..... Washington 237 57th Place, N.E., 20019
John A. Nevius ..... Washington 2912 Garfield Terrace, N.W., 20008	Jonathan W. Sloat ..... Washington 4429 Lowell Street, N.W., 20016
Carol L. Schwartz ..... Washington 3600 Cumberland Street, N.W., 20008	Carolyn Y. Coursen ..... Washington 5053 Loughboro Road, N.W., 20016

FLORIDA

(Fifty-one Delegates)

Chairman of Delegation: L. E. "Tommy" Thomas

AT LARGE

Delegates	*Alternates*
Paula Hawkins ..... Winter Park 1214 Park Avenue North, 32789	William L. Raley ..... Winter Haven Post Office Box 1112, 33880

FLORIDA (Continued)

Delegates

William C. Cramer ....Tarpon Springs
1448 Lake Tarpon Avenue, East, 33589
Earl T. Smith .....Palm Beach
1021 North Ocean Boulevard, 33480
Dorothy Wallace .....Miami
12605 S.W. 93rd Avenue, 33176
Mario J. Elgarresta .....Miami
9257 S.W. 8th Terrance, 33174
Mary Warren .....Orlando
3018 Hoffner Road, 32812

Alternates

Evelyn Dain .....Panama City
1207 W. 10th Street, 32401
Edward J. "Ted" Ewing .....Venice
509 Everglades, 33595
Phil Lisman .....Brandon
3510 Buckboard Lane, 33511
Charles E. Curtis .....Winter Park
98 Palmer Avenue, 32789
Claire Westerholm .....Silver Springs
Route 2, Box 310, 32688

DISTRICT

1—L. E. "Tommy" Thomas
Panama City
2814 Canal Drive, 32401
George Everette Day ....Shalimar
23 Bayshore Drive, 32579
Elise Delano Biggs
Santa Rosa Beach
Box 127, 32459
2—L. James Cherry, Jr. ....Live Oak
Box 980, 32060
Marion S. Turner .....Jasper
Box 1007, 32052
Herbert W. Chandler ..Tallahassee
2254 Armistead Road, 32312
3—Kurt Wm. Becker
Fernandina Beach
1010 Atlantic Avenue, 32034
E. Nelson Amos .....Jacksonville
7144 Hanson Drive, N., 32210
Adelaide C. Kirkpatrick
Atlantic Beach
1242 Beach Avenue, 32233
4—Elinor F. Van Dyke
Ponte Vedra Beach
202-2 Thousand Oaks, 32082
Bill Taylor .....Jacksonville
7660 Holiday Road, S., 32216

Warren H. Goodwin ..Palm Coast
5 Carol Court, 32037

1—Betty R. Gerritz Ft. Walton Beach
206 California Drive, 32548

Sherry M. Camp .....Gulf Breeze
Route 2, Box 53, 32561
Archie Sawyer .....Cantonment
Route 1, Box 744, 32533

2—William J. Haley .....Lake City
Post Office Box 1212, 32055
Edith L. McCrimmon .Yankeetown
22 Palm Drive, 32698
JoAnn Walker .....Tallahassee
3045 Corrib Drive, 32308
3—Rex Rhea .....Jacksonville
4810 Long Bow Road, 32210

Marilyn Ava Ketcher ..Jacksonville
5219 Eulace Road, 32210
Allen K. Von Spiegelfeld
Jacksonville
1727 Westminster Ave., 32210
4—Madeline E. Yaden
Green Cove Springs
738 Myrtle Avenue, 32043
George L. Loggins, III
Jacksonville
3416 Fairbanks Grant Road, N., 32217
Jay Ginn .....Palatka
421 St. Johns Avenue, 32077

FLORIDA (Continued)

Delegates

5—Bobby L. Brantley .....Longwood
1351 Markham Woods Rd., 32750
Clare A. Barnard.....Lutz
Route 1, Box 750, 33549

Vince Fechtel, Jr. .....Leesburg
Tomato Hill, P.O. Box 1675, 32748

6—Henry B. Sayler....St. Petersburg
220 Rafael Blvd., N.E., 33704
Frank T. Balke
N. Redington Beach
433 Bath Club Blvd., S., 33708
Gerard O'Brien ....St. Petersburg
3443 Fifth Avenue N., 33713

7—Jean Cordiner Dougherty ....Lutz
Route 2, Box 1212, 33549

Herb Swarzman.....Tampa
4214 Fairway Run, 33624
Helen J. Benshoof.....Tampa
1350 Eckles Drive, 33612

8—Walter E. Gordon .....Bartow
395 S. Floral Avenue, 33830
Barbara Motsinger..Winter Haven
301 1st Terrace, N.W., 33880

Danford L. Sawyer, Jr. ...Sarasota
2821 Hardee Drive, 33581

9—Jeanie R. Austin .....Orlando
629 E. Livingston St., 32803
James Porter Ayres ....Melbourne
545 Conifer Street, 32901
Malcolm E. McLouth .Cocoa Beach
Unit 406, 5300 Ocean Beach Boulevard, 32931

10—Jeanette E. Riel .....Vero Beach
1730 45th Avenue, 32960
James R. Bass .....Punta Gorda
2755 Aqua Court, 33950
John E. Banks .....Vero Beach
4120 Indian River Drive, 32960

Alternates

5—Carol Perry.....Maitland
1092 Dyson Drive, 32751

Mary Donnell .....Clearwater
736 Island Way, Apt. 506, 33515
Audrey Mann Holloway
Altamonte Springs
118 Spring Valley Loop, 32701

6—David Lumbard .....Seminole
9695 125 Street N., 33542
Gail Presley .....St. Petersburg
2056 68th Terrace S., 33712

Otis Whitney
St. Petersburg Beach
337 64th Avenue, 33706

7—Joseph A. McClain, III .....Lutz
Route 2, Box 707,
Berger Road, 33549
Karen Blake Solyan .....Tampa
807 W. Patbur Avenue, 33612
John Ward Dougherty .....Lutz
Route 2, Box 1212, 33549

8—Betty Pierce Strom.....Bradenton
133 Pinehurst Drive, 33507
James Kent Bartruff .....Sarasota
8141 Westmoreland Drive, 33580
Vanessa J. Anderson Winter Haven
411 Alachua Drive, S.E., 33880

9—Oscar F. Juarez .....Orlando
2012 Merritt Park Drive, 32803
Bette J. Meadows .....Melbourne
611 Chantilly Drive, 32935
Lewis S. Earle .....Winter Park
255 N. Lakemont Ave., 32792

10—Mary J. Arnold .....Okeechobee
153 Perch Drive, 33472
Marian P. Bailey .....Ft. Myers
Route 5, Box 139, 33908
Lou Antol, Jr. .....Ft. Myers
Putter Pointe Lane,
Cypress Lake C.C., 33907

FLORIDA (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
11—Norman Wymbs .....Boca Raton 391 S.E. Spanish Trail, 33432	11—Arlene Hollen .....Boca Raton 1240 S.W. 21 Street, 33432
Ann Cassady .....Boca Raton 10 Camino Real East, Box 254, 33432	Cristobal Bernandez Oviedo Riviera Beach 2701 E Avenue, 33404
William G. Glynn .Ft. Lauderdale 3170 N.W. 68th Street, 33309	J. David Eller ....Deerfield Beach 281 S.E. 18th Avenue, 33441
12—A. Gray Boylston ..Ft. Lauderdale 2115 N.E. 37th Drive, Apt. 124, 33308	12—Leah Glickfield ....Ft. Lauderdale 3750 Galt Ocean Drive (606), 33308
Ernette Haring .....Miramar 6624 S.W. 33 Street, 33023	Ellen Ogle .....Ft. Lauderdale 510 Lido Drive, 33301
David H. "Dave" Smith Ft. Lauderdale 2424 Bayview Drive, 33305	David Campbell Lane Ft. Lauderdale 2115 N.E. 37th Drive, Apt. 236, 33308
13—B.J. "Boots" Guider .Miami Shores 795 N.E. 94 Street, 33138	13—James J. O'Callaghan North Miami 1061 N.E. 140th Street, 33161
Mary Collins ....N. Miami Beach 1020 N.E. 155 Street, 33162	E. Judy DiLapo .....Miami 777 N.E. 62nd Street, Apt. 309C, 33138
Thomas J. Tynan .....Hialeah 1315 West 80th Street, 33014	D. Thomas Paustian .....Hialeah 7055 W. 12th Avenue, #7, 33014
14—Angel Bradley .....N. Miami 12855 Hickory Rd. Keystone Isle #5, 33181	14—Maria Gonzalez .....Miami 295 N.W. 72 Avenue, #412, 33126
Mike Thompson.....Coral Gables 3205 Riviera Drive, 33134	Hugo F. Olazabal .....Miami 1821 S.W. 17 Street, 33145
Jeanne Howard McVeyCoral Gables 528 Marmore Avenue, 33146	Braulio Baez .....Miami 2760 S.W. 10 Street, Apt. 19, 33131
15—Robert Rosasco .....Miami 11830 S.W. 92nd Avenue, 33176	15—Suzanne Claughton Matthews Miami 7405 Ponce De Leon Road, 33143
George E. Dolezal .....Duck Key Route 1, Box 1029, 33050	Theresa Nelson Ashkar ....Miami 6500 S.W. 79 Court, 33143
Carlos Salman .....Miami 1624 S.W. 100 Avenue, 33165	Roberto Cambo .....Key Biscayne 670 S. Mashta Drive, 33149

GEORGIA

(Thirty-six Delegates)

Chairman of Delegation: T. E. Stivers

At Large

Delegates

T. E. Stivers ..... Decatur
Post Office Box 608, 30031
Margaret Holliman ..... Atlanta
450 Forest Hills Drive, 30342
Truett Moss ..... Calhoun
Post Office Box 211, 30701
Matthew Patton ..... Atlanta
4220 Harris Trail, 30327
James L. Armstrong ... Stone Mountain
599 Tallwood Drive, 30083
Lonzy Edwards ..... Macon
2653 New Clinton Road, 31211

Alternates

Leo J. Whaley ..... Cohutta
Box 191, 30710
Cecilia T. Smith ..... Tifton
Box 307, 31794
Richard C. Jordan ..... Smyrna
910 Winchester Trail, 30080
Carl W. Raymond ..... Sharpsburg
110 Old Field Road, 30377
W. A. Evans ..... Augusta
2301 Shadowood Drive, 30906
June Kidd ..... Jasper
Box H-0012, Bent Tree Drive, 30143

District

1—Joseph J. Tribble ..... Savannah
402 Arlington Road, 31406
Herb Jones, Jr. ..... Savannah
413 Arlington Road, 31406
Ross Bowen ..... Lyons
Mt. Moriah Road, 30436
2—Joyce Carter ..... Adel
Post Office Box 499, 31620
Berry Laslie ..... Attapulgus
Route 1, Box 114, 31715
Orson Swindle ..... Camilla
Route 4, Box 532, 31730
3—E. Wayne Harbert ..... Columbus
4021 Lyn Drive, 31904
Ed Swearingen ..... Reynolds
Post Office Box 512, 31076
Jan Dickens ..... Columbus
4032 Twilight Drive, 31904
4—James M. Kelly .. Avondale Estates
1183 Bromley Road, 30002

David M. Smith ..... Decatur
1556 Oak Grove Road, 30033
Walter L. Van Nostrand .. Decatur
3931 Lehigh Boulevard, 30034

1—Karen Ross .... St. Simon's Island
#84 Village Green, 31522
Elaine Auten ..... Brunswick
628 King Cotton Row, 31520
Frank C. Parker, III .... Statesboro
Post Office Box 591, 30458
2—Thomas O. Mayo ..... Albany
3511 Old Dawson Road, 31707
Marshall Bailey ..... Albany
724 Andover Lane, 31705
Russell Taylor ..... Albany
Route 2, Box 405, 31792
3—Oleeta Aspinwall ..... LaGrange
652 Azalea Drive, 30240
John F. Bradley ..... Lilly
Post Office Box 127, 31051
Jim Brown ..... Montezuma
Post Office Box 303, 31063
4—Dorothy S. Bodenheimer
Dunwoody
4929 Cambridge Drive, 30338
Russell K. Paul ... Stone Mountain
613 San Pablo Court, 30083
Eleta M. Simmons ..... Doraville
2795 Evans Woods Drive, 30340

GEORGIA (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
5—Dorothy Brewer .....Atlanta 410 Kenbrook Drive N.W., 30327	5—Leonard Portnell .....Atlanta 908 Canterbury Road N.E., 30324
Mabel Graubeal .....Atlanta 2606 Piedmont Avenue N.E., Apt. E-5, 30324	Jo McClung .....Atlanta 5560 Lake Island Drive N.W., 30327
Nancy Keever .....Atlanta 4613 Club Circle N.E., 30319	Jane Pruett .....Roswell 1300 Lake Ridge Court, 30076
6—Claudine Williams ...College Park 5725 Buffington Road, 30349	6—Betty Taylor .....Griffin 1245 Carver Road, 30223
Guy F. Hill .....College Park 2086 Rugby Avenue, 30337	Barbara L. Scruggs .....Grantville Route 1, Box 362, 30220
Lawrence E. Epps .....Riverdale 8243 Glenwoods Drive, 30274	George A. McLendon Peachtree City 118 Cedar Point, 30269
7—Patricia Royal .....Smyrna 4002 Shady Lane Drive S.E., 30080	7—Willard Strain .....Dalton 1508 Dug Gap Road, 30720
Thomas Lloyd .....Rome 19 Hillcroft Drive, 30161	Carolyn Meadows .....Marietta 2665 Holly Springs Road, 30062
James A. Zauderer .....Marietta 421 Buckingham Drive, 30062	Lynn Hartman .Lookout Mountain 1322 Scenic Highway, TN., 37350
8—Oliver C. Bateman .....Macon 4243 Old Club Road East, 31210	8—George O. Haskell, III ....Macon 550 Pierce Avenue, 31204
Moena Davidson .....Rentz Post Office Box 8, 31075	George M. Stembridge, Jr. Milledgeville Post Office Box 1013, 31061
Betty Hall .....Waycross 1304 East Cherokee Drive, 31501	Gaye M. Wynn .....Jesup 274 Ty Ty Street, 31545
9—Harold Mann .....Dalton 350 Carbondale Road S.W., 30720	9—Reva Jennings .....Cumming Route #10, Box 550, 30130
Kathie Miller ....Stone Mountain 2313 Lexington Avenue, 30087	Lynette Steine .....Norcross 3653 Corner's Way, 30092
Forrest Sawyer .....Canton 171 Cartersville Street, 30114	Dot Burns .....Gainesville 789 Sherwood Road N.W., 30501
10—Barbara Scott .....Augusta 2418 Williams Street, 30904	10—Dale Smith .....Athens 327 South Milledge Avenue, 30605
Leroy Lewis .....Louisville 304 West 9th Street, 30434	David Hanks .....Augusta 1130 Peachtree Road, 30909
Bryan Craft .....Athens 180 Holly Lane, 30606	Virginia A. Husen .....Martinez 3611 Burning Tree Court, 30907

GUAM

(Four Delegates)

Chairman of Delegation: Pedro Diaz Perez

AT LARGE

Delegates

Pedro Diaz Perez .....Agana
Post Office Box 3404, 96910
Catalina (Kitty) Ferrante .....Agana
Post Office Box 7194, 96910
Ronald (Ron) Edward Teehan ...Agana
Post Office Box 1672, 96910
Antonio Q. Sablan .....Agat
Agat Post Office, 96915

Alternates

Dolores (Lola) Balbin .....Agana
Post Office Box 1904, 96910
Marilyn Abalos .....Dededo
#4 Chichirika Street, 96912
James Brooks .....Agana
Post Office Box 1115, 96910

HAWAII

(Fourteen Delegates)

Chairman of Delegation: Hannibal Tavares

AT LARGE

Delegates

James Dahlberg .....Keauhou, Ka'u
Post Office Box 15, 96718
Allen Barr .....Makawao
Post Office Box 456, 96768
Olga Waterhouse .....Kailua
69 Kuula Street, 96734
Laura Bolles .....Waialua
68-090 Au Street, #103E, 96791
Anne Sutton .....Honolulu
3539 Kahawalu Drive, 96817
John Leopold .....Honolulu
2600 Pualani Way, #1003, 96815
Carla Coray .....Honolulu
83 Lunalilo Home Road, 96825
Ruth Gruenberg .....Koloa
RR 1, Box 96, 96756

Alternates

Tim Quinn .....Holualoa
Route 1, Box 202, 96725
A. D. "Buckie" Waterhouse .....Kula
1112 Mano Drive, 96790
Elwin Spray .....Kaneohe
47-459-3 Hui Iwa Street, 96744
Joan Hodges .....Mililani
94-314 Maiaohe Place, 96789
John Barrett .....Honolulu
602-C Alewa Drive, 96817
Leilani Ayson .....Honolulu
23 South King Street, 96813
Tom Wells .....Honolulu
919 Punahele Place, 96821
Mel Lowe .....Kapaa
RR 1, Box 290 #C-1, 96746

HAWAII (Continued)

Delegates *Alternates*

DISTRICT

1—Edward Brennan .....Honolulu
966 Waiholo Street, 96821
Frank Cooper .....Honolulu
Post Office Box 10375, 96816
Kinau Boyd Kamalii .....Honolulu
500 University Avenue,
#1601, 96826

1—Charles C. Spalding .....Honolulu
4505 Kahala Avenue, 96816
Frederick B. Forbes .....Honolulu
3697 Woodlawn Drive, 96822
Daniel Dew .....Honolulu
Post Office Box 25152, 96825

2—Mary George .....Kailua
782-G North Kalaheo Avenue,
96734
Richard Henderson .....Hilo
Post Office Box 747, 96720
Hannibal Tavares .....Wailuku
Post Office Box 1190, 96793

2—Robert "Ace" Conger ....Waipahu
94-289 Leonui Street, #52, 96797
Virginia Isbell .....Captain Cook
Post Office Box 926, 96704
Barbara S. Waterhouse .....Kula
1112 Mano Drive, 96790

IDAHO

(Twenty-one Delegates)

Chairman of Delegation: James A. McClure

AT LARGE

Delegates *Alternates*

Dick Buxton .....Boise
3209 Tucker Road, 83703
John Brooks .....Gooding
Route 2, Box 233, 83330
Leora Day .....Boise
1225 Warm Springs Ave., 83702
Roberta Cory .....Boise
4821 Allamar, 83704
Lorna Auld .....Boise
4154 Mountain View Dr.,
Box 7491, 83707
Ann Rydalch .....Idaho Falls
3824 East 17th, 83401
Ray Robbins .....Idaho Falls
2805 S. Boulevard, 83401
Charles Marshall .....Jerome
Route 1, Box 288, 83338
Pam Bengson .....Boise
2704 Raindrop Dr., 83706

Cal Niswander .....Craigmont
Box 5, 83523
Margie Wood .....Lewiston
2804 Panorama Dr., 83501
Wilma Gross .....Silverton
Box 25, 83867
Celia Folkinga .....Buhl
Route 4, 83316
Walter Moffatt .....Kamiah
801 Nez Perce Lane,
Box 668, 83536
Reed Larson .....Rexburg
138 Aries, 83440
Sheila Olsen .....Idaho Falls
1367 Homer Avenue, 83401
LaVaun Severe .....Boise
6219 Butte View Dr., 83704
Skip Smyser .....Parma
Route 1, 83660

IDAHO (Continued)

Delegates

Randy Ayre .....Boise
989 Parkhill Drive, 83702
Dick Bauer .....American Falls
512 West Park Ave., 83211
Tommy Walker .....Twin Falls
319 Orchard Dr., P.O. Box 1596, 83301
Tom Stivers .....Twin Falls
144 North Juniper, 83301
George Detweiler .....Twin Falls
1919 Alturas Drive, 83301

Lydia Edwards .....Donnelly
Post Office Box 22, 83615

Alternates

Mike Johnson .....Boise
5871 Targee, 83705
Donna Scott .....Twin Falls
486 Madrona, 83301
Greg Casey .....Boise
5629 Lynwood Place, 83704

Bob Sears .....Boise
10645 Edna, 83704
Jim Auld .....Boise
5154 Mountain View Drive, Box 7491, 83707
Janet Miller .....Boise
5707 Randolph Drive, 83705

DISTRICT

1—James A. McClure .....Payette
802 Hughes Drive, 83661
Ruthie Johnson .....Hayden Lake
1115 Avondale Loop Rd., 83835
Lee Shellman .....Coeur d'Alene
920 Ironwood Drive, 83814
2—George Hansen .....Pocatello
Post Office Box 1130, 83201
Dennis M. Olsen .....Idaho Falls
485 E Street, 83401
Dave Leroy .....Boise
2305 Claremont Drive, 83702

1—Jim Harris .....Boise
2119 Norcrest Drive, 83705
M. J. Byrne .....Boise
7717 Ustick, 83704
Forest Severe .....Boise
6219 Butte View Drive, 83704
2—Jim Johnston .....Pocatello
P.O. 938, 83201
Wayne B. Harris .....Blackfoot
Route 4, Box 216, 83221
Deborah Hartwell .....Jerome
Route 3, 83338

ILLINOIS

(One Hundred Two Delegates)

Chairman of Delegation: James R. Thompson

AT LARGE

Delegates

James R. Thompson .....Springfield
State Capitol Building, 62706
Charles H. Percy .....Wilmette
308 Linden, 60091
Don W. Adams .....Springfield
200 South Second Street, 62701

Alternates

Pete Remmert .....Secor
RR 1, 61771
Teddi Inman .....Batchtown
62006
J. Robert Barr .....Evanston
1316 Church, 60201

ILLINOIS (Continued)

Delegates

George Ryan .....Kankakee
912 South Greenwood, 60901
Donald L. Totten .....Hoffman Estates
620 Woodlawln Street, 60194

Mary Jo Arndt .....Lombard
35 South Stewart, 60148
Philip M. Crane .....Mt. Prospect
506 Can-dota, 60056
W. Clement Stone .....Chicago
222 W. Adams, 60606
Calvin W. Schuneman ...Prophetstown
409 Dale Avenue, 61277
John Tobias Dixon .....Chicago
9000 South Marshfield, 60620

Alternates

William Cellini .....Springfield
1231 West Vine St., 62704
Thomas A. Reynolds, Jr. .....Chicago
Winston & Strawn
1st National Plaza, #500, 60603
Paul H. Robinson, Jr. .....Chicago
209 South LaSalle, 60604
James G. Schneider .....Kankakee
8888 Cobb Boulevard, 60901
Thomas D. Shaw .....Dixon
Route 3, 61021
Phyllis Schlafly .....Alton
68 Fairmont, 62002
Lorraine G. Wire .....Belleville
301 Paddock Road, 62223

DISTRICT

1—Robert H. Holloway .....Chicago
6815 South Michigan Avenue, 60637
Hamilton B. Talbert, Jr. .Chicago
4906 South Drexel Boulevard, 60615

1—George Williams .....Chicago
614 East 51st Street, 60615
Clyde B. French .....Chicago
9825 South Forest Avenue, 60628

2—Lois Stevenson .....Chicago
10447 Avenue "E", 60617
Harry A. Carlson .....Chicago
1942 West 101st Place, 60643

2—Katherine Landis .....Chicago
9751 South Oakley Avenue, 60643
Veronica Udovic .....Chicago
10528 Avenue "L", 60617

3—Ronald Buikema ...South Holland
1150 East 173rd Place, 60473
Frank M. Ozinga ..Evergreen Park
9626 South Holman Street, 60642
Philip W. Collins ...Calumet City
395 Madison Avenue, 60409
Gene H. Wolfe .....Calumet City
1309 Buffalo Avenue, 60409
Eugene W. Lyons .....Oak Lawn
9814 South Kolmar Avenue, 60453

3—Kathleen Spencer .....Hometown
4701 West 89th Place, 60456
John P. McCann .....Chicago
3162 West 84th Place, 60652
Glenna F. Garnes .....Hazelcrest
16726 Shea, 60429
Gregory P. Munzell .....Worth
11124 Leamington Ave., 60482
Steven F. Rosenbaum ..Oak Lawn
10309 South Kedvale, 60453

ILLINOIS (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
4—Edward J. Derwinski . . .Flossmoor 2916 Polly Lane, 60422	4—Eleanor J. Watt . . . . . .Park Forest #27 Krotiak Road, 60466
Harold L. Tyrell . . .LaGrange Park 835 Sherwood, 60525	Ethel G. Kane . . . . . .Orland Park 14712 West Avenue, 60462
Catherine Clarke .Western Springs 4070 Central Avenue, 60558	Marion V. Seibel . . . . . .Palos Park 14 Ramsgate Drive, 60464
Homer H. Fields . . . . . .LaGrange 341 Leitch Avenue, 60525	Thomas J. Boissy . . . .Orland Park 15812 South 86th Avenue, 60462
Mark Q. Rhoads .Western Springs 4224 Grand Avenue, 60558	James G. Bilder . . .Chicago Ridge 10849 Oxford, 60415
5—Florence A. Kielbasa . . . . .Chicago 5128 South Avers, 60629	5—Frank G. Mrozowski . . . . .Chicago 5130 South Merrimac Street, 60638
Susan Catania . . . . . .Chicago 2801 South Michigan Avenue, 60616	Willard A. Cartwright . . .Chicago 2426 West 45th Place, 60632
Edward M. Gaynor . . . . . .Chicago 2948 West 60th Street, 60629	Mary Ann Braski . . . . . .Chicago 5158 South Kilbourne Avenue 60632
6—Henry J. Hyde . . . . . .Bensenville 1004 Argyle, 60106	6—Edward E. Bluthardt .Schiller Park 4042 Gremly Terrace, 60176
John J. Walsh, Jr. . . .River Forest 1425 Keystone Avenue, 60305	Joseph I. Woods . . . . . .Oak Park 546 North Oak Park Avenue, 60302
Edward P. Petersen . . . . .Maywood 710 North Second Avenue, 60153	Sandra J. Donohue . . . . . .Berwyn 1911 South Gunderson Avenue, 60402
James C. Soper . . . . . .Cicero 1844 South Austin Blvd., 60650	Daniel S. Weber . . . . .Forest Park 436 Circle Avenue, 60130
Herbert E. Gardner . . . . .Riverside 195 Southcote Road, 60546	Kennard Klingenberg Harwood Heights 4651 N. Nagle Avenue, 60630
7—Paul J. Randolph . . . . . .Chicago 860 North Lake Shore Drive, 60611	7—B. Diane Torrens . . . . . .Chicago 220 East Walton Place, 60611
Ronald A. Stearney . . . . . .Chicago 180 N. LaSalle, 60601	Bonnie R. Labrie . . . . . .Chicago #40 East Oak Street, 60611
8—James V. Battista . . . . . .Chicago 2434 North Nordica Avenue, 60635	8—Grace M. Foster . . . . . .Chicago 200 North Keeler, 60624
Lillian J. Braun . . . . . .Chicago 2545 North Monticello Ave., 60647	Brenda Joyce Mabry . . . . .Chicago 4244 West Van Buren Street 60624

ILLINOIS (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
9—Elroy C. Sandquist, Jr. . . .Chicago 353 Belden Avenue, 60614	9—Susan R. Salutsky . . . . . .Chicago 1936 North Clark Street, 60614
William L. Perlman . . . . .Chicago 1123 W. North Shore, 60626	Jared Kaplan . . . . . .Chicago 1660 N. LaSalle St., #3512, 60614
Timothy E. Drake . . . . . Chicago 1660 N. LaSalle Street, #2602 60614	Herbert M. Kraus . . . . . .Chicago 415 Aldine, 60657
10—A. E. "Bert" Jenner, Jr. Kenilworth 119 Tudor Place, 60043	10—Alice Rae Coleman . . . . .Evanston 2646 Bennet Avenue, 60201
Jeanne H. Bradner . . . . .Winnetka 1011 Oak Street, 60093	Peter V. Baugher . . . . . .Evanston 816 Monticello Place, 60201
William James Boyd . . .Winnetka 781 Walden Road, 60093	Irene R. Ziv . . . . . .Northfield #8 Country Lane, 60093
Sheldon Gardner . . . . . .Evanston 728 Elmwood Avenue, 60202	Joyce E. Mims . . . . . .Evanston 2208 Foster Street, 60201
Max L. Rowe . . . . . .Wilmette 805 Redbud Lane, 60091	Robin S. Baugher . . . . . .Evanston 816 Monticello Place, 60201
11—Timothy P. Sheehan . . . . .Chicago 6800 West Thorndale Avenue, 60631	11—Joseph W. Smith . . . . . .Chicago 5522 West Agatite Avenue, 60630
John J. Hoellen . . . . . .Chicago 1842 West Larchmont Avenue, 60613	Stanley A. Richards . . . . . .Chicago 6941 West Farragut Avenue, 60656
Robert E. McKenzie . . . . .Chicago 5531 North McVicker, 60630	James C. Alberti . . . . . .Chicago 3700 North Oketo Avenue, 60634
Theresa Wolf-McKenzie . .Chicago 5531 North McVicker, 60630	Nyra P. Gay . . . . . .Chicago 5859 North Kolmar Avenue, 60646
12—G. William Phillips . .Long Grove Route 1, Box 91, 60047	12—Eloise A. Canfield Arlington Hgts. 337 South Stratford, 60004
Marguerite S. Klimkowski Palatine 411 S. Brighton Court, 60067	Wendell E. Jones . . . . . .Palatine 557 West Gilbert Road, 60067
David Regner . . . . . .Mt. Prospect 910 South See Gwun, 60056	Patricia Uriarte . . . . . .Libertyville 635 Downing Road, 60048
William J. Siskel . .Highland Park 238 Ivy Lane, 60035	Karl Berning . . . . . .Deerfield 1006 Rosemary Terrace, 60015
Elizabeth E. Brown . . .Lake Forest 651 Greenview Place, 60045	

ILLINOIS (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
13—William W. Brady .....Elgin 332 Vincent Place, 60120	13—Raymond E. Cross ....Lake Forest 910 Greenbay Road, 60045
Robert W. Churchill ...Lake Villa 104 North Fairfield Road, 60046	Judy Tucker .....Elgin 3398 Hopps Road, 60120
Bernard Wysocki .....Waukegan 2116 Devonshire Road, 60085	Edward R. May .....Grayslake 18544 Brooke Avenue, 60030
H. Joseph Gitlin .....Woodstock 662 Margaret Drive, 60098	Marian Gallery .....Algonquin 9705 Arthur Drive, 60102
14—John N. Erlenborn ....Glen Ellyn 448 Raintree Court, 2-E, 60137	14—Mary B. Price .....Naperville 30W336 Claymore, 60540
Ray W. MacDonald ...Woodridge 2733 Carpenter Court, 60115	Peter J. Miller .....Addison 510 North DuPage Avenue, 60101
James "Pate" Philip ....Elmhurst 488 East Crescent, 60126	Ronald E. Gorringe ....Naperville 4S574 Radcliffe, 60540
Ronald C. Smith .....Lombard 2S121 Ivy Lane, 60148	Fredric F. Bunge ...West Chicago 8 Vale Road, 60185
Margaret K. Butler .....Hinsdale 17W139 Hillside Lane, 60521	L. D. "Jack" Skriden ....Hinsdale 10S581 Madison, 60521
15—Betty J. Hoxsey .....Ottawa RR 3, 61350	15—John A. "Jack" Cunningham Aurora 218 LaGrand Boulevard, 60506
Tom Corcoran .....Ottawa RR 2, 61350	Edmund Thornton .....Ottawa Post Office Box 1, 61350
Thomas W. Ewing .....Pontiac 402 N. Plum, 61764	Pat Bragg .....DeKalb 1106 Sout . Second, 60115
Frederick J. Campbell ....Wenona 401 West 1st North, 61377	Margaret Ru'ison .....Roberts 404 Oak Drive, 60962
16—W. Timothy Simms ....Rockford 1007 North Second Street, 61107	16—David A. Carlson .....Rockford 520 Vale Avenue North, 61107
Ernst S. Shafer .....Rockford 1837 National Avenue, 61103	Jeanine C. Wortmann ...Rockford 1729 Old Wood Road, 61107
Harry W. Darland .....Rockford 2018 Hillside Drive, 61107	David F. Johnson .....Rockford 3174 Spring Lake Drive, 61111
Lucille A. LaPlante .....Rockford 5846 Knollwood Road, 61107	
17—Harry D. Leinenweber .....Joliet Box 548, 60434	17—Robert L. Holt .....Watseka 119 West Adams Street, 60970
Jack Davis .....Beecher Route 1, Box 22, 60401	Robert J. Tezak .....Joliet 1014 Western Avenue, 60435
George M. O'Brien .....Joliet 1003 Buell Avenue, 60435	George J. Michas .....Lockport 929 Madison Street, 60441
Edward F. Petka .....Plainfield 988 West Pleasant Court, 60544	Charles L. Henderson, Jr. Kankakee 102 Julie Drive, 60901

ILLINOIS (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
18—Robert M. Michel .....Peoria 1029 North Glenwood Avenue, 61606	18—Marjorie E. Albrecht ....Princeton RR 3, 61356
Edward T. O'Connor .....Peoria 2605 Belle Vista Court, 61604	Joseph P. Kelly .....Peoria 3914 North Harvard, 61614
Gary F. Stella .....Peoria 3619 North Highridge Drive, 61614	Mary Anna Meyer .....Peoria 6010 North Rosemead Drive, 61604
Leonard Frank Arons .....Peoria 720 West Willcox, 61604	John J. Hattery .....Galesburg 25 W. Carl Sandburg Dr., 61401
19—Clarence E. Neff .....Stronghurst Post Office Box 368, 61480	19—William E. Stewart .....Kewanee 117 South Chestnut Street, 61443
Clifford B. Latherow ....Carthage Route 3, 62321	Donald L. "Jim" Wills Monmouth 1048 East Euclid Avenue, 61462
Tom Railsback .....Moline 2800 12th Street, 61265	Leroy A. Ufkes .....Carthage 409 South Madison, 62321
Frances A. Killey .....Monmouth RR 4, 61462	Wayne Matter .....Viola Route 1, 61486
20—A. C. "Junie" Bartulis .....Benld 404 West Oak Street, 62009	20—Paul T. Crotchett .....Jerseyville 908 West Exchange, 62052
Paul Findley .....Pittsfield 115 West Jefferson Street, 62363	Dwight F. Ruyle .....Godfrey 722 Ramona Place, 62035
James A. Dunham ....Springfield 208 West Miller, 62702	Terry T. Campo .....Springfield 1304 West Lake Shore Drive, 62707
Steven L. Hardin .....Jacksonville 823 Grove Street, 62650	Gary L. Bilbruck .....Palmyra RR 2, 62674
Edward F. Ragsdale .....Alton 4429 Friarwood Drive, 62002	John P. Venardos .....Alton 912 Douglas Street, 62002
21—Edward R. Madigan .....Lincoln 404 Fifth Street, 62656	21—Dennis A. "Denny" Graff Champaign 404 W. Church Street, 61820
Gordon L. Ropp .....Normal RR 8, 61761	Bruce W. Anderson .....Normal 303 Highpoint Road, 61761
Harry H. Hall .....Bloomington RR 13, Crestwicke, 61701	Larry W. Turner .....Decatur 623 South Twenty-second Place, 62525
Thomas N. Jacob ...Bloomington 35 Sunset Road, 61701	
22—Daniel B. Crane .....Danville 3570 North Vermillion Street, 61832	22—R. Bruce Anderson ....Springfield 424 Edwards, #3S, 62704
Roscoe D. Cunningham Lawrenceville 904 State, 62439	William James Wood ..Charleston 1520 Division Street, 61920
Max E. Coffey .....Charleston 1504 Twentieth, 61920	Leo Slater .....Robinson RR 2, 62454

ILLINOIS (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
Theodore W. Ahrens .....Casey 410 East Main Street, 62420	Lloyd A. Claypool .....Marshall RR 2, 62441
23—Robert "Bob" Glenn ....Belleville 230 Kansas Avenue, 62221	23—James R. Crain .....Caseyville Route 1, 62232
Don W. Weber .....Collinsville 506 Forest, 62234	H. Frank Holman .....Belleville 302 Paddock Road, 62223
Celeste M. Stiehl .....Belleville 25 Lake Inez Drive, 62221	Erwin G. Plegge .....Bethalto 602 Church Drive, 62010
24—Richard Gordon Lambert ..Marion 519 South Market Street, 62959	24—Gordon E. Kerr .....Brookport Box 157, 62910
Dwight P. Friedrich ....Centralia 915 Frazier Street, 62801	Donna J. Sanders .....Steeleville 705 South Ridge, 62288
Rose S. Vieth .....Carbondale 50 Hillcrest Drive, 62901	John T. Anderson .....Marion 10 Boswell Road, 62959
Chris Winchester .....Rosiclare Box 308, 62982	Mark W. Skaggs .....Harrisburg 210 South Main Street, 62945

INDIANA

(Fifty-four Delegates)

Chairman of Delegation: Bruce B. Melchert

At Large

Delegates	*Alternates*
Floyd J. Bailey .....Peru Post Office Box 63, 46970	Edwin D. Brubeck .....Indianapolis 4735 Kenyon Drive, 46226
Orvas E. Beers .....Fort Wayne 4325 Highwood Drive, 46815	Wesley G. Bucher .....Valparaiso 4406 Goodrich Road, 46383
Otis R. Bowen .....Indianapolis Governor's Office, State House, 46204	Seth T. Denbo .....English South Main Street, 47118
L. Keith Bulen .....Indianapolis 1 Indiana Square, Suite 2050, 46204	Robert E. Gates .....Columbia City 701 West Park Drive, 46725
Ann Cottingham .....Lawrenceburg 55 Dearborn Court, 47025	Charles E. Gebuhr .....Indianapolis 3609 Washington Boulevard, 46205
Donald B. Cox .....Evansville 4029 Fairfax Road, 47710	Sharon L. Kiltz .....Poseyville RR 1, 47633
James C. Cummings, Jr. ..Indianapolis 2417 North Kenwood Avenue, 46208	D. Jack Mahuron .....Salem Box 50, 108 Virginia Avenue, 47167
Paul H. Green .....Zionsville 630 Bloor Lane, 46077	Daniel A. Manion .....South Bend 18295 Douglas Road, 46637
Eleanor L. Holt .....Muncie 1007 Bougainvillea, 47302	Michael A. Mazur .....Whiting 2027 Schrage Avenue, 46394
D. Allen Jefferis .....Union City 1060 DeBolt Avenue, 47390	Michael D. McDaniel .....Indianapolis 5325 Fallwood Drive, Apt. 105, 46220

INDIANA (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
Thaddeus J. Krajewski....East Chicago 4238 Homerlee, 46312	Marjorie A. Meeks.....Grabill RR 1, Box 294, 46741
Richard G. Lugar...Washington, D.C. 5107 Dirksen Senate Office Building, 20515	Marian Miller.....Lafayette 58 Thise Court, 47905
Bruce B. Melchert.....Indianapolis 3418 East 62nd Street, 46220	Marjorie H. O'Laughlin...Indianapolis 217 State House, 46204
James T. Neal.....Noblesville 7670 East 126th Street, 46060	Ellsworth C. Peterson.....Ligonier Route 3, Box 122, 46767
Dennis J. Nicholas.....Indianapolis 5300 Far Hill Court, 46226	Phyllis J. Pond.....New Haven 8530 Seiler Road, 46774
Robert L. Poor.....Greencastle 108 Northwood Boulevard, 46135	Mary Price.....Rochester 1803 Oakwood Drive, 46975
Betty J. Rendel.....Peru RR 3, 46970	Connie J. Silvers.....Muncie P.O. Box 381, 2100 W. Bryden Road, 47305
Theodore L. Sendak.....Indianapolis Room 219, State House, 46204	Marilyn M. Smith.....Indianapolis 3207 Albright Court, 46268
Edwin J. Simcox.....Indianapolis Room 201, State House, 46204	Donald A. Tabbert.....Indianapolis 1 Indiana Square, 46204
Donald T. Stucki.....Evansville 1301 Laurschely Road, 47710	Vickie Benn.....Indianapolis 1321 North Meridian, 46202
Allan R. Sutherlin.....Indianapolis 5525 Allisonville Road, 46220	James H. Williams.....Shelbyville Post Office Box 614, 46176

DISTRICT

1—James W. Dye.....Munster 1326 Melbrook Drive, 46321	1—Phyllis M. Barbee.....Hammond 6907 Tapper Avenue, 46324
Joseph J. Kotso.....Munster 1919 Miramar Road, 46321	Dorothy M. Carroll.....Gary 2641 East 21st Place, 46407
Mary Warren.....Gary 3932 Louisiana Street, 46409	David Colosimo.....Gary 566 South Vermillion Place, 46403
2—Charles W. Weaver....N. Judson 305 East Leslie Street, 46366	2—Peggy E. Sullivan...W. Lafayette 5119 North 225 West, 47906
Ruby L. Catlow.....Merrillville 6180 Pennsylvania St., 46410	V. Richard Miller.....Plymouth 6462 State Road 17, 46563
Newell S. Timmons...Monticello 906 South Main Street, 47960	Burr S. Swezey, Jr.....Lafayette 2111 Birch Lane, 47905
3—Myrl W. Deitch, Jr.....Elkhart 23928 Greenleaf Boulevard, 46514	3—Eloyse J. Forbes.....Goshen 508 Gra-Roy Drive, 46526
Judd C. Leighton....South Bend 1502 Wildflower Way, 46617	Roy Rogers.....Goshen 1718 Mayflower Place, 46526
Jeanette Moeller.....South Bend 1164 East Victoria, 46614	Roger A. Singleton.....LaPorte 43 West Greenlawn Drive, 46350

INDIANA (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
4—Jerry M. Ault .....Wabash RR 1, 46992	4—Debra S. Lambright ....LaGrange 112 North Detroit Street, 46761
Joseph M. Douglass, Jr. ...Angola Post Office Box 276, 46703	Alan McMahan .....Fort Wayne 4601 Tacoma Avenue, 46807
Edgar F. Kettler .....Fort Wayne 5322 Century Court, 46807	Rolene E. Popp .....Fort Wayne 12316 Aboite Center Road, 46804
5—John R. Feighner .....Marion Post Office Box 278, 46952	5—James R. Butcher .....Kokomo 213 Branded Court, 46901
James T. King .....Anderson 1822 Costello Drive, 46011	Gordon K. Durnil ..Indianapolis Post Office Box 44101, 46244
John S. Pearce .....Noblesville 106 Dry Run Drive, 46060	Susanne Ridlen .....Logansport 613 Wheatland Avenue, 46947
6—Harriet J. Arland .....Shelbyville 114 North Tompkins, 46176	6—Paul E. Burkley .....Speedway 2102 Gerrard, 46224
Mike DeFabis .....Indianapolis 8834 Keevers Drive, 46234	Harry E. Eakin .....Speedway 1720 Cunningham Road, 46224
Faye I. Mowery .....Camby 7428 Reynolds Road, 46113	Philip J. Sanders .....Indianapolis 8838 Rocky Hill Road, 46217
7—Joseph W. Harrison .....Attica 504 East Pike Street, 47918	7—Joe J. Aikman .....Marshall Route 1, Box 38, 47859
John E. Woodward .Crawfordsville 2408 Everett Street, 47933	Mose Kassis .....Terre Haute 2005 South 25th Street, 47803
Margaret C. Hill ....Bloomington 4499 North Kinser Pike, 47401	Sarkes Tarzian .....Bloomington East Hillside Drive, 47401
8—William E. Jenner .....Bedford 1307 O Street, 47421	8—Alan Ahrens .....Elberfeld RR 2, 47613
John W. Lindley .....Orleans Box 153, 47452	Thomas J. Lankford ....Sandborn 20854
John K. Snyder .....Washington Box 303, 47501	Emma Morgan .....Evansville 651 Line Street, 47713
9—Virgil D. Scheidt .....Columbus RR 12, Box 346, 47201	9—Richard B. Wathen . .Jeffersonville Post Office Box 907, 47130
Sheldon L. Black .....Greensburg RR 2, 47240	Helen L. Wilson .....Madison 2431 Taylor Street, 47250
Nathan T. Schwanholt ....Aurora 116 Hillview Drive, 47001	Elizabeth Fay Olds .....Vevay 108 East Seminary Street, 47043
10—Patricia A Ravinet .....Richmond 6606 Straightline Pike, 47374	10—Gladys F. Hollon .....Anderson 632 Oxford Road, 46012
Van P. Smith .....Muncie 805 North Briar Road, 47304	Donald P. McArdle .... Bluffton 1020 River Road, 46714
Robert T. Mayhill ...Knightstown 305 North Adams, 46148	Joe E. Spaulding .....Decatur 633 Mercer Avenue, 46733

INDIANA (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
11—John W. Sweezy .....Indianapolis 166 North Gibson, 46219	11—Danny L. Burton ....Indianapolis 12141 East 79th Street, 46236
Rexford C. Early .....Indianapolis 8315 Union Chapel Road, 46240	Beaulah A. Coughenour Indianapolis 3804 Meridee Drive, 46227
Thomas E. Parker, Jr. Indianapolis 1541 City County Building, 46204	P. E. MacAllister ....Indianapolis 7515 East 30th Street, Post Office Box 1941, 46206

IOWA

(Thirty-seven Delegates)

Chairman of Delegation: Robert D. Ray

AT LARGE

Delegates	*Alternates*
Robert D. Ray .....Des Moines State Capitol, 50319	George Wittgraf .....Cherokee 1604 Susan, 51012
Terry Branstad .....Des Moines State Capitol, 50319	Donald Starks .....Monticello 823 Southhaven Drive, 52310
Roger Jepsen .....Washington, D.C. 5327 Dirksen Senate Office Building, 20510	Edwin Humpleby .....Iowa City Woodland Heights Addition, 52240
Charles Grassley .....New Hartford RR 1, 50660	Kathryn Burns .....Des Moines 210 37th Street, 50312
John McDonald .....Dallas Center 502 15th Street, 50063	O. Burton Harms .....Algona 404 Fairlane, 50511
Mary Louise Smith .....Des Moines 654 59th Street, 50312	Jane Ecklund .....Jefferson 807 West Harrison, 50129
Ray Hagie .....Clarion RR 3, 50525	Lawrence E. Allen .....Council Bluffs 218 East Orchard Avenue, 51501
John W. Axel .....Muscatine 2007 Circle Drive, 52761	Jerry Adams .....Burlington 417 Court, 52601
Andy Burton .....Iowa City RFD 2, Timbertrails, 52240	Kathryn Tanner .....Williamsburg 52361
Nancy Joy .....DeWitt 921 Sixth Street, 52742	Nancy J. Shimanek .....Monticello 519 West Fifth Street, 52310
Horace Webb .....Cedar Rapids 315 23rd Street Drive S.E., 52403	William MacNider .....Dubuque 1780 Eden Lane, 52001
Augusta Petrone .....Marshalltown 1608 West Maine, 50158	Diane Ruebling .....Mason City 1124 First S.W., 50401
Drew Ivers .....Webster City 110 Bicentennial Court, 50595	Margo Keller .....Blairsburg RFD, 50034

IOWA (Continued)

Delegates

Barbara Creagan .....Newton
402 West 11th Street, South 50208
Robb B. Kelley .....Des Moines
4321 Greenwood Drive, 50312
Marge Askew .....Thurman
Box 186, 51654
Fred Reed, Jr. .....Truro
50257
Margaret McDonald .....Cherokee
607 West Bluff Street, 52023
Yvonne Stockseth .....Humboldt
815 North Tenth, 50548

Alternates

Jay E. Tone .....Des Moines
2516 Terrace Road, 50312
Carlton M. Garver .....Des Moines
3615 Eighth, 50313
Patricia Kalahar .....Lamoni
402 North Walnut, 50140
Ralph R. Brown .....Dallas Center
502 15th Street, 50063
Margaret Hurst .....Sioux City
2540 South St. Aubin, 51106
Cleo Sipma .....Hinton
Box 1039, 51024

DISTRICT

1—Sheila Burmeister .....Davenport
4132 North Division, 52806
Sandra Kongable .....Winfield
Route 2, 52659
Verne Folkmann .....Conroy
Box 103, 52220
2—Sally J. Novetzke ....Cedar Rapids
2600 Indian Hill Road S.E.,
52403
Rolf Craft .....Decorah
RR 4, 52101
William D. Scott ....Cedar Rapids
3128 Sidney Street S.E., 52403
3—Evan Hultman .....Waterloo
Suite 608, Waterloo Building
50701
Stanley Sheldon .....Webster City
116 Edgewood Drive, 50595
Kenneth L. Logemann ..Northwood
Liberty-L-Acres, 50459
4—Gerald M. Kirke .....Des Moines
3545 Lincoln Place Drive, 50312
Sue Yenger .....Ottumwa
RR 2, 52501
Sheri Birge .....West Des Moines
4204 Marcourt Lane, 50265
5—Ray D. Dearin .....Ames
1000 Kennedy, 50010
Mildred Elliott .....Mt. Ayr
107 Shellway Drive, 50854
Yvonne Shildberg .....Greenfield
402 NE Elm Street, 50849

1—Maggie Tinsman .....Bettendorf
2865 Hickory Hills Lane, 52722
Trudy Riley .....Iowa City
540 South Summit, 52240
Mary Ann Brown ..Mount Pleasant
RR 4, 52641
2—Janice Stuelke .....West Branch
Box 578, 52358

Dale Luckow .....Dyersville
902 First Street S.W., 52040
James Nussle .....Decorah
SPO 169, Luther College, 52101
3—Sharon Crosser .....Eldora
418 Birch, 50627

Dianne R. Mohler .....Waterloo
828 Kern Street, 50701
Dennis Fulton .....Conrad
RR 1, 50621
4—Bill Van Orsdell .....Des Moines
305 45th Street, 50312
Brian Christian ..... Tunnells
7259 SE Sixth Avenue, 50239
Dale Blair .....Des Moines
4815 NW 46th Avenue, 50323
5—Donna Hammitt .....Woodbine
Route 1, 51579
Wendell Pellett .....Atlantic
206 East 21st Street, 50022
Kenneth Mueller .....Harlan
1312 College Boulevard, 51537

IOWA (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
6—John G. Lavender .....George 504 East Michigan, 51277	6—Milton Brown .....Storm Lake RR 2, 50588
Solveig G. Runge .....Sioux City 3400 Lindenwood, 51104	Douglas Ritsema .....Orange City 51041
Harry D. Oakley .....Holstein 214 South Altona, 51025	Arie J. Olivier .....Sioux Center 620 South Main, 51250

KANSAS

(Thirty-two Delegates)

Chairman of Delegation: D. S. "Pete" McGill

Note: Opposite each Delegate is shown the Alternate for that particular Delegate.

At Large

Delegates	*Alternates*
Bob Dole .....Russell 67665	Leland Speer .....Kansas City 910 N. Washington Blvd., 66102
Morris Kay .....Lawrence 2500 West 6th, 66044	Wayne Horst .....Wichita 920 Union Center Bldg., 67202
Marynell Reece .....Scandia 66966	Paul L. Rodriguez .....Garden City 2116 Center, 67846
B. B. Andersen .....Topeka 1580 Lakeside, 66604	Sandy Suttle .....Wichita 206 South Glendale, 67218
Walter F. McGinnis .....Mission Hills 2600 Verona Road, 66208	Sarah Toevs .....Lawrence 1832 Ohio, 66044
Brent Anderson .....Lawrence 3129 Creekwood, 66044	Ron Servis .....Topeka 3121 MacVicar, #306B, 66611
Rusty Leffel .....Shawnee Mission 2107 W. 49th Terrace, 66205	Becky L. Hixon .....Fort Scott 305 Clairmont, 66701
Maxine Ballew .....Sabetha 814 Jefferson, 66534	Martha Fee .....Hutchinson 607 Adair Circle, 67501
Lucille Neil .....Wichita 1102 Berkeley, 67216	Darl Everett .....Topeka 1108 East 19th, 66607
June Cooper .....Garnett 400 North Cedar, 66032	Jane Welch .....Halstead 326 Spruce, 67056
Mary Frances Krull .....Lawrence 1819 Maine, 66044	Robert Gadberry .....Wichita 1401 West River Boulevard, 67203
Carole Fisher .....Atchison 301 Morningside Road, 66002	Henry Bubb .....Topeka 2323 Mayfair Place, 66611

KANSAS (Continued)

Delegates

McDill "Huck" Boyd .....Phillipsburg
451 Third Street, 67661
Don Sallee .....Troy
66087
James Jeffries, Jr. .....Lenexa
13026 West 102nd, 66215
Donald Peters .....Wichita
285 South Dellrose, 67218
Gordon Schultz .....Leon
RR 2, 67074

Alternates

John Pinegar .....Garden City
902 North 5th, 67846
Bently Cummins .....Junction City
1211 Miller Drive, 66441
Donald Hay .....Ottawa
Route 1, Box 35, 66067
Evelyn Zuercher .....Newton
616 Normandy, 67114
James E. Carter .....St. Paul
Box 186, 66771

DISTRICT

1—Keith G. Sebelius .....Norton
67654
Janice Hardenburger .....Haddam
66944
Betty Anglin .....Dodge City
2002 Country Club Dr., 67801
2—Dana L. Hummer .....Topeka
3301 Arnold Avenue, 66614
Luella F. Kenney .....Topeka
1850 Sims, 66604
Delores Polson .....Vermillion
RFD, 66544
3—Don Eddington .....Prairie Village
5000 West 87th, 66208
George Hiles .....Richmond
66080
Barbara McCarter ...Overland Park
6908 West 100th, 66212
4—Patrick Hill .....Wichita
730 West 9th, 67203
Elmer S. Peters .....Wichita
7667 E. 45th Street N., 67220
Richard Caliendo .....Wichita
#36 Stratford, 67206
5—Lois K. Lewis .....Arkansas City
RR 2, 67005
Hazel Allison .....Independence
900 College Avenue, 67301
D. S. "Pete" McGill .....Winfield
1313 East 12th, 67156

1—W. E. "Bill" Tucker .....Elkhart
Star Route, Box 38, 67950
Sue Greenleaf .....Coldwater
RR 1, Box 33, 67029
Loren Dyke .....Great Bend
1211 Holland, 67530
2—Bob Brown .....Emmett
66422
Arvis Meseke .....Junction City
111 E. Garfield, 66441
Sandra S. Funston .....Topeka
5825 SW 10th, 66604
3—John L. Baeke .....Leawood
9817 Lee Circle, 66206
Bernice Todd .....Lawrence
715 Forest, 66004
Kay O'Brien .....Overland Park
6409 West 99th, 66212
4—Carolyn A. Robertson ..Hutchinson
429 East 1st, 67501
Phyllis Cramm .....Wichita
554 Broadmoor Court, 67206
Marilyn Hudson .....Wichita
2457 South Hiram, 67217
5—Bula Lemert .....Sedan
111 West Laurel, 67361
Jeanne Van Vorhees ....Wellington
214 West 7th, 67152
Bill Fribley .....Crestline
Box 109, 66728

KENTUCKY

(Twenty-seven Delegates)

Chairman of Delegation: M. Gene Snyder

AT LARGE

Delegates

Betty Holmes .....Somerset
208 East Oak Street, 42501
Larry J. Hopkins .....Lexington
1870 Parkers Mill Rd., 40504
Mitch McConnell .....Louisville
Jefferson County Courthouse, 40202
Louie B. Nunn .....Lexington
201 West Vine Street, 40507
M. Gene Snyder .....Louisville
8504 Old Brownsboro Road, 40222
Huda Jones .....Beattyville
Box 36, 41311

Alternates

Annalee Ferrante .....Florence
440 Gunpowder Road, 41042
Leona Power .....Lexington
625 Buckingham Lane, 40503
Charles Grizzle .....Louisville
72 Valley Road, 40204

Noah Finley .....Hardinsburg
Box 213, 40143
Robert M. Duncan .....Inez
Box 331, 41224
Harold Rogers .....Somerset
42501

DISTRICT

1—Herb Hayes .....Hopkinsville
616 Deepwood, 42240
Gordon Guess .....Marion
Post Office Box 231, 42064
Ann Stuart .....Russellville
586 West 7th Street, 42276
2—Joseph Whittle .....Leitchfield
22 Public Square, 42754
Gus Parsley .....Brownsville
Box 307, 42210
Daryl Harvey .....Glasgow
Route #6, 42141
3—Joseph Schiff .....Louisville
1708 Clayton Road, 40205
William C. Creech .....Louisville
7507 Manslick Road, 40214
Pat Schafer .....Louisville
732 Greenridge Road, 40207
4—Charles Lamb .....Louisville
924 Exmoor, 40223
Jane McCann .....Fort Mitchell
232 Edgewood Road, 41017

Lee Hess .....Florence
7555 Dogwood Lane, 41042

1—Janie Cothran .....Eddyville
Box 28, 42038
Pat Taylor .....Murray
311 College Court, 42071
Woody Allen .....Morgantown
Box 123, Route #2, 42261
2—David Disponett .....Laurenceburg
Highway #127, 40342
Lee R. Nunn .....Cave City
Route #1, 42127
Mary McJoynt .....Owensboro
1630 Linden Avenue, 42301
3—Terry E. Fox .....Louisville
2030 Eastern Parkway, 40204
James Topp .....Louisville
1879 Woodfill Way, 40205
Beverly Wheatley .....Louisville
343 Kenwood Hill Road, 40214
4—Della Evans .....Louisville
6502 Sherlock Way, 40228
Barbara Christian .....Prospect
Frogs Jump Farm,
3601 Axton Lane, 40059
Janice Blythe .....Louisville
8 Arrowhead Road, 40207

KENTUCKY (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
5—Elaine Asher .....Cambellsville Route #3, Box HB-10, 42718	5—Donald Barton .....Corbin 1214 Circle Drive, 40701
Philip Disney .....Keith Box 1AA, Route #1, 40845	R. Scott Madden .....Manchester Post Office Box 417, 40962
Duffy Ford, Jr. .....Richmond 200 North 3rd Street, 40475	Lora Woods .....Pine Knott Route #1, 42635
6—Frank Schweindeman ....Lexington 2809 Clays Mill Road, 40503	6—Al Arbogast .....Lexington 2908 Middlesex Court, 40503
Gretchen Biles .....Danville Post Office Box 730, 40422	Kent Brown .....Lexington 101 South Hanover, Apt. 7-G 40502
George A. Jones .....Cold Spring 21 Orchard Terrace, 41076	Mary Louise Foust .....Shelbyville 40065
7—James Hobbs .....Pikeville Post Office Box 752, 41501	7—Charles Holbrook, Jr. .....Ashland 920 Ashland Avenue, 41101
William Elliott, Jr. .....Pikeville Post Office Box 2828, 41501	Alpha Hutchinson .....Morehead Post Office Box 658, 40351
Edward Ratcliff .....Ashland 2431 Henderson Street, 41101	Lee Peaveyhouse .....Mt. Sterling 25 White Avenue, 40353

LOUISIANA

(Thirty-one Delegates)

Chairman of Delegation: John Cade, Jr.

At Large

Delegates	*Alternates*
William A. Nungesser ...New Orleans 5740 Durham Place, 70114	George Blackman .....Bossier City 2014 Venus Drive, 71112
Jane R. Steele .....Baton Rouge 737 Brinwood Avenue, 70815	Irvin F. Hingle, Jr. .....Gretna 809 Amelia, 70752
Hunter Wagner .....Metairie 3816 Division Street, 70002	John H. Wilson .....Plaquemine 1021 Rylander, 70764
Marilyn Thayer .....New Orleans 7925 Nelson Street, 70125	John Henry Baker .....Delhi Route 1, Box 77, 71232
Roderick Miller .....Lafayette 311 North Sterling Street, 70501	Robert W. Morgan .....Baton Rouge Route 4, Box 429, 70805
David C. Treen .....Baton Rouge Post Office Box 44004, 70804	Donald E. Walter .....Shreveport 1314 Commercial Nat'l Bank Building, 71101
Robert L. Livingston .....New Orleans 701 Patterson, 70114	John Rachal .....Lafayette Post Office Box 2551, 70502

LOUISIANA (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
DISTRICT	
1—Lane A. Carson .....New Orleans 7190 Downman, #2B, 70126	1—John Naland .....New Orleans 11350 Prentiss, 70128
Lurline Doty .....New Orleans 3443 Esplanade, 70119	Margaret Simpson .....Slidell 108 Margon Court, 70458
Ann Hein .....Arabi 501 Perrin, 70032	Robert E. Winn .....New Orleans 1010 Common Street, 70112
2—Alton Ochsner, Jr. ...New Orleans 1407 State Street, 70118	2—Lynn Cheramie .....Gretna 79 Gretna Boulevard, 70053
Marilyn Horn .....Gretna #4 Fernwood, 70053	Mary Jo Rouse .....River Ridge 221 Citrus, 70123
Barbara Lill .....New Orleans 1423 Cadiz, 70115	Arthur C. Sargent ....New Orleans 7822 Burthe Street, 70118
3—Carol Fisher .....Metairie 5105 Bissonet Drive, 70003	3—J. Dorville Broussard .. New Iberia 417 East Main, 70560
David Arceneaux .....Houma 900 Goode Street, 70360	Jim Slatten .....New Iberia 4114 South Drive, 70560
Donald T. Bollinger .....Lockport Post Office Box 250, 70374	Bobby Cavanaugh .....Kenner #9 Sabine Court, 70062
4—Roy Brun .....Shreveport 1114 Slattery Building, 71101	4—Nelson Moak .....Benton 4520 Palmetta, 71006
Lou Ann Grigg .....Shreveport 2661 Waggoner, 71108	Leroy Scott .....Shreveport 1039 Southfield, 71107
Arthur W. Sour .....Shreveport 755 Bester Street, 71107	David Walden .....Bossier City 2418 Tilman Circle, 71111
5—William B. Moran .....Monroe Post Office Box 4043, 71203	5—Jo Baker .....Delhi Route 1, Box 77, 71232
Greta Jones .....Monroe 2306 Hawthorne, 71201	Leland Rawls .....Bastrop 1509 Redbud, 71220
Charles A. Shoudy .....Monroe 610 Loop Road, 71201	George Mann .....Columbia Post Office Box 926, 71418
6—Ben Harbor .....Baker 13936 Brantley Drive, 70714	6—Leslie P. Tassin .....Baton Rouge 5333 Heatherstone, 70808
Michael G. Chittom ..Baton Rouge 1563 Country Club, 70808	Michael Connelly .....Baton Rouge 15606 Treasurer, 70816
E. Clark Gaudin .....Baton Rouge 3165 Murphy Drive, 70809	B. William Hall .....Baton Rouge 1925 Riverside North, Apt. 425, 70808
7—Dudley Lastrapes .....Lafayette 1108 Montrose, 70503	7—Lenny Hensgens .....Crowley 223 East Hutchinson, 70526
Connie Bass .....Lake Charles 917 Audubon, 70601	Elizabeth Rickey .....Lafayette 427 Girard Park Drive, 70505
C. M. McLean .....Lafayette 410 Ayreshire, 70501	Shelly Deshotels .....Kaplan Post Office Box 278, 70548

LOUISIANA (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
8—John Cade, Jr. . . . . Alexandria Post Office Box 1830, 71301	8—Roy O. Martin, Jr. . . . . Alexandria 3110 Georges Lane, 71301
Charlene Patrick . . . . . Pineville Post Office Box 1192, 71360	Max Merrick, Sr. . . . . Cottonport Post Office Box 217, 71327
P. J. Gomer . . . . . Eunice 121 North 9th Street, 70535	Terry L. McGee . . . . . Evergreen 71333

MAINE

(Twenty-one Delegates)

Chairman of Delegation: Hattie M. Bickmore

At Large

Delegates	*Alternates*
William S. Cohen . . . . . Bangor 7 E. Summer St., 04401	Joseph R. Castonguay . . . . . Jay Box 162, 04254
Hattie M. Bickmore Cumberland Center 36 Pinewood Drive, 04021	Marshall Dodge . . . . . Portland 56 Clifford Street, 04101
Gordon H. Smith . . . . . Augusta 341 Water Street, 04330	Richard H. Penley . . . . . Bethel Box 492, 04217
Henrietta Page Crane . . . . . Rockland 30 Shaw Avenue, 04841	Calvin H. Hamblen . . . . . Gorham Hamblen Road, RFD #2, 04038
Linwood E. Palmer, Jr. . . . . Nobleboro W. Neck Road, 04555	Louis N. LeCleire . . . . . Portland 450 Allen Avenue, 04103
Robert A. G. Monks . . . . . Portland 103 Exchange Street, 04101	Andrews B. Campbell . . . . . Portland 165 Commercial Street, 04101
Joseph Sewall . . . . . Old Town Box 443, 04468	Joseph F. Holman . . . . . Farmington 41 Main Street, Box 150, 04938
Swift Tarbell III . . . . . Bangor 40 Third Street, 04401	Fred O. Smith II . . . . . New Vineyard High Street, 04956
Wakine G. Tanous . . . . . E. Millinocket Box 246, 04430	Justine E. Marks . . . . . W. Gardiner Route 3, Robin Hill, 04345
L. Robert Porteous, Jr. . . . . Portland 522 Congress Street, 04101	John Steeves . . . . . E. Madison 04950
Andrew Redmond . . . . . Madison Box 805 G, 04950	Thomas Wheatley . . . . . Gray RFD 1, W. Gray Road, 04079
Gwendolyn Winchell . . . . . Bangor 64 Highland Street, 04401	Lawrence Murch . . . . . Raymond Route #85, Box 301, 04071
Merton G. Henry . . . . . N. Windham RR 1, Box 640, 04062	
Douglas I. Hodgkin . . . . . Lewiston 9 Sutton Place, 04240	
Karen L. Brown . . . . . Bethel Box 32, 04217	

MAINE (Continued)

Delegates *Alternates*

DISTRICT

1—David F. Emery .....Rockland
192 North Main St., 04841
Elias Thomas III .....Acton
Ledgewold, 04001
Harold E. Woodsum, Jr.
Cape Elizabeth
RR #5, Box 70
Two Lights Road, 04107

2—Walter A. Birt .....E. Millinocket
33 Pine Street, 04430
Doris Russell .....Castine
Main Street, 04421
Barry J. Putnam ...Livermore Falls
110 Park Street, 04254

1—Stanley T. Bennett II .....Portland
364 Forest Avenue, 04101
Mary Wheelwright .....Camden
Beacon Avenue, 04843
Mary Wold Payson
Falmouth Foreside
187 Foreside Road, 04105

2—Brenda Holman .....Farmington
Cutler Lane, 04938
James Carr .....Houlton
82 Main Street, 04730
Jane Cushing .....Bangor
10 Hudson Street, 04401

MARYLAND

(Thirty Delegates)

Co-Chairmen of Delegation: Charles Mc C. Mathias and Robert E. Bauman

AT LARGE

Delegates *Alternates*

Charles Mc C. Mathias ....Chevy Chase
3808 Leland Street, 20015
Allan C. Levey .....Annapolis
60 W. Street, Suite 201, 21401
Robert E. Bauman .....Easton
Rt. 5, Glebe House, 21601
Marjorie S. Holt .....Severna Park
151 Boone Trail, 21146
Lawrence J. Hogan, Sr. ..Up. Marlboro
County Admin. Bldg., 20870
Louise Gore .....Potomac
11300 River Road, 20854

Jeanette Wessel .....Baltimore
2517 Talbot Road, 21216
Sheila Brandt .....Silver Spring
513 Scott Drive, 20904
Donald J. Devine .....Wheaton
3311 Camden Street, 20902
Anna Mistretta .....Temple Hills
5222 St. Barnabas Road, 20031
Gerald Holcomb .....Fort Washington
751 Gleneagles Drive, 20022
Fleur Bresler .....Chevy Chase
3217 Farmington Drive, 20015

DISTRICT

1—Carol D. Bauman .....Easton
Route 5, Box 351, 21601
Virginia Church .....Bel Air
2002 Helton Street, 21014
Frances Eagan .....Lexington Park
106 E. Quincy Terrace, 20653

1—Ken Beattie .....Whiteford
1406 Chestnut Street, 21160
Carlton Dize .....Crisfield
P.O. Box 510, 21817
Michael Rybikowsky .Charlotte Hall
Rt. 1, Box 54-B, 20622

MARYLAND (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
2—James P. Devereux .....Glyndon Mantua Mill Road, 21071	2—Michael Edgan .....Timonium 2409 Ravenview Road, 21093
Barbara Chinn .....Towson 401 Dixie Drive, 21204	Thomas Chamberlain ...Timonium 307 Galway Road, 21093
George A. Price .....Phoenix 14601 Cooper Road, 21131	Ronald Wolsey .....Baldwin 4307 Round Knoll Rd., 21013
3—George Beall .....Baltimore 116 Upnor Road, 21212	3—Ema Oglesby .....Baltimore 604 Roundview Road, 21225
Sandra O'Connor .....Baltimore 1907 Tadcaster Road, 21228	Margaret Kolman .....Baltimore 1912 Tadcaster Road, 21228
Joseph M. Ayd .....Baltimore 6904½ Petworth Road, 21212	Richard L. Andrews .....Baltimore 5508 Woodmont Avenue, 21230
4—John Gary .....Millersville 1 Bojan Court, 21108	4—Mary M. Rose .....Annapolis 126 River Drive, 21403
Elizabeth S. Smith ...Davidsonville 3438 Merrimac Road, 21035	Robert A. Pascal .....Annapolis The Arundel Center, 21401
Lynda G. Love .....Crofton 1717 Tipton Drive, 21114	Curtis Wroten .....Crownsville 1129 Sunrise Beach Rd., 21032
5—Audry E. Scott .....Bowie 12109 Long Ridge Lane	5—Janet Steed .....Bowie 2907 Tapered Lane, 20715
Lawrence J. Hogan, Jr. Upper Marlboro County Administration Building, 20870	Winston Wilkinson .....Landover 7210 Landover Road, 20785
Gloria A. Baumgaertner .....Bowie 3101 Superior Lane, 20715	Julia Brown .....Laurel 16109 Kenny Road, 20810
6—J. Glenn Beall, Jr. .....Frostburg Beall's Lane, 21532	6—Edward P. Thomas .....Frederick 710 Wyngate Drive, 21710
Edward J. Mason .....Cumberland 1904 Bedford Street, 21502	Joan I. Athen .....Columbia 9640 White Acre Rd., Apt. 1, 21045
DeCorsey E. Bolden .....Oakland Route 5, Box 5, Fairway Dr., 21550	Thomas Butscher .....Oakland Rt. 1, 21550
7—Madie E. Mitchell .....Baltimore 2210 Druid Hill Ave., 21217	7—St. George B. Crosse ....Baltimore 4844 Reisterstown Rd., 21215
Carl M. Adair .....Baltimore 4710 Norfolk Avenue, 21207	Marshall W. Jones .....Baltimore 1907 Barclay, 21218
Charles W. Mitchell .....Baltimore 4601 Schenley Road, 21210	Victor Clark, Jr. .....Baltimore 1949 W. Lafayette Street, 21217
8—Jane C. Gude .....Bethesda 5411 Duvall Drive, 20016	8—Jacqueline Phillips ....Silver Spring 13413 Locksley Lane, 20904
Ben C. Fisher .....Bethesda 5118 Cammack Drive, 20016	Harry Tyson Carter ...Chevy Chase 5211 Norway Drive, 20015
Barrie S. Ciliberti .....Rockville 13415 Grenoble Dr., 20853	Barbara Taylor .....Potomac 8801 Belmart Road, 20854

MASSACHUSETTS

(Forty-two Delegates)

Chairman of Delegation: Silvio O. Conte

AT LARGE

Delegates

Thomas J. Barry .....Duxbury
33 Plantation Drive, 02332
Kenneth L. Horak .....Milton
103 Canton Avenue, 02187
Henry Cabot Lodge .....Beverly
275 Hale Street, 01915
Kathryn D. Roberts .....Quincy
37 Eastabrook Road, 02170
William Saltonstall .....Manchester
388 Summer Street, 01944
Josiah Spaulding .....Manchester
Gales Point, 01944

Alternates

Robert L. Dawson .....Needham
244 Harris Avenue, 02192
Maudyea Campbell .....Newton
101 Walker Street, 02160
Agnes E. Moore .....Boston
120 Harrishof Street, 02121
Nancy J. Luther .....Topsfield
294 Perkins Row, 01983
Richard Douglas .....Boston
199 Massachusetts Ave., 02115
Margaret Hunter .....Leominster
96 Carriage Way Dr., 01453

DISTRICT

1—Silvio O. Conte .....Pittsfield
Blythewood Drive, 01201
John H. Fitzpatrick...Stockbridge
Prospect Hill, 01262
Burton S. Resnic .....Holyoke
302 High Street, 01040
2—Gilbert S. Holland ..Longmeadow
38 Hazelwood Avenue, 01106
Norma Cash Smith .....Dudley
Jaybee Avenue, 01570
Talbert W. Swan .....Springfield
107 Greene Street, 01109
3—Argeo P. Cellucci .....Hudson
151 Lincoln Street, 01749
David P. Forsberg .....Worcester
43 Laconia Road, 01609
Gordon M. Nelson....N. Grafton
3 Suzanne Terrace, 01536
4—Alexander Ellis, Jr. .....Lincoln
Sand Pond Road, 01773
Alvin Mandell ....Newton Centre
287 Spiers Road, 02159

Gregory S. Vine .....Gardner
20 Lovewell Street, 01440
5—Jeanne Kangas .....Boxborough
959 Hill Road, 01719

1—Henry H. Williams .....Lenox
P.O. Box 66, 01240
Marilyn J. Head ...Williamstown
34 Moorland Street, 01267
David Leith .....Amherst
Box 1614, 01002
2—Mary E. Kaufman .....Springfield
701 Roosevelt Ave., 01118
Bruce Colton .....Longmeadow
91 Whitman Road, 01106
Charles DeBarger .....Springfield
34 Pineywoods Avenue, 01108
3—Henry J. Lane .....Northbridge
176 Church Street, 01534
Mary Lee King .....Hudson
13 Fort Meadow Dr., 01749
Nancy Virzi .....Worcester
19 Montclair Drive, 01609
4—Howard Passman ..Newton Centre
89 Dorcar Road, 02159
Judith Ide .....Wayland
135 Old Connecticut Path,
01778
Gwendolyn G. DesCognets Lincoln
Weston Road, 01773
5—Kathleen A. Campbell...Methuen
27 Boylston Street, 01844

MASSACHUSETTS (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
Deborah Leighton .....Concord 33 Liberty Street, 01742	Beatrice Wozniak .....Dracut 583 Methuen Street, 01826
Wesley Young .....Concord 259 Independence Rd., 01742	Paula Lewellen .....Bedford 145 Davis Road, 01730
6—Shirley H. Perry .....Manchester 16 Rockwood Hgts. Rd., 01944	6—Beverly A. Glovsky .....Beverly 20 Pickman Road, 01915
Jean M. Shellene .....Bradford 1 S. Cogswell St., 01830	Brian Broad .....Gloucester 15 Cole Avenue, 01930
Peter Thomas .....Rowley 30 Fenno Drive, 01969	Jacqueline Williams...Marblehead 50 Turner Road, 01945
7—O. Stanley Gillespie .....Woburn 87 Pearl Street, 01801	7—Peter A. Coffin .....Wakefield 9 Nelson Avenue, 01880
Vincent J. Celeste .....Stoneham 11 Celestine Terrace, 02180	Angela L. Rossi .....Revere 154 Orvis Road, 02151
Sara C. Woodward ....Winchester 13 Shellfield Road, 01890	Eric Reid .....Wakefield 8 Cedar Street, 01880
8—John J. Buckley .....Belmont 11 Leicester Road, 02178	8—Nancy Hoffmeier .....Cambridge Eliot D-33, Harvard University, 02138
Ann N. Kramer .....Boston 94 Pinckney Street, 02114	Daniel Needham, Jr. ....Belmont 275 Somerset Street, 02178
Robert A. Semonian...Watertown 11 Howe Street, 02172	Mary Samp .....Cambridge 33 Agassiz Street, 02140
9—William F. Arrigal, Jr. ....Boston 136 Savin Hill Ave., 02125	9—Robert W. McGrail .....Boston 6 National Street, 02127
David W. Lewis .....Dover 1 Pegan Lane, 02030	Edward Russell Redd .....Boston 15 Kenilworth Street, 02119
Harold E. Rosen .....Dedham 47 Greenlodge Street, 02026	Dorothy R. Grey .....Boston 2 Hawthorne Place, 02114
10—Frank H. Conway .....Wellesley 37 Longmeadow Road, 02181	10—Edna Begosian .....Watertown 21 Melendy Avenue, 02172
Margaret Heckler .....Wellesley 30 Colburn Road, 02181	Leon Lombardi .....Easton 261 Purchase Street, 02334
David H. Locke .....Wellesley 15 Ordway Road, 02181	Michael S. Robertson .....Berkley 25 Swing Drive, 02780
11—Vera Smith Barnett .....Braintree 71 Bowditch Street, 02184	11—Marjorie L. Crispin .....Braintree 26 Baker Avenue, 02184
Andrew H. Card, Jr. ...Holbrook 39 Linfield Street, 02343	James Coyle .....Hyde Park 1 Robbart Lane, 02136
Joseph M. Cunningham ...Milton 140 Dudley Lane, 02186	Thomas Humphreys ....Brockton 967½ N. Main Street, 02401
12—George Decas .....Wareham 18 High Street, 02571	12—Patricia Buckley .....Cohasset 247 Forest Avenue, 02025
Martin Flynn .....Hyannis 16 Mary Alice Lane, 02601	Alfred DeMott .....E. Orleans 30 Beach Road, 02643
Mary Le Sueur .....Plymouth 7 Bay Colony Dr., 02360	Robert Packard .....Wareham Lookout Lane, 02571

MICHIGAN

(Eighty-two Delegates)

Chairman of Delegation: William G. Milliken

AT LARGE

Delegates

Loret M. Ruppe .....Houghton
222 Sheldon, 49931

George Romney .....Bloomfield Hills
1830 E. Valley Drive, 48013

Carl Pursell .....Plymouth
46200 N. Territorial, 48170

Peter B. Fletcher .....Ypsilanti
302 S. Huron, P.O. Box 407,
48197

Ranny Riecker .....Midland
3211 Valley Drive, 48640

Nancy Chase .....Ann Arbor
1 Regent Drive, 48104

Melvin L. Larsen .....Lansing
223 N. Walnut Street, 48933

Marie E. Wentela .....Dearborn
16 Brookline Lane, 48120

William McLaughlin .....Northville
592 Reed Street, 48167

Saul Anuzis .....Detroit
7716 Da Costa, 48239

Maxine Perry .....Detroit
19395 Cumberland, 48203

John Field Reichardt .....Grand Haven
222 Washington, 49417

John R. Gnau, Jr. .....Detroit
100 Renaissance Center,
Ste. 1360, 48243

Robert J. Chambers ...Bloomfield Hills
1640 Standish Court, 48013

Max Fisher .....Detroit
2210 Fisher Building, 48202

Robert B. Evans .....Detroit
200 Renaissance Center,
Ste. 3048, 48243

Robert P. Griffin .....Traverse City
10850 Traverse Hwy., 49684

Nancy Gadola .....Swartz Creek
6087 Hill Road, 48473

Clara Giordano .....Wyandotte
1145 12th Street, 48192

Alternates

Algis Barauskas .....Detroit
401 W. Grand Boulevard, 48216

Donna Doule .....Gaylord
Rt. #1, Box 160,
4378 Sparr Road, 49735

Chuck Maly .....Clawson
1166 Gordon Court, 48017

Harriet Rotter .....Huntington Woods
25220 E. Roycourt, 48070

Wendell Allen .....Ann Arbor
432 Larkspur, 48105

Gloria Rocha .....Detroit
6902 West Lafayette, 48209

Tim McBride .....Wayne
32222 Woodbrook, 48184

Connie Murry O'Neal .....Lansing
5241 Crocus, 48910

Cindy Pochini .....Lincoln Park
1432 Michigan Blvd., 48146

Anne M. House .....Bay City
2109 McKinley Avenue, 48706

Howard Kaloogian .....Troy
3823 Boulder Drive, 48084

Patricia Banks .....Detroit
16197 Lawton, Apt. 20, 48238

Frank B. Stella .....Detroit
19180 Gainsborough, 48223

Mark D. Siljander .....Lansing
State Capitol,
Room 106 CB, 48901

Sam Trentacosta .....Mt. Clemens
23 Cass, 48043

Mary A. Bourdon .....Clarkston
8256 Fawn Valley Drive, 48016

Dan Dean .....Ann Arbor
224 Nichels Arcade, 48104

Susan P. Davis .....Grosse Pointe
43 McKinley, 48236

Constance E. Whiting .....Lakeland
11040 Margaret Drive, 48143

MICHIGAN (Continued)

Delegates

Palmer T. Heenan .....Grosse Pointe
1002 Bishop, 48230

Patricia J. Barbour ....Dearborn Hgts.
17570 W. Outer Drive, 48127
Halina M. Frizelle ....Garmington Hill
28227 Thornybrae, 48018
William G. Milliken .....Lansing
State Capitol, 48901
R. O. Ridgeway .....Flint
1950 Howard, 48503
Carol Josephson .....Grand Rapids
1946 Hall S.E., 49506

Alternates

Robert H. Fredericks, II
Bloomfield Hills
2028 Devonshire Rd., 48013
Harry C. Veryser .....Mt. Clemens
37759 Greenwich, 48043
Thomas B. Adams .....Warren
30400 Van Duke Ave., 48093
Joan Woodhouse .....Grosse Pointe
44 Renaud, 48236
Steven C. Bransdorfer ....Grand Rapids
7250 Bradford, S.E., 49507
Mitchell I. Kafarski ...Bloomfield Hills
240 Chesterfield Rd., 48013

DISTRICT

1—Devon Cunningham .....Detroit
3538 Oakman Boulevard, 48238
Beatrice Banks .....Detroit
1738 Wisconsin, 48221
Ulysses W. Boykin .....Detroit
17224 Fairfield, 48221

2—Peg Molin .....Ann Arbor
1213 Island Drive, 48105

Carolyn A. Sellman ....Plymouth
1051 Hartsough, 48170
Arthur Sippola .....Livonia
14444 Melvin, 48154

3—Sandra Walter .....Grand Ledge
6225 Mt. Hope Hwy., 48837
Roland A. Helwig ....Kalamazoo
128 Larkspur, 49002
John A. Welborn .....Kalamazoo
6304 N. Riverview Dr., 49004
4—David Stockman .....St. Joseph
5337 Scottsdale Rd., 49085

John Oster .....Sturgis
112 South Monroe, 49021
Clair Ritchie .....Adrian
907 College, 49221
5—Peter F. Secchia ....Grand Rapids
2801 E. Beltline, N.E., 49505

1—Gerald McIntosh .....Detroit
18235 Birchcrest Drive, 48221
Ervin Johnson .....Detroit
P.O. Box 06635, 48206
Robert Baker .....Detroit
2003 W. McNichols,
P.O. Box 03453, 48203
2—Norman D. Shinkle ..Temperance
1448 W. Temperance Rd.,
48182
Letty Wickliffe .....Ann Arbor
305 Beeks, 48104
Arlene M. Bates .....Temperance
2942 W. Temperance Rd.,
48184
3—Mary Lee Schram .....Parma
124 Church Street, 49269
Walter Long .....Homer
102 E. Sprague Street, 49245
Ronald Reisterer .....Kalamazoo
6026 Neal, 49004
4—L. Montgomery Shepard
Benton Harbor
1765 U.S. 33 North, 49022
John Keeslar .....Coldwater
26 Hull Street, 49036
Harold Schuitmaker .....Lawton
Route 2, Box 32, 49065
5—Nancy Cline .....Lansing
State Capitol, 48901

MICHIGAN (Continued)

Delegates

Bee Isselhardt .....Grand Rapids
5986 Parview Dr. S.E., 49506
Robert Mast .....Grand Rapids
1661 Forrester S.E., 59508

6—Thomas E. Klunzinger ...Lansing
State Capitol, 48901
Ralph F. Swan .....Lansing
1034 Shelter Lane, 48912
Peggy A. Bokovoy .....Lansing
2900 Palmer, 48910

7—Chuck Mueller .....Linden
6127 Lobdell Lake Rd., 48451
Harold Post .....Linden
151 W. Hill, 48451
Suzanne Hughes .....Otisville
8530 N. State, 48463

8—Norman Hughes .....Metamora
3875 High Point Dr., 48455
Ronald Heinlein .....Saginaw
1575 Van Wagoner, 48603
Jerry Nissley .....Saginaw
2705 Julianne Dr., 48603

9—Connie B. Binsfeld ....Maple City
Rural Rt. #2, 49664
Dennis Babcock .....Muskegon
3490 York Street, 49441
Gary Byker .....Hudsonville
5732 School Avenue, 49426

10—Lou Ann Taylor ....Traverse City
873 Peninsula Drive, 49684
Jeffrey Porter .....Midland
5204 Van Buren, 48640
Dennis Starner .....Midland
2916 Dartmouth, 48640

11—Jacqueline McGregor ...Iron Mnt.
373 Noon Lake Drive, 49801
William Castor ....Slt. Ste. Marie
910 College Drive, 39783
Craig Gierke .....Escanaba
Radio Shack, 49829

12—Kirby Holmes .....Utica
8430 Pamela, 48087
Richard S. Sommerville
Pt. Huron
4255 Fairway Dr., 48060

Alternates

Patricia Reis ....E. Grand Rapids
1108 Lakeside Dr. S.E., 49506
Ralph Hauenstein ..Grand Rapids
2840 Woodcrest Dr., S.E.,
49506

6—Ken Beardslee .....Spring Arbor
153 Harmony, 49283
Joyce M. Ebinger .....Jackson
1213 Tanbark West, 49203
Joseph C. Cox .....Fowlerville
205 E. Grand River
P.O. Box 332, 48836

7—Dorothyanne Phillips .....Linden
6096 Lakeview Pk. Dr., 48451
William Hoskins .....Flint
817 Bellemont Street, 48502
Russell Cummer .....Clio
G-10280 S. Clio Road, 48650

8—George Matousek .....Pinconning
1443 Pinconning Road, 48650
Alberta H. Stord .....Dryden
4280 Havens Road, 48428
Virginia Leipprandt .....Pigeon
6922 Philion Road, 48755

9—Jean Laug .....Coopersville
6670 Leonard, 49404
Jack Sanderson .....Freemont
6900 W. 80th Street, 49412
Charles Dentai .....Whitehall
8215 Whitehall Road, 49461

10—Ward Kuhn .....Traverse City
1234 N. Bluff Road, 49684
Sue K. Willison .....Midland
1115 W. Sugnet Road, 48640
Joanne Emmons .....Big Rapids
13904 Northland Dr., 49307

11—Jim Storey .....Lansing
State Capitol, 48901
Gerald Newhouse .....Alpena
109 Sunset Boulevard, 49707
Joan Kleinstiver .....Petoskey
1445 Bay View Hgts. Dr., 49770

12—Fran Gillett .....Utica
8351 Pamela, 48087
Lois Hicks .....Port Huron
3163 E. Village Lane, 48060

MICHIGAN (Continued)

Delegates

Leonard Stokes .....Mt. Clemens
38041 Sarnette, 48043
13—Dovie T. Pickett .....Detroit
628 E. Kirby, 48202
Vacie B. Woodruff .....Detroit
5839 Holcomb, 48213
Lois Nair .....Detroit
415 Burns Drive, 48214
14—Alfred Reuther
Grosse Pointe Farms
81 Lewiston, 48236
Prudence Cole .Grosse Pointe Farms
373 Ridgemont, 48236
Eleanor Grady .....Detroit
21954 Moross, 48236
15—Pat Ganzberger .....Southgate
12736 Commonwealth, 48195
Gerald Pauzus .....Taylor
22192 Koths, 48180
Deloris Newell .....Westland
325 Carlson, 48185
16—Frank Padzieski .....Dearborn
25001 Fairmount, 48124
William J. Runco .....Dearborn
1610 N. Gulley Road, 48128
Mark Koldys .....Dearborn
7545 Manor, 48126
17—Rhys Lewis .....Redford
15528 Dixie, 48239
Shirley Stadler ..Farmington Hills
26615 Westmeath, 48018

Joseph Burdzinski .....Southfield
19119 W. 11 Mile Road, 48076
18—Lawrence Littman .....Troy
6867 Killarney, 48098
Karen Czernel .....Troy
2698 Winter, 48084

Jerry Mann .....Sterling Hts.
42777 Rutgers, 48078
19—Joseph Knollenberg ..Birmingham
3576 Darcy, 48010
Ellen Templin ...Bloomfield Hills
1191 Rolling Acres Dr., 48013
Catherine Wolters .....Pontiac
4248 Woodstock, 48054

Alternates

Colette Guerin .....Mt. Clemens
4145 Gratiot, 48045
13—Charlita Blair .....Detroit
340 E. Grand Blvd., 48216
Paul De Weese .....Detroit
1825 Myrtle, 48208
Palmer Watling .....Detroit
1411 E. Jefferson, 48207
14—James Bowling .....Warren
23631 Zenta, 48091

Howard Woods .....Hamtramck
5170 Evaline, 48212
Jerome Driscoll ....Grs. Pte. Pk.
780 Whittier Road, 48230
15—Karen Mazo .....Flat Rock
23839 Van Horn Road, 48134
Robert Brooks ....Dearborn Hgts.
8280 Fenton, 48127
Ernest C. Fackler .Dearborn Hgts.
26740 Timber Trail, 48127
16—Marcie Boye .....Grosse Ile
8355 Burning Bush, 48138
John Suiter .....Melvindale
3615 Maple Drive, 48122
Glen Currie .....Allen Park
14949 Keppen, 48101
17—Richard Keier .....Southfield
17285 Redwood, 48076
Norma Henderson
Farmington Hills
34650 Versailles, 48018
Charlotte Buchanan .....Redford
17383 Garfield, 48240
18—Constance Richards ....Royal Oak
1919 Laurome Drive, 48076
Richard A. Bottcher
Sterling Heights
12438 Eldorado Drive, 48077
Julius Lowry .....Troy
3431 Talbot, 48084
19—John Calandro .....Northville
1020 Allen, 48167
Joann Van Tassel .....Lake Orion
2726 Saturn, 48035
Joseph H. Ellis .....Brighton
4344 Van Amburg Road, 48116

MINNESOTA

(Thirty-four Delegates)

Co-Chairmen of Delegation: Albert H. Quie, Marsie Leier

At Large

Delegates

Albert H. Quie .....St. Paul
State Capitol, 55155
Vern Neppl .....St. Paul
555 Wabasha Street, 6E, 55102
Tom Hagedorn .....Mankato
202 Post Office Building
P.O. Box 3148, 56001
Dorothy Liljegren .....St. Paul
555 Wabasha Street, 6E, 55102
Evie Teegen .....Edina
5501 Kellogg Avenue S., 55424
Gerald W. Brekke .....St.Peter
821 West Skaro, 56082
Donna Skagerberg .....Edina
6001 Killarney Lane, 55426
Pat Gorecki .....Shorewood
26890 Edgewood Road, 55331
Fred R. McComb .....Minneapolis
327 W. Minnehaha Parkway, 55419
Marsie Leier .....Roseville
2473 N. Churchill Street, 55113

Alternates

Peter Thrane .....Chanhassen
7340 Laredo Drive, 55317
Wilma Edhlund .....Stillwater
13613 Partridge Road H., 55082
H. D. Stokes .....Cambridge
135 S.E. 2nd Avenue, 55008

Joni Romer .....New Brighton
644 17th Avenue, N.W., 55112
Bernice Bird .....Robbinsdale
3200 46th Avenue H, 55422
Pat Elofson .....Minneapolis
5009 Morgan Avenue S., 55419
Charles V. Zupfer .....Zumbrota
664 Pleasant Avenue, 55992
Ruth Powers .....St. Paul
5265 Hodgson Road, 55112
J. H. Lee .....Minneapolis
171 Norman Ridge Dr., 55437
Joanie Nickerson .....Woodbury
7133 Montrose Road, 55125

District

1—Patricia Pariseau .....Farmington
25660 Biscayne Avenue W.,
55024
Laverne Orwoll .....Rochester
2233 5th Avenue N.E., 55901
David T. Bishop .....Rochester
1185 Plummer Circle, 55901
2—Bob Barsness .....Prior Lake
Box 446, 55372
Wilma Grams .....Hutchinson
540 Lincoln, 55350
Bonn Clayton .....Chanhassen
422 Santa Fe Circle, 55317
3—William E. Frenzel .....Minn.
110 S. 4th Street, #180, 55401
LaVonne, Samstad .....Edina
7340 York Ave. S.,
A #6-210, 55435

1—David R. Mills .....Woodbury
5751 Deer Trail, 55125

J. Robert Stassen .....S. St. Paul
2320 Kraft Street, 55075
Jeffrey Piepho .....Rochester
1300 4th Street N.E., 55901
2—Paul Taylor .....Eagan
3908 Beau D'Rue Dr., 55122
Mary Myers .....Mankato
111 Shaubut Street, 56001
Catherine Bell .....St. Peter
715 North Minnesota, 56082
3—Al Sjoberg .....Wayzata
16500 29th Avenue H., 55391
Dave Broden .....Minnetonka
14615 Oakwood Road, 55343

MINNESOTA (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
Paul Howey . . . . . Minnetonka 3851 Susan Lane, 55343	Pearl Gaskill . . . . . Minneapolis 6825 West Shore Drive, 55435
4—Hal Fotsch . . . . . St. Paul 2133 Selby, 55104	4—Marlene Reid . . . . . Shoreview 705 Schifsky Road, 55112
Evie Axdahl . . . . . St. Paul 2209 Payne Avenue, 55117	Donna Denkinger . . . . . St. Paul 1751 Hague Avenue, 55104
Frank Graves . . . . . St. Paul 476 Woodlawn Avenue, 55105	Mary Swenson . . . . . Arden Hills 1355 Eide Circle, 55112
5—Virginia Forbes . . . . . Minneapolis 1008 E. Minnehaha Parkway, 55417	5—Jim Hagen . . . . . Minneapolis 2725 Garfield Avenue S., 55408
Sally Howard . . . . . Minneapolis 3237 Colfax Avenue S., 55408	David Swanson . . . . . Minneapolis 2760 West River Road, 55406
Steve Keller . . . . . Minneapolis 4415 E. Lake Harriet Park, 55409	John Holewa . . . . . Minneapolis 5305 3rd Avenue South, 55419
6—Shirley Borgerding . . . . . Belgrade 1060 Washburn Ave., Box 138, 56312	6—Alvin Payne . . . . . DeGraff Route 1, 56233
Chuck Hargreaves . . . . . Maple Plain Route 1, Box 249B, 55359	Doran Isackson . . . . . Storden RR #1, 56174
Chris Fritsche . . . . . Marshall Route 4, Box 79, 56258	Lloyd Henry . . . . . Osseo Route 3, 55369
7—Leon Oistad . . . . . Ada 208 6th Street West, 56510	7—Lauritz Jensen . . . . . Drayton, ND Route 1, 58225
Lorraine Lind . . . . . Bertha RR, Box 122, 56437	Erna Berg . . . . . Fergus Falls 506 South Court, 56537
Donna Kunz . . . . . Bemidji 1119 Beltrami Avenue, 56601	Mary Ellen Quincer . . . . . Wadena 1515 S.W. 2nd, 56482
8—Jerry Arnold . . . . . Duluth 180 Bergstrom Road, 55803	8—Rita Blaisus . . . . . Cloquet 317 Avenue D, 55720
Mike Jensen . . . . . Anoka 1064 Park Street, 55303	Bob Jackson . . . . . Duluth 350 Kenilworth Avenue, 55803
Jo Ann Muller . . . . . Hibbing 2130 E. 6th Avenue N., 55746	Jo Anne Rajala . . . . . Deer River 56636

MISSISSIPPI

(Twenty-two Delegates)

Chairman of Delegation: Trent Lott

At Large

Delegates	*Alternates*
Michael L. Retzer . . . . . Greenville P.O. Box 4457, 38701	Evelyn McPhail . . . . . Bay St. Louis 5574 Diamondhead East, 39520
Thad Cochran . . . . . Jackson Post Office Box 6898, 39212	Nehemiah Flowers . . . . . Jackson P.O. Box 22581, 39205

MISSISSIPPI (Continued)

Delegates

Trent Lott .....Pascagoula
907 Washington Avenue, 39567
Jon Hinson .....Washington, D.C.
1512 Longworth House Off. Bldg., 20515
Charles Pickering .....Laurel
P.O Box 713, 39440

Alternates

Julius M. Ridgway .....Jackson
P.O. Box 387, 39205
Brenda Donnell .....Jackson
1450 Brinkley Drive, 39213

Sam Coley .....Columbus
801 17th Street N., 39701

DISTRICT

1—Leon Bramlett .....Clarksdale
Route 3, Box 599, 38614
Lorine Cady .....Southaven
8581 Yorktown, 38671
G. A. Gafford .....Oxford
P.O. Box 269, 38655

2—Beth Lane .....Starkville
Route 4, Hickory Grove Es., 39759
Thomas H. Simmons .....Leland
204 Baker Boulevard, 38756
Howard Stanton .....Greenwood
413 Crockett, 38930

3—Cindy Baria .....Brandon
128 Longmeadow, 39042
Charles Pruitt, Jr. .....Magee
521 First Avenue, N.W., 39111
James T. Speed .....Meridian
417 Windover Court, 39301

4—Sam Alford .....McComb
P.O. Box 602, 39648
W. D. Mounger .....Jackson
P.O. Box 1200, 39205
Allen Prassel .....Jackson
P.O. Box 8305, 39204
Linda Calcote .....Natchez
124 Woodhaven Drive, 39120

5—Glynn Cox .....Gautier
3660 Mackeral, 39553
Victor Mavar .....Biloxi
427 E. Beach Boulevard, 39530
James Moye .....Laurel
17 Glenwood Drive, 39440
Dick Thomson .....Hattiesburg
P.O. Box 310, 39401

1—Betty Keating .....Batesville
204 Brooks, 38606
Fred Reinbold .....Booneville
P.O. Box 286, 38826
Betty Woolard .....Saltillo
Highway 45 North, 38866

2—Jason Alexander .....Cleveland
112 N. Pearman Avenue, 38632

Billy Proctor .....Kosciusko
Golf Course Road, 39090
B. L. Williamson .....Columbus
CAFB Credit Union, 39701

3—George Rea, Jr. .....Meridian
5911 27th Place W., 39301
J. H. Sasser, Jr. .....Carthage
P.O. Box 437, 39051
William L. Hand .....Meridian
P.O. Box 5378, 39301

4—Doug McCurley .....Jackson
6055 Highway 18 W., 39209
Tom Weems .....Jackson
P.O. Box 9693, 39211
Ed Ogden .....Natchez
P.O. Box 1102, 39120
Robbie Hughes .....Jackson
4050 Crane Boulevard, 39216

5—Jack Hoover .....Pascagoula
1007 Westwood, 39567
Julius W. King .....Laurel
P.O. Box 1709, 39440
Michael K. Randolph ..Hattiesburg
P.O. Box 1061, 39401
Jo Ann O'Neal .....Gulfport
117 Woodhaven 39501

MISSOURI

(Thirty-seven Delegates)

Chairman of Delegation: Glen Brogden

AT LARGE

Delegates

Thomas B. Curtis.....Clayton
230 South Brentwood, 63105
Lucia Hannegan.....St. Louis
5757 Lindell Boulevard, 63112
Paul Nahon.....Springfield
1912 S. Pleasant Valley Rd., 65804
Anna Lee Porter.....French Village
63036
John B. Powell.....Rolla
605 West 11th Street, 65401
Gail Saunders.....Kansas City
11300 Summit, 64114

Glen W. Brogden.....Kennett
Box 63, 63857

Alternates

Stephen Banton.....St. Louis
172 Forest Brook Lane, 63141
Frederick Z. Clifford.....St. Louis
24 Countryside Lane, 63131
Al Kemp.....Pacific
4532 Fox Creek Road, 63069
Thelma M. Neff.....Springfield
802 North Fairfax, 65802
Phil Reid.....Lake Lotawana
H-28, 64063
Carol Scott.....Columbia
1021 Ashland Gravel Road,
#603, 65201
William E. White.....St. Louis
217 Lithia, 63119

DISTRICT

1—Allen S. Boston Webster Groves
137 Plant, 63119
Erle Lionberger.....Clayton
21 Dartford, 63105
Curtis Crawford.....St. Louis
5608 Pershing, 63112

2—Martha Schiff.....St. Louis
612 Bonita Avenue, 63119
Stephanie Prade.....St. Louis
911 Pavillion, 63141
John R. Woods.....St. Louis
1705 N. Woodlawn Avenue,
63124

3—Joseph Hanses.....St. Louis
67 Willmore Road, 63109
J. R. Ortwerth.....St.Louis
3947 Jamieson, 63109
Fran Hutchins.....St. Louis
6526 Neosho, 63109

1—Doris Laseter.....Brentwood
#1 Stratford Lane, 63144
Bernice Elrod.....St. Louis
1722 Belle Grade Ave., 63113
Fred O. Hale.....St. Louis
34 Waterman Place, 63112

2—Lillian Feller.....St. Louis
5834 Bermuda Avenue, 63121
Dorothy Johnston.....St. Louis
10621 Langford Drive, 63136
George W. Knight, III..St. Louis
1417 Christine Drive, 63131

3—Bernice Gilcrease.....St. Louis
6569 Marmaduke, 63109
Geraldine Gallagher.....St. Louis
3802 Utah, 63116
Alex Barlows.....St. Louis
3220 N. Dakota, 63111

MISSOURI (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
4—Nadine Dennis .....Independence 708 South Main, 64050	4—John T. Price .....Warrensburg 501 Hurricane Hill, Box 46 64093
Hillard Selck, Jr. .....Boonville #3 Crestview Drive, 65233	Larry A. Gross .....Preston RFD #1, Box 28, 65732
H. Leroy Iuchs .....Sedalia RFD #3, 65301	Lana Miller .....Raytown 6320 Hedges, 64133
5—Lloyd Kilgore .....Kansas City 305 West 114th, 64114	5—Stan O'Dell .....Kansas City 13506 Cambridge, 64030
Margaret Rasmussen ..Kansas City 118 North Lawn, 64123	Steve Mowry .....Kansas City 5030 Cherry, 64110
Ed Growney .....Kansas City 5825 Central, 64113	Marilyn Nelson .....Kansas City 8025 E. 88th Street, 64138
6—Russell D. Roberts .....Kirksville 203 Park Plaza, 63501	6—Marcella Gearhart .....Bethany 2100 Beekman, 64424
Mary Alice Dobberstine ...Liberty 1512 N. Ridgeway, 64068	John Ferguson .....Liberty Route 5, Box 53, 64068
Robert Williamson ....St. Joseph 2227 N. 22nd Street, 64505	Ronald A. Barker ....Kansas City 8233 N.W. Chatham, 64151
7—Charlotte Blanchard .....Joplin 2619 Adele, 64801	7—Jess Potter .....Strafford Route One, 65757
Diana B. Crain .....Branson 548 N. Highway 65, 65616	Malcolm G. Wright ...Springfield 1300 S. Delaware, 65801
Tom Fowler .....Springfield w865 Versailles, 65804	Bob Bartelsmeyer ....Mt. Vernon Route 3, Box 149, 65712
8—Morris F. Burger .....California 105 Rice Blvd., 65018	8—Tom Mendenhall .....Columbia P.O. Box 69, 65205
Thomas E. Dittmeier.....Ballwin 594 Fieldstone Lane, 63011	Helen J. Bryan ...Mountain View Route 1, Box 146, 65548
Rudy Munro .....Cuba 65453	Carolyn McDowell ..Jefferson City 1222 Carter, 65101
9—Nathan B. Walker .....Anabel RR 1, 63431	9—Margery Lehenbauer ....Hannibal Route 2, 63401
Pat Keyes .....Florissant 14750 Avocado Lane, 63034	Harold Rayfield .....St. Charles Route 4, Box 56, 63301
Marie Steele .....O'Fallon 727 Cordes Street, 63366	Ted Smith .....Florrisant 1340 Wadsworth Drive
10—Mary Doggett .....Sikeston 801 North Kingshighway, 63801	10—Shirley Sisco .....Piedmont Box 336, 63957
Rozella Randolph .....Imperial 6107 Timothy, 63052	Tom Cox .....Poplar Bluff P.O. Box 250, 63901
Robert E. Naeter ..Cape Girardeau Route 2, Box 425A, 63701	N.H. Bruckerhoff .....McBride 63776

MONTANA

(Twenty Delegates)

Chairman of Delegation: Louise Galt

AT LARGE

Delegates

Louise Galt ..... Helena
309 North Ewing, 59601
Tom Rice ..... Glasgow
Box 89, 59230
Charmaine Fisher ..... Billings
114 West 29th Street, 59102
Bob Lenhardt ..... Billings
4345 King Avenue, 59102
John Brown ..... Wordon
59088
Matilda Pierce ..... Billings
1227 Broadwater, 59102
Phyllis Hemstad ..... Great Falls
106 6th Street N.W., 59404
Ella Mae Cromer ..... Butte
3025 Moulton, 59701
Kenneth McBride ..... Big Sky
Box 146, 59714
Greg Sisk ..... Bozeman
c/o M. Gilchrist,
North Hedges, 59715
Everett E. Shuey ..... Butte
118 Rampart Drive, 59701
William Big Springs ..... East Glacier
Box 128, 59434
Linda Giesick ..... Billings
2221 Windgate Lane, 59102
Virginia Lucht ..... Big Fork
112 Crestline Drive, 59911

Alternates

Harley O'Donnell ..... Billings
Route 1, Box 192, 59102
Fred Wacker ..... Miles City
1413 Maine, 59301
Sandra Pawlowski ..... Circle
Route 232, Box 6, 59215
Luise Vranish ..... Roundup
1117 2nd Street West, 59072
Ed Kolar ..... Geyser
59447
Marie Moe ..... Two Dot
59085
Verna Green ..... Helena
Box 1084, 59601
Ladora McBride ..... Big Sky
Box 146, 59714
Ken Voldseth ..... Martinsdale
59053
Tom Asay ..... Forsyth
RR 2, 59327

Murlene Nollmeyer ..... Savage
59263
David Bliss ..... Conrad
Star Route, 58425
Eileen Whetstone ..... Cut Bank
59427
Jack Vujovich ..... Ennis
59729

DISTRICT

1—Tim Babcock ..... Helena
720 Madison Avenue, 59601
Everett Snortland ..... Conrad
207 South Colorado, 59425
Aubyn A. Curtiss ..... Fortine
Box 102, 59918
2—Marjorie Siems ..... Billings
3014 Glacier Drive, 59102
Delores Etchart ..... Glasgow
Box 229, 59230
Gregory T. Nelson ..... Great Falls
2228 Central Avenue, 59404

1—Madeline Samson ..... Helena
620 Floweree, 59601
Bob Marks ..... Clancy
Box 116, 59634
Darla Sadler ..... Missoula
1800 Cypress Court, 59801
2—Robert Yellowtail ..... Lodge Grass
59050
Gerald Nardella ..... Billings
2919 Cook Avenue, 59102
Linda Price ..... Baker
Box 941, 59313

NEBRASKA

(Twenty-five Delegates)

Chairman of Delegation: Charles Thone

At Large

Delegates

Dwight E. Dam .....Valentine
630 North Main, 69201
Jim Johnson .....Kearney
Route #3, 68847
Kevin Knapple .....Lexington
Route #2, Box 109, 68850
C. Leonard Peterson .....Alliance
1232 Box Butte Avenue, 69301
Charles R. Peterson .....Atkinson
68713
Edward Narjes .....Sidney
Route 2, Box 40, 69162
Mark Behm .....Hartington
68739
Marilyn Bath .....Auburn
RFD 2, 68305
Kay Orr .....Lincoln
1610 Brent Blvd., 68506
Richard Peterson .....Norfolk
Route 2, 68701
Lowell H. Hummel .....Fairbury
RFD 1, Box 112, 68352
James A. Dickinson .....Omaha
Route 4, 68137
Robert W. Lovgren .....Omaha
5315 Cuming, 68132
Ken Cameron .....Blair
534 Baronage Circle, 68008
Jan Terry .....Omaha
9706 HArtman, 68134
John J. Kehl, Jr. .....Bellevue
2611 Washington, 68005

Alternates

Monroe H. Usher, Jr. .....Lincoln
1920 Beatrice, 68506
David Hutton .....Lincoln
3260 South 12th, 68502
Robert S. Schropp .....Omaha
9721 Hascall, 68124
Dee Dee Kelly .....Omaha
5417 Reynolds, 68152
David W. Collins .....Overton
601 Plectron Street, 68863
Fred W. Briggs .....Lincoln
1421 South 26th, 68502
Naida Narjes .....Sidney
RR 2, Box 40, 69162
Norma Thompson .....Omaha
13792 Pierce, 68144
Sally Ganem .....Gretna
325 Paradise Drive, 68028
Clarke J. Stevens .....Omaha
6001 Blondo, 68104
Richard W. Smith .....Lincoln
916 Fall Creek Road, 68510
Mary G. Peterson .....Alliance
1232 Box Butte Avenue, 69301
Chuck Patteson .....Lincoln
6601 Westshore Drive, 68516
Sallie Folsom .....Grand Island
1504 West Second, 68801
Phyllis Gardner .....Max
69037
Fred A. Lockwood .....Gering
210 Gering Nat'l. Bank Bdg.,
69341

District

1—Charles Thone .....Lincoln
1425 H Street, 68508
George B. Cook .....Lincoln
3901 S. 27th, #27, 68502
W. Richard Baker .....Lincoln
7200 Briarhurst Drive, 68506

1—Eleanor Gibson .....Lincoln
1948 Sewell, 68502
Shirley Fralin .....Lincoln
2801 Stratford, 68502
Velma Price .....Newman Grove
68758

NEBRASKA (Continued)

Delegates

2—Anne Batchelder .....Omaha
6875 State Street, 68152
Marge Lamp .....Valley
42 Ginger Woods Road, 68064
Warren R. Swigart .....Omaha
3328 North 58th, 68104
3—Don Dworak .....Columbus
2973 N. Park Lane, 68601
Dick Spelts .....Grand Island
2203 W. Charles Street, 68801
Milan Bish .....Grand Island
2012 W. Louise, 68801

Alternates

2—Diane Desler .....Omaha
13792 Pierce, 68144
Bee Whitmore .....Omaha
10322 Pacific Street, 68116
John Sieler .....Omaha
1306 S. 78th Avenue, 68124
3—Daniel G. Urwiller .....Kearney
3604 Avenue E., 68847
Helen Dam .....Valentine
69201
Glenn R. Wilson, Jr. .Grand Island
Mid-Continent Enterprises, Inc.
68801

NEVADA

(Seventeen Delegates)

Chairman of Delegation: Paul Laxalt

AT LARGE

Delegates

Charles Joerg .....Carson City
301 Tahoe Drive, 89701
Jane Wilson .....Glenbrook
Post Office Box 277, 89413
Mary Slocum .....Gardnerville
Post Office Box 1199, 89410
Jack Tedford .....Fallon
115 North Bailey, 89406
Edwina Prior .....Reno
1555 Granite Drive, 89509
Hazel Gardella .....Reno
135 Boxer Drive, 89512
James R. Idso .....Reno
890 La Rue, 89505
Cliff McCorkle .....Reno
2782 Lakeridge Shores E., 89509
Mary Laub .....Las Vegas
1000 Rancho Circle, 89107
Eleanor Mills .....Las Vegas
2920 Ashby Avenue, 89102

Nathalie Ruppert .....Las Vegas
4203 Blue Heron Court, 89121

Alternates

Reese Taylor .....Carson City
424 Tahoe Drive, 89701
Nancy Bilyeu .....Elko
Post Office Box 511, 89801
Merton Domonoske .....Fallon
376 W. Williams Avenue, 89406
Patricia Briggs .....Elko
1275 Fairway, 89801
Patricia Cafferata .....Reno
205 Urban Road, 89509
Bill Morrison .....Reno
3645 Everett Drive, 89503
Elliott Myles .....Reno
2055 Regent Street, 89509
William J. McDonnell .....Reno
14460 Rim Rock Drive, 89511
Gwyn Brown .....Las Vegas
808 W. Hart Avenue, 89106
Jeanne Peret .....Las Vegas
324 E. Tropicana Avenue,
Sp. 404, 89109
Bonnie Horning .....Las Vegas
2604 W. Oakey Boulevard, 89102

NEVADA (Continued)

Delegates

Milton Schwartz .....Las Vegas
2120 Silver Avenue, 89102
Lloyd M. Taggart .....Las Vegas
3464 Union Street, 89121
Barbara Zimmer .....Las Vegas
220 Canyon Drive, 89107

Alternates

Oran Gragson .....Las Vegas
3700 Apache Lane, 89107
James Lamb .....Las Vegas
2813 Northam Street, 89102
Rudy Tacoronte .....Las Vegas
3454 Myrtle Avenue, 89102

DISTRICT

Paul Laxalt .....Washington, D.C.
315 Russell Office Building, 20510
Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr. .....Reno
Post Office Box 460, 89505
Homer Hansen .....Las Vegas
2600 Pinto Lane, 89107
William Richards .....Carson City
506 West Spear Street, 89701
Les Gray .....Sparks
3540 Wedekind Road, 89431
Robert Ballance .....Indian Springs
Post Office Box 585, 89018

NEW HAMPSHIRE

(Twenty-two Delegates)

Chairman of Delegation: Lane Dwinell

Note In the absence of response from a Delegate in Group A pursuant to the general rule, proceed from the top of the list of Alternates in Group A. Follow the same procedure for Group B and Group C.

AT LARGE — GROUP A

Delegates

Joseph Acorace .....Manchester
410 Bremer Street, 03102
David Banks .....Chichester
Dover Road, 03258
Gerald P. Carmen .....Manchester
308 Crestview Circle, 03104
Yvette Chagnon .....Nashua
36 Marlowe Road, 03060
Lane Dwinell .....Lebanon
94 Bank Road, 03766
Gordon Humphrey .....Sunapee
Box 362, 03782
Alf Jacobson .....New London
Burpee Hill Road, 03257

Alternates

John P. H. Chandler, Jr. .....Warner
Main Street, 03278
William Sanborn .....Deerfield
Leavitts Hill, 03037
W. Stephen Thayer, III ....Manchester
84 Bay Street, 03104
James Bibbo .....Bradford
Deer Valley Road, 03221
Henry B. Richardson .....Greenville
Pleasant Street, 03048
Ward Brown .....East Hampstead
Woodridge Park, 03826
Rita C. McAvoy .....Littleton
Bethlehem Road, 03561

NEW HAMPSHIRE (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
Elaine Lyons .....Merrimack Shore Drive, 03054	Emma B. Wheeler .....Milford 64 Amherst Street, 03055
Robert Monier .....Goffstown 15 East Union Street, 03045	Frederic Snell .....Lisbon 12 Meadow Lane, 03585
Sheila Roberge .....Manchester 101 Magnolia Road, 03104	Gloria Randlett .....Boscawen RFD 7, 03301
D. Alan Rock .....Nashua 25 Woodland Drive, 03060	Eleanor Podles .....Manchester 185 Walnut Hill Road, 03102
Bernard A. Streeter, Jr. .....Nashua 26 Indiana Drive, 03060	John Upton .....Concord 15 South Spring, 03301
Donna P. Sytek .....Salem 9 Garrison Road, 03079	James Barry .....Manchester 48 Mammoth Road, 03103
Charles F. Zell .....Derry 5 DriftwoodRoad, 03038	Juanita Kashulines .....Windham 15 Rock Ridge Road, 03087
Fred Fletcher .....Milford 11 Mont Vernon Street, 03055	George I. Wiggins .....Sunapee RFD 1, 03782

AT LARGE — GROUP B

Bruce Rounds .....Bristol Box 5, 03222	Robert Allard .....Portsmouth 45 Brackett Road, 03801
Geraldine Sylvester .....Dover 115 Coccheco Drive, 03820	Catherine Cummings .....Amherst Orchard View Drive, 03031
James C. Chamberlin .....Durham New Market Road, Box 8516, 03824	David Currier .....Henniker Centervale Road, 03242
Hilary Cleveland .....New London Main Street, 03257	Charlotte Fisher .....Meredith Oak Ledge Road, 03253
Thomas Hynes .....Manchester 2107 Elm Street, 03104	Edgar Mead .....Etna Box 12, 03750

AT LARGE — GROUP C

John Michels .....Danbury North Road, 03230	Perkins Bass .....Peterborough Elm Hill Road, 03458
Walter Peterson .....Peterborough Post Office Box 228 East Mountain Road, 03458	Ellen Curelop .....Nashua 67 Farmington Road, 03060

NEW JERSEY

(Sixty-six Delegates)

Co-Chairmen of Delegation: David F. Norcross, Raymond J. Donovan

At Large

Delegates	*Alternates*
Matthew J. Rinaldo .....Union 142 Headley Terrace, 07083	Kathryn M. Christiansen .....Trenton 41 Deacon Drive, 08619
David F. Norcross .....Moorestown 409 Kenwood Drive, 08057	Olivia Fanelle .....Laurel Springs 5 Jefferson Drive, 08044
Raymond J. Donovan .....Short Hills 54 Marywood Lane, 08078	Hazel Gluck .....Lakewood 701 N. Lake Drive,08701
Philip Matalucci Cape May Court House Golf Club Road, 08210	Marie Muhler .....Marlboro 5 Oak Lane, 07746
John K. Rafferty .....Trenton 111 Lowell Avenue, 08619	William E. McCann .....Short Hills 180 Highland Avenue, 08078
Benjamin H. Danskin .....Sea Girt 114 Magnolia Avenue, 08750	Eugene Liss .....Little Falls 81 Route 23, 07424

District

1—John L. Richards .....Sewell 136 Greentree Road, 08080	1—John W. Holdcraft ....Woodbury 150Rugby Place, 08096
John E. Hunt .....Pitman 508 Pitman Avenue, 08071	Bruce E. Kleese .....Erial 12 Sturbridge Drive, 08081
Ronald P. Sandmeyer Haddon Hgts. 24 Second Avenue, 08035	Russell M. Ergood, Jr. Haddonfield 180 Upland Way, 08033
Harold W. Hannold ....Westville 254 Elm Street, 08023	John M. Straub .....Berlin 14 Independence Court, 08009
2—James J. Mancini ....Beach Haven 3000 Beach Avenue, 08008	2—Helene Mace ....North Wildwood 4 Weeks Avenue, 08260
Lawrence Pepper, Jr. ....Vineland 2538 Beechwood Drive, 08360	Anthony T. Catanoso N. Wildwood 219 E. 12th Avenue, 08260
Harry Brown .....Margate City 210 N. Hunnington Ave., 08402	Norma E. Eppler .....Bridgeton Rosenhayen Avenue, 08302
Lester Harris .....Quinton Beasley Neck Road, Box 26, 08072	William Ross III .....Margate 311B Harding Avenue, 08402
3—Ann D. Flynn .....Long Branch 787 Ocean Avenue, 07740	3—Anthony M. Villane, Jr. ..Elberon 20 Lincoln Avenue, 07740
Robert C. Stanley, Jr. ..Red Bank 578 Navesink River Rd., 07701	S. Thomas Gagliano ....Holmdel 105 Middletown Road, 07733
William R. Kiely, Jr. .Fair Haven 137 Lewis Lane, 07701	Brian T. Kennedy .....Sea Girt 1309 W. Chicago Blvd., 08750
Joseph M. Pecoraro ....Red Bank 35 Hillendale Drive, 07701	Ernest N. Cote .....Holmdel 9 Old Manor Road, 07733
4—Jeffrey Bell .....Trenton 640 W. State Street, 08608	4—Henry J. Keller .....E. Windsor 4 Drew Lane, 08520

NEW JERSEY (Continued)

Delegates

John A. Bradley .....Milltown
316 N. Main Street, 07748
Catherine Colaprico ...Old Bridge
43 Washington Avenue, 08857
John Dimon .....Florence
200 Boulevard, 08518

5—Nicholas F. Brady .....Far Hills
Black River Road, 07931
Harlan K. Schlicher
Mountain Lakes
2 Park Lane, 07046
Robert D. Jones .....Madison
5 Lee Avenue, 07940
Thomas H. Branch ...Morristown
42 Cold Hill Road, 07960

6—Barry T. Parker .....Mt. Holly
115 High Street, 08060

Michael J. Conda .....Delanco
216 Hazel Avenue, 08075
John A. Rocco .....Cherry Hill
6 Wheelright Lane, 08034
Barbara Steele .....Toms River
Smith Road, 08753

7—John F. Inganamort
U. Saddle River
15 Sparrowbush Road, 07458
Garrett W. Hagedorn
Midland Park
210 Vreeland Avenue, 07432
Robert N. Guido .....Paramus
71 Knollwood Drive, 07652
Thomas H. Brunjooge ..Allendale
21 Bonnie Way, 07401

8—Anthony J. Orrico .....Wayne
854 Valley Road, 07470
Cherie C. Fischer .....Ringwood
53 Pequot Road, 07456
Rocco Motta .....Paterson
213 Elberon Avenue, 07502
Gerald Goldman .....Passaic
107 Ridge Avenue, 07055

9—Matthew J. Binder ...Old Tappan
23 Forest Avenue, 07675
Mario DeLuca .....Union City
513 41st Street, 07087

Alternates

Margaret Donnelly ..Lawrenceville
Orchard Lane, 08648
Patricia Meade .....Spotswood
170 Burlington Avenue, 08884
Irmgard LaMont .....Bordentown
Post Office Box 147, 08505

5—Lewis J. Gray .....Watchung
Route 22, 07060
Vilma E. O'Connor ....Middlesex
222 Raritan Avenue, 08846

Rudolph Nowak .....Manville
17 N. Weiss Street, 08835
Peter J. Burkhart .....Parsippany
265 Park Road, 07054

6—C. William Haines, Jr. Mt. Laurel
Larchmont Farms, P.O. Box 97,
08054
Henry W. Metzger...Willingboro
57 Marboro Lane, 08046
Warren Wolf .....Brick Town
525 Nicholas Road, 08723
Hersh Kozlov .....Cherry Hill
1820 Ticonderoga Lane, 08034

7—Carl Marggraff .....Oradell
888 Amaryllis Avenue, 07649

John W. Markert .....Westwood
40 Old Hook Road, 07675

Claudia Ross .....Elmwood Park
729 River Drive, 07407
Michael P. Rinko .....Montvale
23 Oak Street, 07645

8—Louis Senzamici .....Paterson
15 Courtland Street, 07503
S. M. "Terry" LaCorte ....Clifton
137 Country Lane, 07012
J. P. Ashfield ....Pompton Lakes
30 Park Place, 07442
Walter Marut .....Wallington
14 Mt. Cedar Avenue, 07055

9—Mary E. Courtney .....Edgewater
328 Undercliff Avenue, 07020
Barbara H. Chadwick ..Rutherford
60 Raymond Avenue, 07070

NEW JERSEY (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
Patricia E. Stuart .....Englewood 353 Tryon Avenue, 07631	S. Gerald Cardinale .....Demarest 306 Hardenburgh Ave., 07627
Joseph A. Carucci, Jr. ..Lyndhurst 211 Van Buren Street, 07071	Byron Leeds .....Secaucus 516 Teal Plaza, Harmon Cove, 07094
10—Anthony Imperiale .....Newark 760 DeGraw Avenue, 07104	10—Rose Serra .....Newark 374 Summer Avenue, 07104
John R. Taliaferro .....Newark 37 Longfellow Avenue, 07103	William L. Stubbs .....Newark 272 S. 8th Street, 07103
Joseph DeVizio .....Newark 8 Monticello Avenue, 07106	Arthur Clay .....Glen Ridge 78 Ridgewood Avenue, 07028
Vincent Carrado .....Newark 29 Delavan Avenue, 07104	Mary F. Axiotes .....East Orange 777 Springdale Avenue, 07017
11—John P. Renna, Jr. ...W. Orange 22 Rock Spring Road, 07052	11—Karla J. Squier .....Maplewood 46 Pierson Road, 07040
Carl A. Orechio .....Nutley 394 Walnut Street, 07110	Anne M. Sager .....Montclair 12 Holland Terrace, 07042
Joseph A. Sullivan ....Essex Fells 164 Old Chester Road, 07021	Herta B. Tully .....Irvington 14 Leslie Place, 07111
Frank Basile .....W. Orange 10 Lancaster Terrace, 07052	Spero Margeotes .....Bloomfield 88 Sylvan Road, 07003
12—Alfonso L. Pisano ....Roselle Park 27 E. Grant Avenue, 07204	12—William Franklin ...Scotch Plains 2100 Gamble Road, 07076
Chuck Hardwick .....Westfield 6 Dickson Drive, 07090	Elizabeth L. Cox .....Summit 390 Morris Avenue, 07081
Richard P. Hatfield .Scotch Plains 12 Colonial Drive, 07076	Marie B. Kelly .....Summit 18 Fernwood Road, 07901
Earl C. Henwood .....Union 963 Townley Avenue, 07083	Charles L. Hirsch New Providence 11 Colonial Way, 07974
13—John H. Dorsey .....Boonton Decker Lane, 07005	13—Bill Mathesius .....Princeton 16 Honeybrook Drive, 08540
Donald J. Albanese ..Phillipsburg 1209 Belvidere Road, 08865	Ruth M. Cary .....Oxford RD 1, Box 545, 07863
Arthur L. Sears .....Newton RD 2, Box 176, 07860	Dick Kamin .....Flanders 13 Downstream Drive, 07836
Henry Y. Kuhl .....Flemington RD 1, Box 485-A, 08822	Maud Dahme .....Annandale RD, 08801
14—Julius D. Canter .....Jersey City 201 St. Paul's Avenue, 07306	14—Joanie Judd .....Jersey City 477 Tonnelle Avenue, 07307
Edward T. Magee .....Jersey City 241 Union Street, 07304	Ernest Lettieri .....Bayonne 894 Avenue C, 07002
Gene Macri .....Hoboken 913 Hudson Street, 07030	Joseph A. Plonski .....Jersey City 224 Newark Avenue, 07302
Margaret P. Sievewright ...Kearny 223 Stewart Avenue, 07032	Florence Maurizi .....Weehawken 25 King Avenue, 07087

NEW JERSEY (Continued)

Delegates

15—James J. Spera . . . . . .Piscataway
645 Washington Avenue, 08854
S. Elliott Mayo . . . . . .Metuchen
31 Rayle Court, 08840
Peter J. Selesky . . .New Brunswick
15 Voorhees Road, 08901
Robert V. Main . . . . . .Edison
35 Remington Drive, 08817

Alternates

15—William G. Palermo, Jr. . .Linden
15 Yale Terrace, 07036
James R. Sheldon . . . . . .Edison
129 Gracey Street, 08817
Louis Orlando . . . . . .Carteret
102 Sycamore, 07008
Richard Vitkauskis . . . . .Sayreville
6 Thomas Street, 08872

NEW MEXICO

(Twenty-two Delegates)

Chairman of Delegation: Anderson Carter

AT LARGE

Delegates

Frank Bird . . . . . .Albuquerque
4305 Chinlee N.E., 87110
Hardy Stewart . . . . . .Grants
816 Inwood Court, 87020
Beryle K. Longman . . . . . .Roswell
708 North Lea, 88201
Manuel Lujan, Jr. . . . . .Albuquerque
1209 California N.E., 87110
Barbara Cauley . . . . . .Albuquerque
7339 Prairie N.E., 87109
Ann Griffin . . . . . .Hobbs
Post Office Box 1193, 88240
Cobby McKinney . . . . . .Clovis
1313 Fairway Terrace, 88101
Mary Sue Wooten . . . . . .Los Alamos
3217 Woodland, 87544
Walter E. Bruce . . . . . .Santa Fe
207 E. Coronado Road, 87501
Anderson Carter . . . . . .Lovington
Post Office Box 725, 88260
Brad Cates . . . . . .Albuquerque
9026 Hendrix N.E., 87111
Pete V. Domenici . . . . . .Albuquerque
402 15th St., S.W. 87104
Harrison H. Schmitt . . . . . .Silver City
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Alternates

Selma Morrell . . . . . .Albuquerque
10341 Hendrix N.E., 87111
Lee B. Garcia . . . . . .Grants
118 Gold Avenue, 87020
Donna Markle . . . . . .Carlsbad
1003 North Shore Drive, 88220
Earle Chapman . . . . . .Albuquerque
2408 Hoffman N.E., 87110
Dauneen Dolce . . . . . .Albuquerque
12504 Crestline N.E., 87112
Mary McCormick . . . . . .Albuquerque
6717 Esther Avenue N.E., 87109
Mickey Barnett . . . . . .Portales
416 East 18th, 88130
Janet B. Dorbin . . . . . .Santa Fe
807 Loma Boreal, 87501
Fred Coury . . . . . .Albuquerque
6605 Natalie N.E., 87110
Larry Johnson . . . . . .Hobbs
Post Office Box 159, 88240
Ed Crockett . . . . . .Albuquerque
13320 Cedarbrook N.E., 87111
Stephen P. Schalk . . . . . .Albuquerque
6200 Rio Hondo Dr., N.E., 87109
Dan Green . . . . . .Albuquerque
12104 Palo Duro, N.E., 87111

NEW MEXICO (Continued)

Delegates

Aileen Thompson .....Albuquerque
1601 Park S.W., 87104
Max Torres, Sr. .....Socorro
500 Neel Avenue, 87801
Michael Watland .....Albuquerque
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Alternates

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9968 Clearwater St., N.W., 87114
Ronald E. Morsbach .....Ramah
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Charles Ocksrider .....Albuquerque
1604 Cardenas N.E., 87110

District

1—Henry Abeyta .....Espanola
Post Office Box 395, 87532
Robert V. Bush .....Albuquerque
10509 Santa Susanna N.E., 87111
George Martinez .....Albuquerque
11009 Edith Blvd., N.W., 87114
2—Marge Bodwell .....Alamogordo
2201 12th Street, 88310
Frank Dorn .....Las Cruces
2085 Rentfrow, 88001
Wilbur W. Irvin .....Farmington
4208 Beckland Drive, 87401

1—Eddie Medina .....Fairview
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Ruth Williams .....Albuquerque
6329 Mendius N.E., 87109
Linda Carraro .....Albuquerque
107 Stanford S.E., 87106
2—Maude O. Rathgeber ..Alamogordo
801 Cedar Avenue, 88310
George Lore .....Ruidoso
Post Office Box 2456, 88345
Sylvia Little .....Farmington
3112 Aspen, 87401

NEW YORK

One Hundred Twenty-three Delegates)

Chairman of Delegation: Bernard M. Kilbourn

At Large

Delegates

Bernard M. Kilbourn .....Chadwicks
3614 Oneida Street, 13319
Jacob K. Javits .....New York
322 East 57th Street, 10022
Warren M. Anderson .....Binghamton
34 Lathrop Avenue, 13905
James L. Emery .....Geneseo
4330 Long Point Road, 14454
Richard M. Rosenbaum .....Rochester
19 Denonville Ridge, 14625
Eunice B. Whittlesey .....Scotia
118 Acorn Drive, 12302

Alternates

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Woodland Drive, 10573
Richard J. Hanlon .....Syracuse
400 Winkworth Parkway, 13215
Edward V. Regan .....Buffalo
92 Cleveland Avenue, 14222
Rita DiMartino .....Staten Island
1337 Arden Avenue, 10312
Dorothy R. Edwards .....Esperance
5 Feuz Terrace, 12066
Susan N. Biddle .....Newark
407 Madison Street, 14513

NEW YORK (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
DISTRICT	
1—Anthony Prudenti .....Blue Point 20 Glades Road, 11715	1—Frederick E. Hulse, Jr. Greenport 35 Sunset Lane, 11944
Frank P. Apollaro .....Smithtown 56 Mount Pleasant Road, 11787	Delphine Kucera ...Wading River RR #1, High View Dr., 11792
Thomas M. Neppell, Jr. Setauket Post Office Box 856, Old Field Road, 11785	Darrell A. Weaver, Jr. E. Hampton 91 Watersedge Road, 11937
2—Peter F. Cohalan .....Bayport 203 Academy Street, 11705	2—Raymond C. Allmendinger W. Babylon 808 Carlton Road, 11704
William M. Blake .....Deer Park 18 Maple Drive, 11729	Frank D. Boncore .....Brentwood 252 Hilltop Drive, 11717
Anthony Pace .....West Islip 7 Sequams Lane N., 11795	Harold J. Withers, Jr. N. Babylon 205 Woods Road, 11703
3—Joseph M. Reilly .....Glen Cove 7 Hickory Lane, 11542	3—Ann R. Ocker.....Plainview 17 Grohmans Lane, 11803
Isabel R. Dodd .....Sea Cliff 43 Hawthorne Road, 11579	James E. Picken .....Massapequa 120 Exeter Road, 11758
John P. Campbell Cold Spring Harbor 76 Shore Road, 11724	Leonard Braun .....Halesite 20 Old Town Lane, 11743
4—Joseph M. Margiotta ..Glen Head 134 Wheatley Road, Brookville, 11545	4—Norman J. Levy .....Merrick 299 Merrick Avenue, S., 11566
Ralph J. Marino .....Syosset 3 Lea Court, Muttontown, 11791	Francine Mintz .....Freeport 31 Casino Street, 11520
Norman F. Lent ....E. Rockaway 48 Plymouth Road, 11518	Robert J. McDonald ....Bethpage 3680 Courtney Lane, 11714
5—Francis T. Purcell .....Malverne 25 Croyden Street, 11565	5—John V. Scaduto .....Long Beach 610 E. Bay Drive, 11561
Marcia O'Brien .....Bellerose 18 Michigan Road, 11426	Sinita Walker ...West Hempstead 1025 Ontario Road, 11552
John W. Wydler ....Garden City 63 First Street, 11530	Easa Easa .....West Hempstead 303 Chestnut Street, 11552
6—John D. Caemmerer Williston Park 11 Post Avenue, 11596	6—Abe Seldin .....New Hyde Park 46 Camden Place, 11040
Thomas T. Pierce .....Roslyn Mineola Avenue, 11576	Theodore M. Black ...Sands Point 47 Cornell's Beach Road, 11050
John A. Esposito ..Queens Village 222-01 101st Avenue, 11429	Joseph L. Fristachi .....Bayside 51-16 Bell Boulevard, 11364
7—Mary Ann Carey .....Ozone Park 107-24 79th Street, 11417	7—Lee H. Bostic .....Jamaica 111-50 178th Street, 11433

NEW YORK (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
Geraldine W. Jones .....Hollis 192-10 104 Avenue, 11412	William P. Longone ..Ozone Park 106-27 79th Street, 11417
Frances Werner South Ozone Park 133-26 132nd Street, 11426	Jack M. Weinstein .....Jamaica 90-50 Parsons Boulevard, 11432
8—Edward T. Coyne .....Woodside 43-15 53rd Street, 11377	8—D. Henry Jurgs .....Corona 108-62 38th Avenue, 11368
Ben V. Fabrizi .....Corona 104-47 Roosevelt Avenue, 11368	Kendrick Harper .....Flushing 158-09 76 Road, 11360
Norman George .....Jamaica 184-48 Grand Central Parkway, 11432	Elizabeth M. Corcoran Long Island City 43-15 46th Street, 11104
9—John T. Flack .....Glendale 78-14 64 Place, 11227	9—Robert E. Matthews, Jr. Middle Village 62-43 81st Street, 11379
Mary G. Ryan .....Forest Hills 732 Burns Street, 11375	Harriet Hood ....Long Island City 30-40 45th Street, 11103
Wilfred Dalton .....Forest Hills 128 Whiston Street, 11375	Lawrence G. Linekin ....Glendale 78-11 85th Street, 11385
10—John D. Calandra .....Bronx 88 Beech Tree Lane, 10803	10—Frank D'Erasmo .....Bronx 2118 Paulding Avenue, 10462
Ralph Giordano .....Bronx 1450 Ohm Avenue, 10465	Mary Scirghio .....Bronx 2345 Gunther Avenue, 10469
Frances LoPresto .....Queens 21-33 42nd Street, 11105	Lilly A. Bachmann .....Queens 166-34 14th Avenue, 11357
11—Vito P. Battista .....Brooklyn 139 Nichols Avenue, 11208	11—Ruth A. DiGennaro Howard Beach 94-07 156 Avenue, 11414
Diane Haslett Rudiano ..Brooklyn 1162 Glenmore Avenue, 11208	Dominick J. Andreassi ..Brooklyn 9722 Farragut Road, 11236
Frank Siclari .....Brooklyn 5703 Avenue M, 11234	Edward G. Desborough ..Brooklyn 12 Norwood Avenue, 11208
12—Joseph M. Parrotta .....Brooklyn 454 Harman Street, 11237	12—Anthony Cartafalsa .....Brooklyn 1041 Hart Street, 11237
Garfield Bobo .....Brooklyn 385 Decatur Street, 11233	Alice M. Capatosto .....Brooklyn 304 Eckford Street, 11222
Adelle C. Haines .....Brooklyn 269 Kingland Avenue, 11222	Donella J. Jackson .....Brooklyn 98 Patchen Avenue, 11221
13—Joseph P. Neglia .....Brooklyn 2358 East 4th Street, 11223	13—Enrico Sabatino .....Brooklyn 1970 East 18th Street, 11229
Rosemarie Urciuoli .....Brooklyn 692 East 4th Street, 11218	Julius L. Vinik .....Brooklyn 1900 East 22nd Street, 11229
Rosemary A. Millus ....Brooklyn 220 Rubgy Road, 11226	Vincent J. Handal .....Brooklyn 266 Westminster Road, 11218
14—Frank X. Gargiulo .....Brooklyn 203 Huntington Street, 11231	14—Mario DeFalco .....Brooklyn 455 Myrtle Avenue, 11213
Aaron R. Schacher .....Brooklyn 85 Livingston Street, 11201	Lois C. Voyticky .....Brooklyn 7 Virginia Place, 11213

NEW YORK (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
Leon F. Nadrowski .....Brooklyn 107 Java Street, 11222	Charles M. Merjave .....Brooklyn 73 Guernsey Street, 11222
15—Angelo J. Arculeo .....Brooklyn 1028 82nd Street, 11228	15—Esther L. Gardella .....Brooklyn 120 96th Street, 11209
Nicholas L. Savino .....Brooklyn 1039 41st Street, 11219	Raymond McKaba .....Brooklyn 8701 Shore Road, 11209
Joseph Sussillo .....Brooklyn 437 Bay Ridge Parkway, 11209	Marie L. Gambino .....Brooklyn 315 Ovington Avenue, 11209
16—Celeste Andruzzi .....Brooklyn 1753 Hendrickson Street, 11234	16—Joseph L. Gentili .....Brooklyn 1149 East 32nd Street, 11210
George L. Clark .....Brooklyn 3950 Bedford Avenue, 11229	Moses A. Lerman .....Brooklyn 1275 E. 52nd Street, 11234
Donald G. Pemberton ...Brooklyn 1032 E. 28th Street, 11210	Catherine B. Gallagher ..Brooklyn 408 E. 29th Street, 11226
17—Guy V. Molinari ....Staten Island 21 Merrick Avenue, 10301	17—Joanne Avella .....Staten Island 5 Twin Oaks Drive, 10304
Anthony I. Giacobbe .Staten Island 14 Welles Court, 10310	Inez M. Palladino ...Staten Island 74 Hooker Place, 10302
Arnold R. Thompson Staten Island 25 Garretson Avenue, 10304	Albert E. Ettinger ...Staten Island 16 Hartford Avenue, 10310
18—S. William Green .....New York 755 Park Avenue, 10021	18—Jean S. Gerard .....New York 201 E. 79th Street, 10021
Roy M. Goodman .....New York 1035 Fifth Avenue, 10028	Janet A. Luhrs .....New York 301 E. 73rd Street, 10021
Maxwell M. Rabb .....New York 1025 Fifth Avenue, 10028	Tanya Melich Silverman New York 115 E. 9th Street, 10003
19—Lionel Hampton .....New York 20 W. 64th Street, 10023	19—Diana K. Mayer .....New York 210 Central Park W., 10024
John M. Walker, Jr. ...New York 106 W. 78th Street, 10024	Patricia A. Dewitt .....New York 106 W. 74th Street, 10023
Peter C. Hein .....New York 60 W. 66th Street, 10023	Earl Andrews, Jr. .....New York 245 W. 104th Street, 10025
20—Gertrude Hess Parker ..New York 308 W. 78th Street, 10024	20—John A. McKesson, III .New York 322 W. 57th Street, 10019
Patrick F. Crossman ...New York 448 Riverside Drive, 10027	Charles H. Thompson ..New York 291 W. 12th Street, 10014
Walter C. McSherry ...New York 180 W. End Avenue, 10023	Thomas V. Gilboy, II ..New York 276 Riverside Drive, 10025
21—Frank Garofolo .....Bronx 1326 Mace Avenue, 10484	21—Curtis Johnson .....Bronx 1350 Washington Ave., 10456
Fred Brown .....Bronx 10-16 East Richman Place, 10453	Alton Chase .....Bronx 1827 Topping Avenue, 10457
Leonard Glenn .....Bronx 805 East 156th Street, 10455	Thelma Lichtblau .....Bronx 2727 Palisades Avenue, 10463
22—Joseph A. Cascione .....Bronx 3315 Bronxwood Avenue, 10469	22—Marie Bunting .....Bronx 3051 Lawton Avenue, 10465

NEW YORK (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
Guy Velella .....Bronx 1240 Rhinelander Avenue, 10461	Helen Presser .....Bronx 920-24 Baychester Ave., 10475
Robert Black .....Bronx 2385 Barker Avenue, 10467	Rebecca Rollins .....Bronx 2011 Strong Avenue, 10466
23—Anthony J. Colavita ....Tuckahoe 96 Lake Shore Drive, 10707	23—Edward N. Vetrano ....Tarrytown 107 Rose Hill Avenue, 10591
Frank Coppola .....Yonkers 49 Valley View Drive, 10710	Michael H. McBride ..Hawthorne 110 Robert Place, 10532
Victor Tosi .....Bronx 3309 Hone Avenue, 10469	Ronald Imundi .....Bronx 2317 Delanoy Avenue, 10469
24—Margaret S. Soter .....Scarsdale 15 Fenimore Road, 10583	24—Louis A. Barone ....New Rochelle 135 Storer Avenue, 10801
William P. Sirignano .Mt. Vernon 11 Parkway Circle, 10552	Frederick J. Gioffre ..Port Chester 47 Priscilla Avenue, 10573
Basil Filardi, Jr. ....White Plains 68 Linda Avenue, 10605	Raphael Amelio, Jr. .....Harrison 91 Sterling Avenue, 10528
25—Ethel L. Block .....Red Hook Box 145, RD #2, 12571	25—Edward T. Feeney .....Kingston 85 Mountainview Ave., 12401
Victor B. Coster, Jr. PO Mohegan Lake 26 Helena Avenue, 10547	Sharon Frayne ...Yorktown Hgts. 1931 Glen Rock St., 10598
Donald B. Smith .....Patterson Cross Roads, 12563	H. Todd Brinckerhoff ....Fishkill Route 52, Box 310, 12524
26—Richard D. Schermerhorn Cornwall-on-Hudson 12 Idlewild Park Drive, 12520	26—Hamilton Fish, Sr. ....Newburgh River Road, Box 670, 12550
Clifford M. Barber .....Walden Albany Post Road, RFD #2, 12586	Rosemary C. Smith ...Garnerville 1 Sherman Drive, 10923
Carmine Freda .....Nyack 85 River Road, Grandview, 10960	Francis E. Ferro .....Milton Indian Road, 12547
27—David F. Crowley ....Binghamton 66 Kenilworth Road, 13903	27—James W. Ray .....Newfield R.D. 3, Elmira Road, 14867
Frances W. Leavenworth Appalachin 144 Frederick Drive, 13732	Peter Savago .....New Paltz Post Office Box 544, 12561
Harry Seletsky ....South Fallsburg 12779	Cyrus Schoonmaker ...E. Meredith Kelso Road, R.D. 1, 13757
28—Robert N. Going .....Amsterdam 4 Trinity Place, 12010	28—Hugh T. Farley .....Schenectady 2137 Niskayuna Dr., 12309
William M. Johns .....Albany 12 Norwood Street, 12203	Michaelena R. Palmieri Schenectady 1010 N. Country Club Dr., 12309
Joseph M. Baldanza .....Albany 462 Bradford Street, 12206	Timothy A. Looker .....Albany 23 Tenbroek Street, 12210

NEW YORK (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
29—William E. Sinnott .E. Greenbush 3 Jerold Drive, 12061	29—Joseph L. Bruno .....Troy Bulson Road, RD #3, Box 219A, 12180
Mary Ann T. Knauss ..Livingston 12541	Richard E. McLenithan Hudson Falls 22 Kelly Avenue, 12839
Michael D. Ginsburg S. Glens Falls 20 Brentwood Drive, 12801	Elizabeth F. Dorsey Saratoga Springs 28 Underwood Drive, 12866
30—Frank A. Augsbury, Jr. Ogdensburg 522 Crescent Avenue, 13669	30—Charles H. Ely .....Phoenix 929 Elm Street, 13135
H. Douglas Barclay .....Pulaski 6871 Port Road, 13142	H. Robert Nortz .....Lowville 5274 Clinton Street, 13367
Ronald B. Stafford .....Peru 14 Pleasant Street, 12972	Donald E. Stone .....Malone Whippleville Road, 12953
31—James H. Donovan ....Chadwicks 9409 Elm Street, 13319	31—Anthony F. Shaheen .....Clinton R.D. #2, Red Hill Rd., 13323
Forest Wallaber, Jr. ....Cobleskill Route 7, 12047	Sherwood L. Boehlert New Hartford 4 Hubbardton Road, 13413
Constance McGregor ...Worcester 43 Decatur Road, 12197	Carmelia P. Aulisi ....Gloversville 5 East Boulevard, 12078
32—Frederick G. Compagni, Sr. Cortland 2003 Ames Road, 13049	32—William C. Craine .....Sherburne 40 Chenango Avenue, 13460
William O. Winans ...Bridgeport Box 104, 13030	Donald C. McKown .....Unadilla RD #1, Box 318, 13849
Norman E. Rothschild ..Liverpool 300 Saltmakers Road, 13088	Shirley A. Jefferson .....Liverpool 7752 Treadmill Circle, 13088
33—Patrick J. Buttarazzi .....Auburn 4 Fitch Avenue, 13021	33—Phyllis B. Hyrcza .....Jamesville 6414 Hedgerow Lane, 13078
Frank H. Armani .....Camillus 121 Munro Drive, 13031	Edward W. Furze .....Syracuse 820 Fay Road, 13219
James P. Tracy .....Auburn 34 Lansing Street, 13021	Emanuel Y. Li .....Seneca Falls 100 State Street, 13148
34—Thomas H. Gosnell .....Webster 774 Lake Road, 14580	34—Robert Turner .....Rochester 484 Alexander Street, 14605
James M. White .....Rochester 341 Corwin Road, 14610	Joan Mueller .....Fairport 554 Garnsey Road, 14450
Sandra Sirkin .....Newark 425 Grace Avenue, 14513	Barbara Zartman .....Rochester 60 Hawthorne Street, 14610
35—R. J. Starkweather ....Spencerport 516 Washington Street, 14559	35—Richard J. Collins .....Avon 106 Temple Street, 14414
Barber B. Conable, Jr. ..Alexander 10532 Alexander Road, 14005	Rosa L. Miller .....Oakfield 6961 Knowlesville Road, 14125

NEW YORK (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
Fred J. Eckert .....Rochester 101 Sherri Ann Lane, 14626	Loretta Schein .....Rochester 1033 Pixley Road, 14624
36—Jerald I. Wolfgang ...Youngstown 4267 Lower River Road, 14174	36—William L. Marcy, Jr. ....Buffalo 90 Dana Road, 14216
Robert E. Batt .....Albion 3300 Oak Orchard Road, 14411	David L. Ulrich .....Lockport 431 Willow Avenue, 14094
Vincent A. Daigler ...Tonawanda 154 Ashford Avenue, 14150	Patricia M. Korodi ....Tonawanda 491 Braxmar Road, 14150
37—Frank A. Gawronski .....Buffalo 66 Sumner Place, 14211	37—James DeFrancesco .....Buffalo 189 South Legion Dr., 14220
Robert E. Rich, Jr. .....Buffalo 2 Mayfair Lane, 14201	Shirley L. Harrington .....Buffalo 51 E. Utica Street, 14209
Joyce C. Bearss .....Buffalo 15 Hodge Avenue, 14222	Herbert Malyak .....Lackawanna 180 Shannon Drive, 14218
38—Jack F. Kemp .....Hamburg 45 S. Lake Street, 14075	38—John R. Shearer .....Buffalo 106 Lamarck Drive, 14226
Daniel A. Roblin, Jr. .....Buffalo 50 Danbern Lane, 14221	Patricia K. Lipke .....Derby 6858 Lake Shore Road, 14052
Frank Deni .....Buffalo 130 Deer Run Road, 14221	I. C. Francis .....East Aurora 1745 Sweet Road, 14052
39—R. Quintus Anderson ...Lakewood 65 E. Terrace Avenue, 14750	39—John D. Bradley .....Bolivar 91 1st Street, 14715
James Snyder .....Olean R2, Promised Land Road, 14760	William T. Smith .....Big Flats 3047 Olcott Road, 14814
James R. Houghton .....Corning Spencer Hill Road, 14830	J. Peter Fennell .....Elmira 670 Euclid Avenue, 14901

NORTH CAROLINA

(Forty Delegates)

Co-Chairmen of Delegation: Jesse Helms, James E. Holshouser, Jr.

At Large

Delegates	*Alternates*
Jesse Helms .....Raleigh Post Office Box 28125, 27611	Mary Jane Hollyday .....Asheville 5 Hilltop Road, 28803
I. Beverly Lake, Jr. .....Raleigh 3703 Shadybrook Drive, 27609	William W. Cobey .....Chapel Hill 617 Greenwood Road, 27514
J. Harold Brubaker .....Asheboro Route 3, Box 200, 27203	Ovide E. de St. Aubin .....Siler City Nortam Acres, Route 3, 27344
John Hutchens .....High Point 1268 Westminister, 27260	Mary Dellinger .....Crossnore Box 157, 28617
Jackson F. Lee .....Fayetteville 504 Martine Road, 28305	J. Harold Davis .....Southport 612 Burrington Avenue, 28461

NORTH CAROLINA (Continued)

Delegates

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James E. Holshouser, Jr.
Southern Pines
Post Office Box 116, 28387

Alternates

Malcolm J. Howard .....Greenville
Post Office Box 859, 27834
Diane McCoy .....Summerfield
Route 2, Box 40, 27358

DISTRICT

1—Herb Lee .....Greenville
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Patric Dorsey .....New Bern
Post Office Box 1074, 28560
Jerry Hardesty .....Beaufort
Post Office Box 178, 28516

2—Archie Bunn .....Zebulon
Route #2, 27597

Scott P. Peace .....Henderson
1747 Parker Lane, 27536
Jean Montgomery ...Hillsborough
Post Office Box 564, 27278

3—James A. Moore .....Jacksonville
1003 Greenway, 28540
Helen Merritt .....Hampstead
222 Olde Point Road, 28443
Allie Ray McCullen .....Clinton
Post Office Box 1205, 28328

4—Dolly Gay Dewey .....Raleigh
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Alan V. Pugh .....Asheboro
Post Office Box 786, 27203
Thomas L. Lucas .....Raleigh
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5—John Garwood .....Wilkesboro
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Sim DeLapp, Jr. .....Lexington
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6—June Babchin .....Greensboro
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William T. Evans ...Summerfield
Route #3, Box 334-C, 27358
Garland S. Edwards .....Eden
Box 756, 27288

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Terrence W. Boyle .....Edenton
Route 2, 27932

2—William D. Bennett, Jr.
Rocky Mt.
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Russell H. Johnson, Jr. ...Conway
Post Office Box 7, 27820
L. Michael Gentry ....Yanceyville
Drawer D, 27379

3—Sidney Schrum .....Goldsboro
500 North Herman, 27530
Robert L. Burkey .....Sanford
Route 12, Box 423, 27330
Leo Daughtry .....Smithfield
Post Office Box 1960, 27577

4—Grace Steed .....Randleman
Route 1, Box 315D, 27317
Kerry H. Noble .....Raleigh
3834-B Brentwood Road, 27604
Grace Crow .....Durham
920 W. Trinity Avenue, 27701

5—William F. Huckaby
Pilot Mountain
Route 1, Box 219-A, 27041
Chester Throckmorton ...Danbury
Post Office Box 7, 27016
Lucy Chatham Everette .....Elkin
Post Office Drawer 189, 28621

6—Jan Scott .....Burlington
2410 Dogwood Lane, 27215
Edwin H. Shufelt ....High Point
Post Office Box 5634, 27262
John K. Patterson .....Burlington
Post Office Box 1683, 27215

NORTH CAROLINA (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
7—Kenneth Godwin .....Fayetteville 2309 Morganton Road, 28303	7—Joseph Freedland ....Wilmington 328 E. Renovah Circle, 28403
Mitchell Mercer .....Chadbourn Route 1, Box 84, 28431	Aaron Johnson .....Fayetteville 1917 Ernest Street, 28301
Miriam Schwarz .....Wilmington 1207 Columbus Circle, 28403	Edward H. Johnson ...Lumberton 1302 N. Walnut Street, 28358
8—James E. Godfrey ..Southern Pines Post Office Box 629, 28387	8—Robert L. Hill, Jr. .....Oakboro Route 1, Box 135, 28129
Albert E. Partridge, Jr. ..Concord Route 3, Box 289, 28025	Maxine S. Boger .....Mocksville Route 3, 27028
Edie E. Perry .....Wingate Post Office Box 506, 28174	Roger L. Austin .....Marshville Box 217, 28103
9—Joe L. Kiser .....Vale Route 4, Box 176, 28168	9—Skyler Little .....Statesville 403 Bristol Drive, 28677
Karol Goebel .....Charlotte 5701 Bellechasse St., 28210	Philip M. Van Hoy .....Charlotte 400 S. Tryon St., Suite 3022, 28285
Hugh Joseph Beard .....Charlotte Post Office Box 30263, 28230	Sandra Pajak .....Charlotte 6246 Heritage Place, 28210
10—J. A. Dalpiaz .....Gastonia 3308 Suburban Terrace, 28052	10—David Flowers .....Hickory 245 5th Avenue, NE, 28601
Tom Dlugos .....Hickory Route 9, Box 876, 28601	Sandra Page .....Gastonia 115 Eastover Drive, 28052
Sheila Wright .....Taylorsville 247 7th Street, NW, 28681	Michael Sholar .....Lenoir 98 Lakeview Drive, 28645
11—Larry Justus .....Hendersonville Post Office Box 2396, 28739	11—Michael O'Neal .....Columbus Post Office Box 566, 28722
William Cagle .....Sylva Main Street, 28779	Sue Deyton .....Robbinsville 28771
Kyle Boone .....Weaverville Post Office Box 425, 28787	Wood Hall Young ...Minneapolis 28652

NORTH DAKOTA

(Seventeen Delegates)

Chairman of Delegation: John Sellie

AT LARGE

Delegates	*Alternates*
Myron Atkinson, Jr. .....Bismarck Post Office Box 1176, 58501	Fran Brummond .....Oakes 58474
Don Berge .....Litchville Box 148, 58461	Marlys Fleck .....Bismarck Box 1834, 58501

NORTH DAKOTA (Continued)

Delegates

Norene Bunker .....Fargo
721 Southwood Drive, 58103
Margaret Bushee .....Grand Forks
822 13th Avenue S., 58201
Ed Doherty .....New Rockford
58356
Myrtle Hanson .....Harvey
1018 Lincoln Avenue, 58341
Phayme Hendrickson .....Colfax
58018
Brooks Keogh .....Keene
58847
Evelyn Lebsock .....Williston
1408 1st Avenue East, 58801
Alice Olson .....Cavalier
58220
Lois Retzlaff .....Ellendale
58436
Orville Schindler .....McClusky
58463
Orlan Tollefson .....Minot
2600 Bel Air Drive, 58701
Kye Trout .....Bismarck
Post Office Box 1376, 58501

Alternates

Mardelle Holmstrom .....Grand Forks
1712 Willow Drive, 58201
Irvin Huseth .....McLeod
Route 3, Box 11, 58057
Geraldeen Johnson .....Harwood
58042
Ted Kessel .....LaMoure
58458
Ray Lorenz .....Bowman
Box 134, 58623
Lori Losness .....Fargo
1714 South 10th Street, 58103
Gordon Matheny .....Emmet
58534
Natalie McElroy .....Jamestown
Box 810, 58401
Lyle Porter .....Bismarck
802 West Divide Avenue, 58501
LeRoy Rolshoven .....Dickinson
1051 3rd Avenue West, 58601
Jens Tennefos .....Fargo
714 19th Avenue South, 58102
Carrol Torgerson .....Cooperstown
58425

DISTRICT

Delegates

John Sellie .....Cathay
58422
Phyllis Connolly .....Dunn Center
58626
Bob McDaniel .....Grand Forks
2023 2nd Avenue N., 58201

Alternates

Howard Neils .....Bismarck
2119 Assumption Drive, 58501
Betty Lou Pyle .....West Fargo
225 6th Street West, 58078
Allan Young .....Devils Lake
c/o Manns Department Store,
58301

OHIO

(Seventy-seven Delegates)

Chairmen of Delegation: David W. Johnson, Norman A. Murdock, Donna Pope

AT LARGE

Delegates

Norman A. Murdock .....Delhi
628 Conona, 45238

Alternates

Marie Tansey .....Vermilion
1201 State Street, 44089

OHIO (Continued)

Delegates

Thomas N. Kindness .....Hamilton
328 S.D. Street, 45013
David W. Johnson .....N. Canton
514 Marquardt NE, 44720
Donald E. Lukens .....Middletown
1066 E. Park Lane, 45042
Cecilia W. Muckenthaler ....Kettering
1330 Tall Timber Tr., 45409
Venessa D. Arnold .....Columbus
675 S. Keller Road, 43209
Peter E. Voss .....Canton
2935 Woodcliff Dr., N.W., 44718
Donna M. Pope .....Parma
3915 Longwood Avenue, 44115

Alternates

Lawrence E. Hughes .....Columbus
4319 Fairoaks Drive, 43214
William A. Keslar .....Zanesville
1220 Newark Road, 43701
Diane J. Ryder .....Newbury
11590 Bell Street, 44065
Carolyn E. Hoelzle .....Canton
2911 17th NW, 44708
Bohdan A. Futey .....Parma
8619 Whippoorwill Lane, 44130
Karen Hankinson .....Granville
466 North Granger, 43023
Evah Lee Martin .....Columbus
1401 Sunflower Drive, 43204

DISTRICT

1—Dale N. Van Vyven ...Sharonville
4799 Fields Ertel Rd., 45241

Marjorie B. Ross ....Montgomery
7973 Schollhouse Lane, 45242

Donald E. Prues .....Norwood
1847 Mills Avenue, 45212
2—Henry C. Kasson .....Cincinnati
3020 Goda, 45211
Richard L. Campbell ...Cincinnati
3806 Dina Terrace, Apt. 2,
45211
Simon L. Leis, Jr. .....Cincinnati
3101 Pickbury Drive, 45211
3—Patrick A. Flanagan .....Dayton
6960 Mad River Road, 45459
Naomi Jean Finlay .....Kettering
900 Garrison Avenue, 45429
Judith A. Hirschman ..Centerville
1844 Penbrooke Tr., 45459
4—Robert E. Netzley .....Laura
2750 Pemberton Road, 45337
Kathryn Hierholzer .....Celina
680 N. Main, 45822
Robert J. Huffmann .Ludlow Falls
3620 S. Elleman Rd., 45339

1—Thomas Jeffrey Corcoran
Norwood
4175 Forest Avenue, 45212
Sandra Louise Schaller
Cincinnati
3311 Westside Avenue, 45208
Marjorie Mae Eling .....Lockland
402 Westview Avenue, 45215
2—Patricia Ann Becker ....Cincinnati
6056 Rapid Run Road, 45238
Patricia A. Murdock ...Cincinnati
628 Conina, 45238

Robert W. Carter .....Cincinnati
6512 Hamilton Avenue, 45224
3—Samuel L. Ballanca .....Dayton
1212 Amherst Place, 45406
Sue D. Clark .....Kettering
600 Judith Drive, 45429
Judith S. Dunker .....Englewood
522 Koerner Avenue, 45322
4—Ferald L. Ritchie ....Wapakoneta
517 S. Rauthland, 45895
Jack Darrell Jones .....Lima
1574 Pro Drive, 45805
Rillis Ann Baker .....Lima
2105 Wyandot Drive, 44806

OHIO (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
5—Donald J. Loss .....Perrysburg 29666 Chatham Way, 43551	5—Caroline MacNichol Orser Perrysburg 26623 W. River Road, 43551
Donald R. Fraser .....Perrysburg 29805 E. River Road, 43551	Linda J. Theis .....Tiffin 4160 S. Township Rd. 165, 44883
Randall L. Gardner Bowling Green 519 Ridge St., Apt. 13, 43402	Mary C. Brown .....Napoleon 925 Kenilworth, 43545
6—Jennings B. Cole .....S. Webster Tyrell Street, 45682	6—Don E. Fuller .....Chillicothe 173 Sharon Road, 45601
Louise J. Hapner .....Hillsboro 134 Chillicothe Avenue, 45133	Dianne W. Fawley .....Hillsboro 105 Jan Lynn Lane, 45133
Sue J. Fisher .....New Richmond 2054 State Route 232, 45157	James Robert True ....Cincinnati 5060 Romohr Road, 45244
7—Donald W. South ...Bellefontaine 148 Terrence Drive, 43311	7—Daniel C. Rooney .....Urbana 1074 W. Hickory Grove Rd., 43078
Belva M. Latham .....Plain City 158 Park Street, 43064	Norma J. Johnson ....Springfield 2701 Selma Road, 45505
Hermon Sparks .....Dayton 4165 Carondelet Drive, 45440	James W. Stallsmith .....Urbana 208 W. Church Street, 43078
8—Richard F. Siehl .....Eaton 416 West Main, 45320	8—Ronald W. Wegmann West Chester 9217 Pilgrim Drive, 45069
George James Buchy ...Greenville 281 Dogwood, 45331	Roger W. Gillespie ..Middletown 5976 Valleybrook Drive, 45042
Kathryn G. Thompson ..Hamilton 206 Dick Avenue, 45013	Linda A. Ray .....New Paris Route 2, P.O. Box 207, 45347
9—John A. Galbraith .....Maumee 602 Pierce Street, 43537	9—Jack C. Hoyt .....Toledo 4140 Northmoor, 43606
Keith Wilson .....Toledo 2081 Whitehall Road, 43606	Donna Mae Whitner .....Toledo 2807 Barrington Drive, 43606
Anne K. Colwell .....Toledo 2204 Orchard Road, 43606	Sherry Zimmerman .....Toledo 5025 Paddington Drive, 43623
10—Oakley C. Collins .....Ironton 1005 Kemp Lane, 45638	10—Marilyn Jean Frueh ....Zanesville 640 St. Louis Avenue, 43701
Albert Stauffer ..... Marietta 108 Laramie Road, 45750	Maxine E. Slavens .....Jackson 163 Locust Street, 45640
Barbara L. Deeds ....Sugar Grove 5185 Savage Hill Road, SW, 43155	Robert Berry .....Ironton 2114 N. Third Street, 45638

OHIO (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
11—Joseph P. Tulley . . . . . Kirtland 1000 Hobart Road, 44094	11—Reita Crawford . . . . . Mentor 9350 Buena Vista, 44060
Beverly Jean Park . . . . . Austinburg 1703 Chestnut Street, Box 252, 44010	Shirley A. Hrubik . . . . Bristolville 2076 Hyde-Shaffee Road, 44402
James Jay Leet . . . . . Mantua 9386 Limeridge Road, 44255	Helen Gertrude Boyce . . . Conneaut 162 Center Street, 44030
12—Carolyn G. Kartavich . . . Columbus 1290 Hamlin Place, 43227	12—Julie Grady Heard . . . . . Columbus 2223 Barrymore Avenue, 43219
Louise M. Riggs . . . . . Marengo 955 Bennington Twp. Rd. 208, 43334	Dale M. Wilgus . . . . . Ostrander 1825 Warren Road, 43061
John L. Berlet . . . . . Columbus 370 E. Weisheimer Road, 43214	William B. Lavery . . . . . Delaware 1170 Rivercrest Drive, 43015
13—William G. Batchelder, III Medina 435 E. Smith Road, 44256	13—Margaret J. Chase . . . . . Sandusky 1607 Cedar Point Rd., 44870
Margaret Davis . . . . . Medina 216 N. Jefferson, 44256	Joan M. Leyshon . . . . . Vermilion 681 Hazelwood Drive, 44089
Joseph C. Zieba . . . . . Lorain 3248 W. Erie Avenue, 44053	George T. Apolzon . . . . . Lorain 3408 W. Erie Avenue, 44053
14—David D. McCann . . . . . Akron 514 Fouse Avenue, 44310	14—Kim S. Hagen . . . . . Akron 822 Ravenswood St., 44306
Katheryn E. Wertzbaugher . Akron 1017 Inman Street, 44306	Kenneth R. Seibert . . . . . Akron 5844 Woodward Drive, 44319
John D. Chapman . . . . . Akron 320 Hampshire Road, 44313	Alma L. Lee . . . . . Akron 222 Harmony Hills Dr., 44321
15—Roger A. Yurchuck . . . . Columbus 3316 Brenden Drive, 43220	15—Nancy Robinson . . . . . London 229 Park Avenue, 43140
Ann Butler . . . . . Columbus 1379 Birchwood Drive, 43228	Jacob A. Shawan . . . . . Columbus 7255 River Knolls Place, 43017
Edward Lutz . . . . . Grove City 2166 Hillswood Drive, 43123	Barbara S. Wright . . . . . Columbus 916 Bricker Blvd., 43221
16—Mary Alleshouse . . . . . Canton 269 Beau Ct. NW, Apt. #2, 44708	16—June A. Doll . . . . . Hartsville 13658 Market Ave., NE, 44632
Dorothy June Ginther . . . Wooster 359 Reynolds Court, 44691	Ronald L. Braucher . . . . N. Canton 8173 Spencer Ave., NW, 44720
Richard F. Maier . . . . . Massillon 1222 Providence NE, 44646	Donald R. Watkins . . . N. Canton 3315 Scenic View St., NE, 44721
17—John M. Ashbrook . . . . Johnstown Post Office Box 457, 43031	17—Anne H. Shaw . . . . . Coshocton 1690 Sleepy Hollow Dr., 43812
David A. Richardson . . . . Bellville 84 Markey Street, 44813	Richard Eugene Rench . . . . . Milan 5 Milan Manor Dr., 44846
Carroll J. Myers . . . . . Ashland 795 County Road, 1175-Rte. 6, 44805	Marian L. Huggins . . . . . Galion 1113 N. Market Street, 44833

OHIO (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
18—William J. Ress New Philadelphia 168 Tuscora Ave., NW, 44663	18—Janet Mollenkoph .....Lisbon 39924 State Rte. 517, 44432
Mirian F. England ...Steubenville 100 Jackson Drive, 43952	Larry Eugene Greer New Philadelphia 324 Providence, 44663
Robert E. Sell .....Salem 1268 Powell Avenue, 44460	Mary Beth Ruthem ...Steubenville 140 Jackson Drive, 43952
19—Jack Hunter .....Youngstown 467 W. Boston Avenue, 44511	19—Martin Milich .....Youngstown 3448 Belden Avenue, 44502
Elsie Dieter .....Youngstown 410 Wilkerson, 44509	Lesta E. Woodworth .Youngstown 3831 Elgen Street, 44515
Nettie B. Ashelman .....Warren 681 Perkins Dr., NW, 44483	James Edward Roberts Youngstown 2200 Canfield Road, 44511
20—John S. Bednarski ..Garfield Hgts. 9625 Garfield Blvd., 44125	20—Laura Chojnowski .....Cleveland 6801 Clement Avenue, 44105
William J. Petro, Sr. ...Brooklyn 8606 Outlook Drive, 44144	Sophie Kogler .....Brooklyn 4901 Kennedy Drive, 44144
Marguerite E. Rini .....Brooklyn 9214 Beach Avenue, 44144	Terrence Klima .....Cleveland 2196 W. 44th Street, 44113
21—Evelyn Francioli .....Cleveland 2425 E. 124th Street, 44120	21—Dorothy Cheeks .....Cleveland 3319 E. 145th Street, 44120
Mary Sue Reagor.....Bratenahl 1 Bratenahl Place, 44101	Pernal Jones .....Cleveland 7204 Cedar Avenue, 44103
Paul I. Lote .....Cleveland 2873 E. 112th Street, 44104	Laura V. Crockett .....Cleveland 2860 Van Aken Blvd., 44120
22—William R. Van Aken Shaker Heights 22299 Douglas Road, 44122	21—Richard R. Hollington, Jr. Shaker Heights 20020 Marchmont Rd., 44122
Vaelav Hyvnar...University Hgts. 3614 Farland Road, 44118	Catherine L. Lozick Hunting Valley Crabtree Lane, 44022
Madeline Murray .....Gates Mills Berkshire Road, 44040	Ronald Cutts Collier ....Wickliffe 1706 Mapledale Rd., 44092
23—Minor H. George Broadview Hgts. 3370 Harris Road, 44147	23—James H. Matthias ..Fairview Park 22885 Sycamore Drive, 44126
J. William Petro .....Cleveland 11401 Edgewater Drive, 44102	Arlette H. Graham .....Lakewood 2111 Olive Avenue, 44107
Ruth E. Pokorny .....Bay Village 368 Columbia Road, 44140	Edna M. Deffler .Broadview Hgts. 3800 Russett Drive, 44147

OKLAHOMA

(Thirty-four Delegates)

Chairman of Delegation: Skip Healey

At Large

Delegates

Ronnie Blubaugh .....Tonkawa
Box 66, 74653
W. Frank Buce .....Bartlesville
525 Sooner Park Drive S.E., 74003
Mickey Edwards ....Washington, D.C.
413 Cannon House Off. Bldg., 20515
Michael A. Elder .....Oklahoma City
6800 N.W. Grand Boulevard, 73116
Skip Healey .....Davis
Flying L Ranch, 73030
Neal McCaleb .....Edmond
2107 Vance Drive, 73034
Joe Mayer .....Guymon
Route 3, Box 32-K, 73942
E. Z. Million .....Norman
1627 Hawthorne Court, 73069
Richard D. Shelby .....Oklahoma City
917 N.W. 39th Street, 73118
Ron Shotts .....Oklahoma City
2328 S.W. 122nd Place, 73170
Mary Helen Swanson ...Oklahoma City
2716 N.W. 60th Street, 73112
Rosemary B. Tarr .....Tulsa
5606 South Utica Avenue, 74105
Robert J. Thompson .....Tulsa
2627 East 26th Place, 74114
Lew Ward .....Enid
900 Brookside, 74701
Anne J. Whitten .....Cleveland
Post Office Box 54, 74020
Luther T. Woodard .....Tulsa
1723 W. Independence Street, 74127

Alternates

Steven E. Clark .....Oklahoma City
616 N.W. 42nd Street, 73118
Minifred Elizabeth Kibler .....Tulsa
1828 N. Boston Place, 74106
Tom Foreman .....Boise City
West Star Route, Box 24, 73933
Joseph C. Gordon .....Broken Arrow
4905 South Birch, 74012
David Hitchcock .....Tulsa
2405 South Irvington, 74114
Jim Evetts Haley .....Sallisaw
Route 4, 74955
Lyn Gurganus .....Bartlesville
2532 Regency Road, 74003
Lisa Anne Johnson .....Norman
2730 Chautauqua, Apt. 211, 73069
Jane Teigen .....Altus
400 Cameron Drive, 73521
Menno Harms .....Cherokee
317 South Grand,73728
Mary Lou Mathis .....Wewoka
303 South Okfuskee, 74884
Randall P. Hodge .....Broken Bow
Route 1, Box 212, 74728
Ralph L. Harvey .....Oklahoma City
661-W 1st National Center, 73102
Ronald L. Young .....Tulsa
2445 South 108th East Avenue, 74129
Linnie P. Tolliver .....Oklahoma City
6001 Wildwood Drive, 73105
Merseda Kappel Kirby .....Elk City
121 South Jefferson, 73644

District

1—Dale Leftwich .....Broken Arrow
905 West Lansing, 74102

Polly Colston .....Tulsa
2137 S. 85th East Avenue, 74129
Bill Kimmel .....Tulsa
4137 Eat 47th Place, 74135

1—Ann Bowker .....Tulsa
1628 S. 118th East Avenue,
74128
Joe Coleman .....Tulsa
124 East 4th Street, 74103
Leroy Blackstock .....Tulsa
515 South Main Mall, 74103

OKLAHOMA (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
2—Dorothy Zumwalt .....Sapulpa 30 North Moccasin Place, 74066	2—Kit Stewart .....Muskogee 1021 Elgin, 74401
Howard Baker .....Bartlesville 3725 S.E. Velma Dr., 74003	Shirley Richardson ....Fort Gibson Route 1, Box 214-A, 74434
Sue Booth .....Miami Post Office Box 1285, 74354	Kevin Dawes .....Talequah 33-C Cherokee Village Apt., 74464
3—Fox Wood III .....Spiro Route 1, Box 81, 74959	3—Margaret Stephens ....Elmore City Route 2, Box 5, 73035
Mary Hazelwood .....Ada Box 505, 74820	Winifred Close .....Ardmore 812 Virginia Lane, 73401
Lynn Windel .....Madill Box 627, 73446	Dale Dewart .....Guthrie 209 East Oklahoma, 73044
4—Glenda Mattoon .....Norman 1408 Brookside Drive, 73069	4—Steve Antosh .....Shawnee 1524 North Oklahoma, 74801
Esther Rose .....Midwest City 2205 North Rose Drive, 73110	Don McConnell .....Lawton 6933 Beta, 73505
Lavelle Dennis .....Lawton 1614 N.W. 26th Street, 73501	Margaret Chandler .....Norman 1425 Beverly Hills, 73069
5—Barbara Stacy .....Oklahoma City 3100 N.W. 24th Street, 73107	5—Curtis Hardeman ...Oklahoma City 1620 N.E. 19th Street, 73111
Carolyn Branham ...Oklahoma City 3625 Quail Creek Road, 73120	Maria Mendez .....Oklahoma City 2004 N.W. 20th Street, 73106
Harold Hite .....Oklahoma City 2728 Clermont Place, 73116	Ray Parrish .....Oklahoma City 2709 N.W. 60th Street, 73112
6—Dona Usry .....Stillwater 1015 West Knapp, 74074	6—Marie Franz .....Kingfisher 105 Sunrise Circle, 73750
Mike Hunter .....Waukomis Route 1, Box 156, 73773	Linda Massey .....Clinton Post Office Box 461, 73601
Peter Keltch .....Cherokee Post Office Box 186, 73728	Grace Haigler .....Watonga Route 1, 73772

OREGON

(Twenty-nine Delegates)

Chairman of Delegation: Diana Evans

Note: In the absence of response from a Delegate in Group A, pursuant to the general rule, proceed from the top of the list of Alternates in Group A. Follow the same procedure for Group B.

AT LARGE

Delegates	*Alternates*
A—Davis J. Stanger .....Grants Pass Post Office Box 517, 97526	A—Cecil G. Taylor .....Milwaukie 5740 S.E. Clayson Avenue, 97222

OREGON (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
Mike Kaiser .....Eagle Point 983 Palima Drive, 97524	John C. Rau .....Beavercreek 22242 S. Fellows Road, 97004
Judee Elliott .....Eugene 930 Game Farm Road, 97401	Robert "Bob" W. Reilly Milwaukie 12505 S.E. River Road, 97222
Berna Plummer .....Portland 13740 N.E. Fremont Court, 97230	Irving Enna .....Portland 3249 S.W. Wilbard, 97219
Beverly J. Myers .....Portland 3265 S.W. 100th Avenue, 97225	Nick Tri .....Eugene 85 Oak Court, 97405
Mary E. Hickey .....Eugene 812 Beacon Drive, 97404	Lynn D. Jones .....Milwaukie 11886 S.E. 36th Avenue, 97222
John K. Gram .....Portland 5724 S.W. Barnes Road, 97221	Joseph A. Murray .....Waldport 211 N.W. Spring Street, 97394
Jim McCreight .....Portland 9285 S.W. Washington, 97225	Charlotte E. Murray .....Waldport 211 N.W. Spring Street, 97394
Annette C. Reay .....Portland 2324 S.E. Oak, 97214	Walter Huss .....Portland 2239 S.E. Belmont, 97214
Carl M. Halvorson ...Lake Oswego 1850 North Shore Road, 97034	Melbourne S. Hamilton ...Portland 5532 N.E. Clackamas, 97211
B—Alan "Punch" Green, Jr. ..Portland 1707 S.W. Hawthorne Terrace, 97201	B—Arthur A. Riedel .....Portland 2221 S.W. First, #2622, 97201
Jean K. Young .....Tigard 12390 S.W. King Richard Dr., 97223	Gretchen Buehner Farrier ..Portland 7040 S.W. Terwilliger Blvd., 97219
George "Bun" Stadleman The Dalles 605 Pentland Street, 97058	Dana A. Anderson .....Pendleton 107 S.E. Jay, 97801
B. H. "Brot" Bishop .....Portland 218 S.W. Jefferson St., 97201	Jay Manke .....Portland 10640 S.W. 72nd Street, 97223
Stephen A. Young .....Portland 1635 N.W. 122nd, 97229	Robert Hoy .....Milwaukie 12505 S.E. River Rd., #35, 97222
Craig L. Berkman .....Portland 2120 S.W. Nevada Court, 97219	Charles Manke .....Portland 10640 S.W. 72nd Street, 97223
Gregory U. Tenney .....Portland 7102 S.W. 29th, 97219	George Eivers .....Portland 1881 S.E. Exeter Drive, 97202

First District

A—Diarmuid F. O'Scannlain Portland 2421 S.W. Arden Road, 97201	A—Ann S. Alden .....Portland 15 S.W. Miller Road, 97225
Myrna Mae Brown .....Portland 3126 S.W. Ridge Drive, 97219	Ada T. Hector .....Corvallis 202 N.E. Independence Hwy., 97330

OREGON (Continued)

Delegates

B—Betty J. Atteberry .....Portland
12285 N.W. Big Fir Court, 97229

Alternates

B—Daniel C. Bell .....Portland
921 S.W. Davenport, 97201

SECOND DISTRICT

A—Diana Evans .....Salem
1910 Madrona South, 97302
Harriett Flanagan .....Ontario
1256 S.W. 2nd Avenue, 97914
B—Dorotha H. Moore .....Moro
Post Office Box 225, 97039

A—Everett Schults .....Lakeview
Route 6, Box 434, 97630
Richard L. Schnepel ....Gladstone
17707 S.E. Oatfield Road, 97027
B—James H. Bean .....Oregon City
1900 David Road, 97045

THIRD DISTRICT

A—Michael A. Oekerman ....Portland
3927 N.E. Hoyt, 97232
Rosalie Huss .....Portland
2239 S.E. Belmont, 97214
B—Wendell B. Tamburro ....Gresham
55 N.E. Village Squire Avenue #15, 97030

A—Samuel K. Stafford .....Portland
4126 N. Colonial Avenue, 97217
Don Davisson .....Portland
3525 N.E. Alameda, 97212
B—Sally M. Dougherty .....Troutdale
324 S.E. Kibling, 97060

FOURTH DISTRICT

A—Peter C. Murphy .....Eugene
2820 City View, 97405
Sylvia D. Henry .....Umpqua
2413 Cal Henry Road, 97486
B—Edwin H. Singmaster .....Ashland
625 Chestnut, 97520

A—Marshall C. Wartnik ....Coos Bay
Route 1, Box 660, 97420
David E. Cook .....Eugene
1877 Emerald Street, #5, 97403
B—Wes Smith .....Ashland
881 Harmony Lane, 97520

PENNSYLVANIA

(Eighty-three Delegates)

Chairman of Delegation: Richard L. Thornburgh

AT LARGE

Delegates

Richard L. Thornburgh .....Harrisburg
Main Capitol Building, 17120
William W. Scranton, III ...Harrisburg
Main Capitol Building, 17120

Alternates

Martha Bell Schoeninger ....Harrisburg
Post Office Box 1624, 17105
Joseph M. McDade ..Washington, D.C.
2370 Rayburn House Office Building, 20515

PENNSYLVANIA (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
Richard S. Schweiker Washington, D.C. 253 Russell Senate Office Building, 20510	William J. Moore.....New Bloomfield Route 2, Box 85-B, 17068
H. John Heinz III ..Washington, D.C. 4327 Dirksen Senate Office Building, 20510	Richard J Cessar .....Glenshaw 1412 Mt. Royal Blvd., 15116
Elsie Hillman .....Pittsburgh Morewood Heights, 15213	LeGree Daniels .....Harrisburg 1715 Glenside Drive, 17109
Drew Lewis .....Plymouth Meeting One Plymouth Meeting, Suite 525, 19462	Jean Kistler .....Palmerton 307 Columbia Avenue, 18071
John E. Lazauskas .....Philadelphia 5350 Akron Street, 19124	Edward Bender .....Philadelphia 1055 Welsh Road, 19115
Robert H. Long, Jr. .....Camp Hill 665 St. John's Drive, 17011	Robert Black .....York 1534 Hollywood Parkway, 17403

DISTRICT

1—Anthony Amen .....Philadelphia 6701 Haverford Avenue, 19151	1—Adriano Mastrangelo .Philadelphia 1413 South 12th Street, 19147
William H. Black ...Philadelphia 1527 South 24th Street, 19146	John Thorne, Sr. ....Philadelphia 5922 Christian Street, 19143
George Frambes .....Philadelphia 6370 Overbrook Avenue, 19151	George Forrest .....Philadelphia 709 South 56th Street, 19143
2—Thomas M. Rowland, Jr. Philadelphia Presidential Apts., A-602, 19131	2—James B. Brownell ...Philadelphia 267 South Van Pelt Street, 19103
Roy E. Dixon .....Philadelphia 5216 West Thompson Street, 19131	Jay H. Rosenfeld ....Philadelphia 5814 Drexel Road, 19131
W. W. Keen Butcher Philadelphia 8811 Towanda Street, 19118	Stephen A. Bonnie ...Philadelphia 7316 Bryan Street, 19119
3—Clarence D. Thompson Philadelphia 1610 W. Montgomery Avenue, 19119	3—Linda Palmer .....Philadelphia 200 Locust Street, 19106
Paul D. Guth .....Philadelphia 339 South 5th Street, 19103	Michael Smylie .....Philadelphia 911 North Franklin Street, 19123
I. Harry Checcio.....Philadelphia 7022 Torresdale Avenue, 19135	Manuel Lorenzo .....Philadelphia 2033 Plum Street, 19124

PENNSYLVANIA (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
4—Joseph C. Toland ....Philadelphia 5927 North 5th Street, 19120	4—William P. Winkler..Philadelphia 4200 Tyson Avenue, 19135
William Edward Steck Philadelphia 11622 Heather Street, 19116	Myrle Kraus .....Philadelphia 7519 Lawndale Avenue, 19111
David Berk .....Philadelphia 2201 Tremont St., Apt. E-337, 19115	Stanton Wishneff ....Philadelphia 6841 Oxford Avenue, 19111
5—Faith R. Whittlesey ....Haverford 773 Millbrook Lane, 19401	5—Joseph F. Kelly.....Havertown 127 Upland Road, 19083
Albert P. Massey, Jr.....Paoli Post Office Box 965, 19301	Virginia R. Kanengeiser Collegeville 204 Godshall Road, 19426
John H. Ware, III .....Oxford 101 Lancaster Avenue, 19363	Harry G. Haskell, Jr. Chadds Ford Hill Girt Farm, 19317
6—Anthony G. Wargo .....Coaldale 160 East Phillip Street, 18218	6—George J. Heffner ..Mahanoy City 1031 East Mahanoy Street, 17948
Franklin L. Shollenberger Schuylkill Haven 310 Saint Deter Street, 17972	Gregory R. Downey ....Pottsville 127 Forest Road, 17901
Michael Kitsock ...Mahanoy Plane 37 Water Street, 17949	Jane C. Reber .....Reading 132 North 5th Street, 19601
7—Joseph W. Dorsey ....Collingdale 400 MacDade Boulevard, 19024	7—Thomas J. Judge, Sr. ..Glenolden 409 Stratford Road, 19036
Charles P. Sexton, Jr. ..Springfield 326 Foulke Lane, 19064	Marian P. Oliver .....Media 501 N. Providence Road, #319, 19063
Nicholas F. Catania .....Woodlyn Private Road, 19094	Catherine T. Walrath ....Parkside 2600 Edgmont Avenue, 19013
8—Elaine P. Zettick .....Levittown 116 Forsythia Drive, 19056	8—Joseph J. Volk .....Jamison 1254 Almshouse Road, Box 231, 18929
G. Roger Bowers .....Bensalem 3299 Parkview Drive, 19020	Leonard J. Spearing .....Hatboro 51 St. Dunstan Road, 19040
David E. Galbreath .....Langhorn 14 Keystone Court, 19047	Thomas J. Rosko ....New Britain 49 North Tamenend Avenue, 18901
9—Bud Shuster .....Everett Star Route 5, 15537	9—Fred C. Noye ....New Bloomfield 15 West High Street, 17068
Robert C. Jubelirer .....Altoona Post Office Box 2024, 16603	William W. Kaylor .....Altoona RD #4, Box 532, 16601
Allan G. Hancock .....Altoona Post Office Box 2096, 16603	D. Naomi Burch ...Chambersburg 133 Colonial Drive, 17201

PENNSYLVANIA (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
10—David B. Miller .....Scranton 600 Clay Avenue, 18510	10—Charles P. Connor .....Scranton 1119 Columbia Street, 18509
Edgar A. Carlson .....Blossburg 144 Morris Street, 16912	John K. Nagy .....Lake Ariel Mt. Cobb, 18436
Charles Kirkwood Shawnee on Del Shawnee Lodge, 18356	Joan S. Greth .....Saylorsburg Box 88, Star Route, 18353
11—Frank Trinisewski ...Wilkes-Barre 89 North Empire Street, 18702	11—Margaret J. Davison .Wilkes-Barre 420 North Washington St., 18705
James E. Phillips, Jr. ...Kingston 257 River Street, 18704	Betty Ann Moyer .....Danville 438 Mill Street, 17821
Shirley I. Kressler .....Benton Box 219, RD #3, 17814	Marc Holtzman .....Kingston 33 Sahara Drive, 18704
12—Theodore T. Metzger, Jr. Johnstown 1613 Luzerne Street Ext., 15905	12—Thomas G. Saylor .....Somerset 424 West Catherine Street, 15501
Joseph C. Clark ...Glen Campbell Post Office Box 194, 15742	Maxine M. Zimmerman Brookville RD #1, Box 464, 15825
Patrick A. Gleason ....Johnstown 1128 Confer Avenue, 15905	Linda J. Moore .....Indiana 160 South 8th Street, 15701
13—Max M. Solomon Huntingdon Valley 1258 June Road, 19006	13—Joseph F. Lombardo ..Philadelphia 8635 Belfrey Drive, 19128
Robert B. Asher .....Springfield 2005 Bridle Lane, 19075	Thomas B. MacCabe, Jr. Fort Washington 6008 Musket Road, 19034
Marianne R. McClatchy Rosemont 647 Heatherwood Road, 19010	Nicholas Biddle, Jr. ....Narberth 838 Summit Road, 19072
14—James F. Malone .....Pittsburgh 333 Denister Avenue, 15206	14—James Byrnes .....Pittsburgh 508 Lenox Avenue, 15221
Evans Rose, Jr. .....Pittsburgh 1035 Devon Road, 15213	J. Gary Lewis .....Pittsburgh 1046 Osage Drive, 15235
Robert M. Wagner ....Brentwood 3915 Cloverlea, 15227	Carol Sheffer .....Pittsburgh 660 Southcrest Court, 15226
15—H. Gordon Payrow ....Bethlehem 446 Center Street, 18018	15—Robert G. Smith, Jr. ..Allentown 3004 Gordon Street, Box 544 18104
Guy M. Kratzer .....Allentown 985 North 32nd Street, 18104	Mary Jo Bierman .....Allentown 1321 Hamilton Street, 18102
John F. McHugh .....Allentown 1245 North 19th Street, 18104	Mildred E. Kovar .....Easton 3620 Timberlane Drive, 18042

PENNSYLVANIA (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
16—Richard R. Filling .....Lancaster 201 Holly Lane, 17602 Sarah Ann Stauffer ...Rohrerstown Lime Spring Farm, 17603 Dorothy M. Forney .Elizabethtown Post Office Box 64, 17022	16—John E. Connell .....Coatesville 427 E. Lincoln Highway, 19320 Albert C. Menger ..Downingtown 1537 Waimea Drive, 19335 Kenneth Brandt .....Bainbridge Falmouth R.D. #1, 17502
17—Herman T. Schneebeli Williamsport 1601 Packer Street, 17701 Betty S. Gardner ...Montoursville 814 Weldon Street, 17754 Harold E. Thomas .....Shamokin 912 North Orange Street, 17872	17—Martha K. Wolfgang ..Harrisburg 7708 Althea Avenue, 17112 Larry Lessig .....Williamsport 1514 Faxon Parkway, 17701 John S. Lencioni .....Harrisburg 6230 Elaine Avenue, 17112
18—Robert B. Friend .....Pittsburgh 4 Salem Circle, 15238 Robert N. Peirce, Jr. ...Sewickley 203 Edgeworth Lane, 15143 William H. Colbert ....Sewickley 528 Cochran Street, 15143	18—Barbara J. Park .....Pittsburgh 374 Midway Road, 15216 David A. Murdoch ....Pittsburgh 151 Dickson Avenue, 15202 Maureen Barrett .....Cedarhurst 400 Longridge Drive, 15243
19—Bill F. Goodling .....York RD #8, 17403 Edward F. Hollinger ...Mt. Wolf RD #1, Angelwood, 17347 James E. Grandon, Jr. Mechanicsburg 901 Sleepy Hollow Lane, 17055	19—Patricia L. Saylor ..Mechanicsburg 330 S. Washington St., 17055 Elizabeth C. Amig New Cumberland 117 Parkview Road, 17070 John M. Stentz .....York 210 Lynbrook Drive N., 17402
20—William R. Hunt ....McKeesport 2412 James Street, 15132 Robert F. Stokes .....Pittsburgh 4942 Parkvue Drive, 15236 Kathleen M. Meyer ....Pittsburgh 5615 Dellaglen Avenue, 15207	20—Nancy M. Wells .....Bethel Park 2510 Applegate Road, 15102 Joyce K. Lewis .....Elizabeth 115 Cowan Drive, 15037 Richard W. Whitmore Monroeville 1114 Harvard Road, 15146
21—Bob Miller .....Greensburg 422 Crestview Drive, 15601 Dorothy M. Larson ....Pittsburgh 513 Veronica, 15235 Phil Davis .....Mt. Pleasant 297 East Smithfield St., 15666	21—Christopher Pirollo .....Verona 224 Hillary Drive, 15147 Marie E. Miller .....Greensburg 422 Crestview Drive, 15601 Richard J. Hunger ....Vandergrift 136 Summer Avenue, 15690

PENNSYLVANIA (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
22—Harold V. Fergus, Jr. Washington 102 Lemoyne Avenue, 15301	22—Rick T. Miller .....Uniontown RD #2, Box 579A, 15401
Edward M. Paluso .....Charleroi 401 Sixth Street, 15022	Carolyn J. Rapaport ...Pittsburgh 2575 Giant Oaks Drive, 15241
Richard C. Russell Upper St. Clair 1343 Old Meadow Road, 15241	Thomas Uram ...East Washington 16 Wilmont Avenue, 15301
23—Rebecca D. Corman ....Bellefonte 1230 Sylvan Circle, 16823	23—David E. Black .....Clarion 420 Eiss Street, 16214
Robert G. Spencer .....Grampian RD, 16830	Charles F. Ralston .....Clearfield 526 Mt. Joy Road, 16830
Gerald L. Goble, Jr. .....Kane 240 South Fraley Street, 16735	Charles P. Harvey II ...St. Mary's 1010 South Michael Road, 15857
24—Irving Murphy .....Edinboro 3001 Crane Road, 16412	24—Robert W. Parker, Jr. .....Erie 2938 Willowood Drive, 16506
Byron J. Clapper .....McKean 4896 East Avenue, 16426	Diane S. Parker .....Erie 2938 Willowood Drive, 16506
John O. Holter .....Erie 1452 West 44th Street, 16509	Bob W. Hunt .....Erie 4310 Melrose Avenue, 16509
25—Thomas R. Murray ....Zelienople Box 249, 16063	25—Donald W. Fox .....Enon Valley RD #1, Box 76, 16120
Elaine M. Myers .....New Castle 402 Laurel Boulevard, 16101	William P. Keffalas .....Butler RD #2, 16011
Frank H. Morrow ....Beaver Falls 201 Seventh Avenue, 15010	Mollie O. Levenson ...Beaver Falls 1326 6th Avenue, 15010

PUERTO RICO

(Fourteen Delegates)

Chairman of Delegation: Luis A. Ferré

At Large

Delegates	*Alternates*
Luis A. Ferré .....Hato Rey Chase Manhattan Building Suite 1207, 00918	Antonio Monroig .....San Juan Apartado 70167, 00936
Hernán Padilla .....San Juan G.P.O. Box 4355, 00936	Mario F. Gaztambide, Jr. ....San Juan G.P.O. Box 3565, 00936
Oreste Ramos .....San Juan Apartado 3431, 00904	José C. Barbosa .....San Juan Apartado 3207, 00904
Freddy Valentín .....San Juan Apartado 3431, 00904	Raymond Catala Caparra Heights Station Apartado 10671, 00922

PUERTO RICO (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
Julia Rivera de Vincenti . . . .Rio Piedras Lopez Sicardo 762, Urb. Dos Pinos, 00923	Orlando Parga, Jr. . . . . .Caguas Apartado, 5280, 00625
Edwin Ramos Yordán . . . . . .San Juan Apartado 3431, 00904	Celestino Iriarte . . . . . .Santurce Apartado 9887, 00905
José Menendez Monroig . . . . . .Miramar Centro de Seguros Building, Suite 407, Ponce de Leon 701, 00907	Jorge Romany . . . . . .San Juan Apartado 4607, 00905
Víctor Gerena . . . . . .San Juan Apartado 432, 00902	Manny Casiano . . . . . .Santurce P.O. Box 6253, Loiza Station, 00914
Mickey Miranda . . . . . .San Juan Apartado 3431, 00904	Guillermo Campos . . . . . .San Juan Apartado 3431, 00904
Juan Antonio Palerm . . . . . .Hato Rey Besosa Street #522, 00918	Eileen Garcia . . . . . .Carolina Apartado 8, Mun. de Carolina, 00930
Jaime Pieras . . . . . .Hato Rey Apartado 507, 00919	Juan Masini Soler . . . . . .Ponce Apardato 7867, 00731
Rafael V. Capó . . . . . .Hato Rey Ponce de Leon 268 Fomento Bldg., 8th Floor, 00918	Angel Atienza-Serrano . . . . . .Ponce Calle 34 CG-71 Urb. Jardines del Caribe, 00731
Carmen T. Pesquera de Busquets Minillas Station Post Office Box 41059, 00940	Orlanco Parga, Sr. . . . . .Caguas Apartado 5280, 00625
Nitza Navarro . . . . . .San Juan c/o Jorge Navarro Apartado 2228, 00903	Jussef M. Galib . . . . . .San Juan Apartado 2423, 00936

RHODE ISLAND

(Thirteen Delegates)

Chairman of Delegation: F. William Pennoyer, IV

Note: In the absence of response from a Delegate in Group A, pursuant to the general rule, proceed from the top of the list of Alternates in Group A. Follow the same procedure for Group B.

AT LARGE

Delegates	*Alternates*
A—Eileen G. Slocum . . . . . .Newport Bellevue Avenue, 02840	A—John P. Dorman . . . . . .Barrington 20 Robbins Drive, 02806
Thomas W. Pearlman . .Providence 203 Blackstone Boulevard, 02906	Nancy R. Roth . . . . . .Barrington 6 Maxfield Court, 02806

RHODE ISLAND (Continued)

Delegates

Mark S. Hayward ...E. Providence
195 Sutton Avenue, 02914

Evelyn S. Munson ...E. Greenwich
207 Howland Road, 02818
F. William Pennoyer, IV
N. Kingstown
2 Poplar Avenue, 02852
William A. Blount .....Warwick
3595 Post Road, 02886
B—Donald E. Roch .....W. Warwick
10 Brayton Street, 02893

Alternates

Kenneth Michael Bianchi
N. Smithfield
14 Homestead Avenue, 02917
David B. Talan .....Providence
25 Santiago Street, 02907
Marion E. Brown .....Cranston
36 Fort Avenue, 02910

William H. Munson .E. Greenwich
207 Howland Road, 02818
B—Mary Jane Chase ....E. Providence
201 Wilson Avenue, 02916

First District

A—Helen G. Gladney .....Barrington
27 Windsor Drive, 02806
J. Colin Dawson .....Pawtucket
22 Ballston Avenue, 02862
B—Elinor J. Clapp .....Barrington
8 Holly Lane, 02806

A—Walter J. Miska .....Portsmouth
3216 East Main Road, 02871
Thomas J. Cashill .....Barrington
24 Meadowbrook Drive, 02806
B—Lester E. Hilton .....Cumberland
15 Tanglewood Drive, 02864

Second District

A—James B. Malcolm ..N. Kingstown
35 Collation Circle, 02852
Paul T. Nevola .....Cranston
59 Shirley Boulevard, 02920
Elizabeth Lee Pratt ..N. Kingstown
Gilbert Stuart Road, 02852

A—Louise B. Malcolm ..N. Kingstown
35 Collation Circle, 02852
Charles Nevola .....Cranston
106 Richard Street, 02910
Elizabeth Byers Aldrich
N. Kingstown
46 Barolay Drive, 02852

SOUTH CAROLINA

(Twenty-five Delegates)

Chairman of Delegation: Carroll A. Campbell

At Large

Delegates

James B. Edwards .....Mt. Pleasant
100 Venning Street, 29464
Strom Thurmond .....McLean
6015 Clairborne Drive, 22101
Carroll A. Campbell, Jr. ..Fountain Inn
Route #1, Fairview Road, 29644

Alternates

Raymon R. Finch, Jr. ....Isle of Palms
11 57th Avenue, 29451
Beverly Gosnell .....Charleston Hghts.
4995 Lambs Road, Apt. 8-E, 29405
C. Tucker Weston .....Columbia
1548 Kathwood Drive, 29206

SOUTH CAROLINA (Continued)

Delegates

George G. Graham .....Spartanburg
225 East Wood Street, 29303
G. Bryan Patrick, Jr. .....Columbia
Post Office Box 11280, 29211
Floyd Spence .....Lexington
Lake Murray, 29072
Dan Ross .....Blackville
Route 2, Box 166, 29817

Alternates

M. Gay Suber .....Columbia
1310 Lady Street, Suite 700, 29201
Moffatt Burriss .....Columbia
Box 55, 29202
George Youstra .....Greenville
1 Mesa Drive, 29609
Norma Russell .....Columbia
Route 2, Box 338 K-5, 29210

DISTRICT

1—Glenn F. McConnell ....Charleston
27 Bainbridge Drive, 29407
Ethel Davis .....Johns Island
Route 3, Box 334, 29455
E. Lonnie Rowell .....Summerville
Post Office Box 835, 29483
2—H. Lee Atwater .....Columbia
11 Loquat Court, 29205
Joyce C. Hearn .....Columbia
1316 Berkeley Road, 29205
Emily C. Phillips .....Columbia
3414 Kaiser Avenue, 29204
3—J. Clyde Shirley .....Belton
Blue Ridge Extension, 29627
J. J. Janzen .....Clemson
211 Highland Drive, 29631
Marshall H. Parker .....Seneca
Route 4, Box 14A, 29678
4—Roger Milliken .....Spartanburg
627 Otis Boulevard, 29301
Richard L. Rigdon .....Greenville
120 Corrine Drive, 29607
Elmer Rumminger .....Greenville
Route 5, Jennifer Court, 29609
5—Gene McCaskill .....Camden
604 Kirkwood Drive, 29020
Roy Turner .....Rock Hill
2282 Hilldale Drive, 29730
James T. Mills .....Clinton
Route 2, Cambridge Rd., 29325
6—Neal D. Thigpen .....Florence
1225 Madison Avenue, 29501
Ben E. Thrailkill ....Murrells Inlet
105 Rum Gully Road, 29576
Elvin D. Tirrell ....Galivants Ferry
Route 3, 29544

1—Joel A. Martin .....Beaufort
Post Office Box 4127, 29902
Van D. Hipp, Jr. .....Walterboro
Post Office Box 328, 29488
Linda Hunter .....Charleston
420 Greenbriar, 29407
2—Weston Adams .....Columbia
303 Saluda Avenue, 29205
Harold N. Miller .....Holy Hill
Post Office Box 725, 29059
James R. Metts .....Lexington
Post Office Box 594, 29072
3—Cordes G. Seabrook, III ..Anderson
505 North Street, 29621
Catherine Johnson .....Ninety-Six
Route 2, Box 16, 29666
Erminie M. Nave .....Greenwood
606 Brooklane Drive, 29646
4—Bob Taylor .....Greenville
107 Karen Drive, 29607
F. Hugh Atkins .....Moore
Route 2, 29369
Anne Ebersbach .....Spartanburg
256-B Greengate Lane, 29302
5—Margaret Atkinson .....Sumter
Post Office Box 1665, 29150
Edward R. Hintz .....Lancaster
Route 4, Arrowood Avenue, 29720
Sandra G. Fullmer .....Chester
142 Saluda, 29706
6—William E. Darby ....Myrtle Beach
Post Office Drawer 2448, 29577
Jacqueline Rainwater ..Bennettsville
110 South Cook Street, 29512
Euford Godwin .....Pamplico
Route 2, Box 192, 29583

SOUTH DAKOTA

(Twenty-two Delegates)

Chairman of Delegation: Nora W. Hussey

At Large

Delegates

Nora W. Hussey ..... Sturgis
1928 Arizona, 57785
Charlene K. Haar ..... Viborg
Box 157, 57070
Beverly Nuttbrock ..... Rapid City
RR 4, Box 1050, 57701
James S. Nelson ..... Rapid City
408 Berry Pine Road, 57701
Oscar M. Austad ..... Sioux Falls
804 Tomar Place, 57105
William J. Srstka ..... Pierre
507 North Grand, 57501
Owen R. Wipf ..... Wagner
210 Washington, 57380
Gene Warkenthien ..... Willow Lake
57278
Barbara Wait ..... Brookings
521 17th Avenue S., 57006
Winston B. Odland ..... Aberdeen
410 E. Melgaard Road, 57401
Mary M. Small ..... Huron
1229 Illinois Avenue S.W., 57350
George H. Shanard ..... Mitchell
1515 Northridge, 57301
Mark Young ..... Spearfish
Box 122, 57783
James E. Graff ..... Irene
Box 178, 57037
Michael D. Stevens ..... Yankton
117 Tamarack, 57078
Marvin Bormann ..... Stickney
Box 277, 57375

Alternates

Ted Blakey ..... Yankton
513 Mulberry, 57078
Leonard J. Wood ..... Custer
57730
John S. Walker ..... Brookings
626 6th Avenue, 57006
Theodore I. Spaulding ..... Huron
Box 907, 57350
Phyllis Lockwood ..... Viborg
57070
Sharon J. Haar ..... Wagner
Box 129, 57380
Della M. Wishard ..... Prairie City
57649
Virginia K. Lardinois ..... Huron
1779 McDonald, 57350
LaVonne Rhyne ..... Clear Lake
57226
Jan Berkhout ..... Vermillion
RR 1, 57069
Brian Jones ..... Miller
Box 108, 57362
Trent N. Thorstenson ..... Selby
Star Route, 57472
LaVonne Hellwig ..... Sisseton
RR 3, 57262
S. Michael Davis ..... Webster
714 East 3rd, 57274
Jack Lintz ..... Custer
57730

District

1—Richard D. Kelley ..... Sioux Falls
1109 S. Minnesota Ave., 57105
Joseph H. Barnett ..... Aberdeen
1411 North 4th, 57401
Doris Kumm ..... Watertown
521 6th Street, S.E., 57201

1—J. Van Regenmorter ..... Sioux Falls
405 South Blaine, 57103
Royal J. "Bud" Wood ..... Warner
57479
Edward G. Huppler ..... Watertown
908 South Lake Drive, 57201

SOUTH DAKOTA (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
2—Mike Sougstad .....Rapid City Box 1474, 57709	2—Richard L. Adams.....Sturgis 1628 Junction Avenue, 57785
Walter D. Miller .New Underwood 57761	John E. Redlin .....Fort Pierre 190 West Park, 57532
Arlen Bouchie .....Fort Pierre 57352	Cal Lowe .....Hot Springs Box 342, 57747

TENNESSEE

(Thirty-two Delegates)

Chairman of Delegation: Lamar Alexander

Note: Opposite each Delegate is shown the Alternate for that particular Delegate.

At Large

Delegates	*Alternates*
Martha Ashe .....Knoxville 3709 Kingston Pike, 37919	Jon Thomas .....Memphis Post Office Box 16919, 3056 Fleetbrook Drive, 38116
Todd Gardenhire.....Chattanooga 3507 Locksley Circle, 37416	Dortch Oldham .....Nashville One Whitehall, 37205
David Turner .....Chattanooga 7813 Stonehenge Drive, 37409	Susan Simons .....Nashville 227 Deer Park Drive, 37205
Lamar Alexander .....Nashville State Capitol, 37219	Mamon Wright .....Memphis 1379 S. Parkway East, 38106
Winfield Dunn .....Nashville 40 Concord Park East, 37205	Barry Sterling .....Memphis 5629 Murray Road, 38117
John Duncan .....Washington, D.C. 2458 Rayburn House Office Building, 20515	Don Sundquist .....Memphis 3028 Emerald Street, 38118
Tommy Tabor .....Memphis 800 Red Leaf Lane, 38109	Gary Sisco .....Nashville 6103 Hickory Valley Rd., 37205
Eleanor Rooks .....Brownsville 115 Rooks Drive, 38012	Dorothy Clawson .....Morristown Buffalo Trail, 37814

District

1—John Paty .....Bristol 158 Fairfield Drive, 37620	1—Robert L. Ogle, Jr. .....Sevierville Post Office Box 440, 37862
Hugh W. Broome....Johnson City 1511 Chickees, 37601	Roy Oakes .....Morristown 2007 Magnolia Avenue, 37814
Bruce Hurley .....Surgoinsville Route 1, 37873	Robert L. King .....Johnson City 1705 Lakeview Drive, 37601

TENNESSEE (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
2—Wanda L. Moody .....Knoxville 714 Broome Road, 37919	2—Barbara J. Mabry .....Knoxville 1108 Snowden Drive, 37912
David H. Balloff.....Knoxville 12039 South Fox Den, 37922	Devereaux D. Cannon, Jr. Knoxville 414 North Cruze Street, 37917
Richard T. Beeler .....Knoxville 3500 Sutherland, K-206, 37919	Loy Smith .....Strawberry Plains Route 2, Carter School Road, 37871
3—Robert C. Coolidge ...Chattanooga 1717 White Oak Rd., B-7, 37415	3—Ken Yager .....Harriman Post Office Box 346, 37748
Lamar Baker .....Chattanooga 76 South Crest Road, 37404	Mary K. Liebe .....Chattanooga 3805 Oakland Terrace, 37415
Samuel N. Glover ....Chattanooga 1600 Kirby Avenue, 37404	Howard Swafford .....S. Pittsburg 704 Contour Avenue, 37280
4—Lois Anderson .....Silver Point Post Office Box 14464, 38582	4—Bill Bynum .....Cookeville Route 5, 38501
Jo Ann Crosby .....Dowelltown Route 1, 37059	Frances Turner.....Murfreesboro Route 2, Box 37, Manson Pike, 37130
Robert E. Lee.....Smyrna 419 Robertson Drive, 37167	Nancy Wade .....Gallatin Route 3, 37066
5—Sherry Atwood.....Antioch 4962 Karen Ray Dr., 37013	5—John Neff .....Nashville 717 Westview, 37205
Steve Allbrooks .....Nashville G-3, Paragon Mills, 37211	Victor Braren .....Nashville 1912 Old Hickory Blvd., 37207
Kelly Derryberry .....Nashville 102 53rd Avenue N., 37209	Carol Cook .....Springfield Memorial Boulevard, 37172
6—Carolyn Gates .....Germantown 7430 Mimosa, 38138	6—Scottie Davis .....Memphis 2157 Massey Road, 38138
Alice Algood.....Columbia 804 Athenaeum, 38401	Robin Beard....Washington, D.C. 229 Cannon House Office Building, 20515
Carolyn Cambell .....Franklin Route 3, Box 314-A, 37064	Ray Bodiford .....Selmer Post Office Box 219, 38375
7—Eric Griffin .....Martin 722 South McComb, 38337	7—Arthur Sullivan .....Memphis 3774 Wychemere Drive, 38128
Chris T. Ellis .....Memphis 1748 Gowan Drive, 38127	Jere Griggs .....Nashville Dept. of Agriculture, P.O. Box 40627, 37204
Larry E. Parrish .....Memphis 187 North Yates, 38117	Evelyn Stanford .....Memphis 4387 Bradcrest Circle, 38128

TENNESSEE (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
8—Lydia Thomas .....Memphis 3634 Cowden Avenue, 38111	8—Jerome Ryans .....Memphis 3361 Burgess Drive, 38118
James A. Anderson, Sr. ..Memphis 1021 McEvers Road, 38111	Sylvia Lamb .....Memphis 3451 Graves, 38116
Ruth Trotter .....Memphis 3381 Walnut Grove Rd., 38111	Elizabeth Haney .....Memphis 238 South Waldran Blvd., 38104

TEXAS

(Eighty Delegates)

Chairman of Delegation: Ernest Angelo, Jr.

At Large

Delegates	*Alternates*
Ernest Angelo, Jr. .....Midland 3106 Stanolind, 79701	Jim Brandon .....Amarillo 3001 Teckla, 79106
Ray Barnhart .....Pasadena 1005 Dusky Rose, 77502	Kay Danks .....Austin 7200 W. Rim, 78731
William P. Clements, Jr. .....Austin State Capitol, 78711	Fred Gray .....Pasadena 1107 Thomas, 77506
John B. Connally .....Houston 1st City National Bank Building, 77002	Max Nygaard .....Dallas 7022 Hunters Glen, 75205
Michel T. Halbouty .....Houston 3630 Willowick Drive, 77019	Robert A. Rowland .....Austin 2312 Woodlawn Blvd., 78703
James E. Lyon .....Houston 2100 Kirby, 77019	Beverly Rupe .....San Antonio 12910 Country Ridge, 78216
John Tower .....Washington, D.C. 142 Russell Senate Office Building, 20510	Jerry Smith .....Houston P.O. Box 13608, 77019
Chet Upham .....Mineral Wells 1301 N.W. 7th 76067	Martha Weisend .....Dallas 8238 San Benito, 75218

District

1—Jesse Brookshire .....Texarkana Post Office Box 5765, 75501	1—Robert L. Parker .....Paris 3170 Clark Lane, 75460
Lila Rehkop .....Athens Post Office Box 1288, 75751	David Baucom ...Sulphur Springs 1308 Azalea, 75482
Mike Ellis .....Daingerfield 109 Lila Lane, 75638	Edward Smith, III .....Marshall 4300 John Reagan, 75670

TEXAS (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
2—Steve Lilly .....Nacogdoches Rt. 10, Box 7440, 75961	2—Randy Richardson .....Lufkin 1405 Oak Hill Pl., 75901
Jeannie Turk .....Sour Lake Rt. 9, Box 337, 77659	Joe Brady .....Cleveland 1114 Crescent, 77327
Dave Lowery .....Bedias Box 636, 77831	Louis Leman .....Magnolia 32530 Dobbin Hufsmith, 77355
3—Sally McKenzie .....Dallas 4517 Beverly Drive, 75205	3—Jeanne Tower .....Dallas 6553 Ascot, 75214
Dorothy B. Golden .....Dallas 3647 Coral Gables, 75229	Ida Papert .....Dallas 5840 Dexter, 75230
James C. Oberwetter .....Dallas 7029 Meadow Lake, 75214	Robert S. Driegert ....Richardson #3 Shadywood Pl., 75080
4—Sonny Urzman .....Longview Post Office Box 7382, 75601	4—Jody Smith .....Denton Rt. 4, Hidden Valley #42, 76201
Grady Baskin, Jr. .....Tyler 3707 Lexington, 75701	Jim Glasgow .....Rosewall 3327 Augusta Lane, 75087
Robert Anderson .....McKinney Box 95, 75069	Paul Brown .....Sherman Grason State Bank Bldg., 75090
5—Lee Nutter .....Dallas 6803 Robin Road, 75209	5—Laverne Moore .....Dallas 10127 Plummer, 75228
Ray Van Buskirk .....Garland 2929 Lancer, 75042	Jerry Chaney .....Mesquite 614 Carver, 75149
Dennis K. Erwin .....Mesquite Box 181, 75149	Irene McCommon .....Dallas 1426 Pleasant Drive, 75217
6—Rolly Millirons .....Burleson 1016 Stuckert, 76028	6—Ada Gibbs .....Fort Worth 3612 W. Seminary, 76109
Annabelle Farrell .....Duncanville Post Office Box 155, 75116	Katherine McNutt .....Corsicana 1555 Princeton, 75110
Bruce McDougal .....Duncanville 102 Roma, 75116	Betty Getzendaner ....Waxahachie 415 W. Marvin, 75165
7—James A. Baker III .....Houston 5030 Green Tree Dr., 77056	7—Barbara Harris .....Houston 2425 Underwood #240, 77030
Robert Mosbacher .....Houston 2515 Avalon Pl., 77019	Barbara S. Patton .....Houston 11003 Landon Lane, 77024
Harold R. DeMoss, Jr. ..Houston 6231 Valley Forge, 77057	John Bush .....Houston 5521 Lincrest, 77056
8—David H. Walker .....Houston 7903 Antoine, 77088	8—Lance Hutchison .....Baytown 603 W. James, 77520
Sue Helbig .....Baytown 212 Post Oak, 77520	Frank Tober .....Houston 935 Majestic, 77020
Jim Helbig .....Baytown 212 Post Oak, 77520	J. L. Schneider, Jr. .....Houston 1114 Woodfield Ln., 77073

TEXAS (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
9—Gwen Emmett .....Kingwood 3307 Riverlawn, 77339	9—Howell Cobb .....Beaumont 1385 Thomas Road, 77706
Tommie M. Byrd.....Beaumont 1090 Alma, 77705	Raymond Benski .....Nederland 927 30th Street, 77627
Paul J. Cunningham ...Galveston 5101 Denver Drive, 77550	Nancy Canion .....League City 1016 Shadow Circle, 77573
10—Maurice Angly, Jr. .....Austin 3001 N. Lamar, 78705	10—Glenn Brown .....Austin 2604 Rollingwood, 78746
Jay Anderson .....East Bernard Rt. 1, Box 62, 77455	Chuck Nash .....San Marcus Post Office Box 1007, 78666
Pamela Findlay .....Austin Post Office Box 2910, 78769	Thomas Giddings .....Brenham Route 4, 77833
11—Dottie Young .....Round Rock 603 Buckskin Drive, 78664	11—Paul Hill .....Round Rock 3500 Arrowhead Cr., 78664
Helen Rutland .....Belton 605 E. 27th Street, 76513	Pete Kleff .....Killeen 309 Dahlia, 76541
Audie Bruce .....Waco 3824 Hay Avenue, 76711	Katrina Stone .....Corpus Christi 410 Cape Henry, 78412
12—Fran Chiles .....Fort Worth 1300 Shady Oaks Lane, 76107	12—T.I. Ballinger .....Fort Worth 5012 Sugar Lake Road, 76103
Marvin Overton, IV ..Fort Worth 800 8th Ave. #632, 76104	Barbara Howell .....Fort Worth 1101 Broad, 76107
Modean Barry .....Fort Worth 6508 Locke Avenue, 76116	Tom Wilder .....Fort Worth 15161 El Camino Road, 76039
13—Bobbie Nisbet .....Pampa 2511 Mary Ellen, 79065	13—Bob Jones .....Childress Post Office Box 832, 79201
Harold Rogers .....Wichita Falls 725 Hamilton Building, 76301	Christia Richardson .....Amarillo 2802 S. Ong, 79109
Nadine Gregg .....Amarillo 3200 Fleetwood, 79109	Sybil Daniel .....Perryton 1501 Fordham, 79070
14—Roger Johnson ....Corpus Christi 535 Louisiana, 78404	14—Sylvia Berry .....Rockport 11 Finistere, 78382
Stanley G. Cohen ..Corpus Christi 421 Poenish, 78412	Tom Carlson .....Wharton 321 Circle Drive, 77488
George Andrews .....Portland Box 471, 78374	Russell Baird .....Wharton 301 W. Milam, 77488
15—Delores F. Clark .....Brownsville 401 Boca Chica, #106, 78520	15—Merwyn W. Mitchell .Brownsville 3155 Old Hwy. 77, 78520
Robert F. Pool .....McAllen 1501 Marigold, 78501	Pat Kline .....McAllen 706 V-W Ave., 78501
Jean Bensmiller .....Whitsett Post Office Box 322, 78075	Matt F. Gorges .....Harlingen 1090 S. Parkwood, 78550

TEXAS (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
16—Tony Mercurio .....El Paso 8701 Turrentine, 79925	16—C.W. McKinney .....El Paso 4625 Bobolink, 79922
Ralph Scoggins .....El Paso 1615 Montana, 79902	Dexter Mapel .....El Paso 2731 Richmond, 79902
Sara L. Robbins .....Odessa 167 Quail Run, 79761	Eric Augesen .....Odessa 3604 Maple Avenue, 79761
17—James D. Webster .....Abilene 3774 Woodbridge, 79605	17—Dottie Scott .....Abilene 105 Hedges Road, 79605
Clyde Morgan .....Abilene 1166 Merchant, 79603	Mary Dulaney .....Snyder 3112 Avenue X, 79549
Billy Mac Sheppard ...Big Spring Post Office Box 1042, 79720	Marcus Anderson .....Abilene 1433 Glendale, 79603
18—Richard D. English .....Houston 3601 Allen Pkwy., #630, 77019	18—Claire Moore .....Houston 10 Courtlandt Pl., 77006
James E. Connor, Jr. ....Houston 612 Courtlandt, 77007	Jim Bowie .....Houston 706 E. Whitney, 77022
Naomi Andrews .....Houston 5325 Blythewood, 77021	Raul R. Garcia, Sr. .....Houston 326 S. Jensen, 77003
19—Robert L. Monaghan ....Midland 2007 Country Club, 79701	19—Robert J. Paxton .....Midland 2308 Boyd, 79701
John M. Ryan .....Lubbock 7707 Knoxville Drive, 79423	Janelle Evans .....Brownfield 1204 E. Warren, 79716
Rosalind K. Haley .....Lubbock 5424 16th Street, 79416	Corrine E. Weis .....Midland 3525 Humble, 79703
20—Mary M. Jackson ....San Antonio 123 Brackenridge, 78212	20—James K. Duncan ....San Antonio 523 Shook, 78212
Sue S. Heacock .....San Antonio 900 Burr Road, #2C, 78209	Marge Kahler .....San Antonio 109 W. French, #308D, 78212
Van Henry Archer, Jr. San Antonio 218 W. Lynwood, 78212	Lois C. White .....San Antonio 1302 Dawson Street, 78202
21—Dorothy Doehne .....San Antonio 110 Anne Lewis, 78216	21—Willard L. King .....San Antonio 227 Pinewood Ln., 78216
George Ames .....San Antonio 101 Claiborne Way, 78209	Jerry Kelfer .....San Antonio 101 Sheffield, 78213
Elizabeth Rohn .....Kerrville 561 Cardinal Drive, 78028	Ken Dixon .....Llano 438 E. Lakeshore Drive, 78645
22—Adele Hedges .....Houston 2043 University Blvd., 77030	22—Becky Orr .....Houston 2740 Fenwood, 77005
Andrew Samson .....Lake Jackson Post Office Box 1479, 77566	Dan Hedges .....Houston 2043 University Blvd., 77030
Rod Paige .....Houston 4322 Worrell Drive, 77045	Margaret Napier .....Richmond 1201 Burnet, 77469

TEXAS (Continued)

Delegates

23—Jim Farr .....Uvalde
Batesville Road, 78301
Florence Bennett .....San Antonio
4119 Moana Street, 78218
Ewald Koepp .....LaVernia
Post Office Box 399, 78121

24—Naomi Laird .....Irving
1607 Live Oak Drive, 75061
Paul Laird .....Irving
1607 Live Oak Drive, 75061
Jane Bergland .....Arlington
3700 Shady Valley Drive, 76013

Alternates

23—Annette Mathews .....Luling
721 Davis, 78648
David Davidson .....Gonzales
Post Office Box 744, 78629
Warren Rangel .....Laredo
c/o International Bank
of Commerce, 78040

24—Wanda Damstra ....Grand Prairie
1401 Danish Street, 75050
Michael Guess .....Grand Prairie
2606 Marcy Ct., 75051
John Dueley .....Arlington
2000 Timberview Lane, 76014

UTAH

(Twenty-one Delegates)

Co-Chairmen of Delegation: William A. Stevenson; Robert B. Sykes

AT LARGE

Delegates

Jake Garn .....Salt Lake City
Federal Building, 84138
Orrin Hatch .....Salt Lake City
Federal Building, 84138
William A. Stevenson ...Salt Lake City
5221 Cobble Creek Road, 84117
Georgia Jensen .....Ogden
2612 Pierce Avenue, 84401
Gene Peresich .....Bountiful
91 West 1700 South, 84010
R. Steve Creamer .....St. George
124 East 650 South, 84770
Alberta "Beppy" Gibbons ....Blanding
84511
Mark Hurst .....Salt Lake City
9325 Janet, 84084
William Arseneau .....Orem
318 S. Palisade Drive, 84057
Ruby Price .....Layton
933 West Gentile, 84041
Dennis Webb .....Farmington
123 East 300 North, 84025
Stuart Hinckley .....Salt Lake City
5298 Sydete Circle, 84118

Alternates

Jan Mackay .....Highland
10024 North Mountain, 84003
Neil Christiansen .....Salt Lake City
6092 South 200 West, 84118
William H. "Bill" Tribe .....Fillmore
2813 Fillmore, 84403
Steven L. Hilton .....Salt Lake City
2483 Gunlock Drive, 84118
Ray L. White .....Salt Lake City
3903 Market Street, 84119
Robin Riddle .....Salt Lake City
4066 Diana Way, 84117
Paul S. Rogers .....Orem
964 East 930 North, 84057
Margaret G. Webb .....Salt Lake City
3568 Mardonna Way, 84109
Georgia B. Hare .....Fillmore
Post Office Box 997, 84631
John Harmer .....Salt Lake City
696 Kennecott Building, 84133
Michael L. Hutchings .....Granger
4247 Wade Way, 84119
Becky Olson .....Salt Lake City
169 North State, 84103

UTAH (Continued)

Delegates

Sam Junk .....Ogden
767 Panorama Drive, 84403
Philip R. Rhinehart .....Salt Lake City
123 Second Avenue, #1114, 84103
Dwight Peterson .....Salt Lake City
1350 W. 7350 South,
P.O. Box 432, 84084

Alternates

Elaine Hatch .....Salt Lake City
Federal Building, 84138
Doris Wilson .....Bountiful
2224 Ridgewood Way, 84010
Jonathan B. Bronson ....Salt Lake City
5718 South 1580 East, 84121

DISTRICT

1—Richard Richards .....Ogden
4672 Panorama Drive, 84403
Amy Y. Valentine .....Provo
1064 East 820 North, 84601
Alex Hurtado .....Ogden
1461 Kingston Drive, 84403
2—Dan Marriott .....Salt Lake City
2311 Federal Building, 84138
Robert B. Sykes .....Salt Lake City
8 Hillside Avenue, #306, 84103
C. McClain Haddow .....Sandy
1235 Cottonwood Hills Dr.,
84070

1—Marc Peterson .....Salt Lake City
330 West 550 North, #1, 84321
Gary D. Ford .....Mapleton
1800 South Main, 84663
Dorothea Masur .....Salt Lake City
2642 Foothill Drive, 84401
2—Wilbern L. McDougal .West Jordan
9133 South 2560 West, 84084
Clifford D. White ...Salt Lake City
4811 South 1395 East, 84117
Jolene Bastian .....Salt Lake City
1156 Foothill Drive, #132, 84108

VERMONT

(Nineteen Delegates)

Chairman of Delegation: Lawrence A. Wright

AT LARGE

Delegates

Clifford M. Harwood ..Manchester Center
Post Office Box 904, 05255
Lawrence A. Wright ..South Burlington
19 Scottsdale Road, 05401
F. Ray Keyser, Jr. .....Proctor
64 Warner Avenue, 05765
Roland Q. Seward, Sr. ..E. Wallingford
05742
Socrates P. Zolotas .....Burlington
Post Office Box 402, 05402
Melvin H. Mandigo .....Glover
Post Office Box 205, 05839
R. Henry Manchester .....Johnson
Box 27, 05656

Alternates

George W. F. Cook .....Rutland
70 Litchfield Avenue, 05701
Raymond R. Unsworth .....Burlington
1700 Spear Street, 05401
Avis Wright .....South Burlington
19 Scottsdale Road, 05401
Merrill E. Perley .....Enosburg Falls
Main Street, 05450
Norma Unsworth .....Burlington
1700 Spear Street, 05401
Beulah Griffes .....East Charleston
Post Office Box 85, 05833
Donald Griffes .....East Charleston
Post Office Box 85, 05833

VERMONT (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
Barbara Cummings .....Springfield 2 Edgewood Road, 05156	Charles A. Bailey .....Morrisville RFD #2, 05661
Frank H. Armstrong..South Burlington 7 Deborah Drive, 05401	Peter Morgan .....Burlington 295½ Maple Street, 05401
Nancy Hill .....Lyndonville Post Office Box 105, 05851	David L. Hill .....Lyndonville Post Office Box 105, 05851
Ruth Stillings .....Barre Post Office Box 24, 05641	Howard N. Stark .....Peacham Box 5A, 05862
John McClaughry .....Concord RR #1, 05824	Susan Williams-Sweetser ....Worcester 05682
Eleanor Collier .....Barre RD #3, 05641	Harold B. Bensen ....South Burlington Post Office Box 2363, 05402
John F. Nicholls .....Barre 70 Delmont Avenue, 05641	Sidney N. Hammond .....Hartland RR — Mace Hill Road, 05048
A. Wayne Roberts .....Jeffersonville 05464	F. Paul Pingert .....Colchester 2 Lindale Drive, 05446
Harriet Slaybaugh .....Montpelier RR #1, Woodcrest Road, 05602	John H. Wasserlein .....Brattleboro RR #1, 05301

DISTRICT

Richard A. Snelling .....Shelburne Harbor Road, 05482	Ellen Anders .....Montpelier Calais Stage, 05602
James M. Jeffords ...Washington, D.C. 1510 Longworth House Office Building, 20515	John K. Wu .....Ludlow 48 Andover Street, 05149
John M. Lindley, III .....Montpelier 159 State Street, 05602	Marguerite Armstrong ...S. Burlington 7 Deborah Drive, 05401

VIRGINIA

(Fifty-one Delegates)

Chairman of Delegation: John N. Dalton

AT LARGE

Delegates	*Alternates*
John N. Dalton .....Richmond State Capitol, 23219	Lorna Hadlock .....Williamsburg 105-E Tilghman Court, 23185
John W. Warner ...Washington, D.C. 6232 Dirksen Senate Office Building, 20510	J. W. Middendorf, II .....McLean 1453 Kirby Road, 22101
J. Marshall Coleman .....Richmond 1101 East Broad Street, 23219	Eva Scott .....Amelia Route 1, Box 261, 23002

VIRGINIA (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
Paul S. Trible, Jr. . .Washington, D.C. 512 Cannon House Office Building, 20515	Jesse Wilson Jeffress .....Lynchburg 2140 Lakeside Drive, 24501
Mills E. Godwin, Jr. .....Suffolk Post Office Box 6034, 23433	Michael E. Thomas .....Lawrenceville Route 1, Box 39, 23868
Alfred B. Cramer, III .....Culpeper Post Office Box 69, 22701	Dianne M. Choby .....Springfield 7825 Carrleigh Parkway, 22152
William H. Stanhagen .....Manassas 9326 Battle Street, 22110	Robert D. Hausenfluck .....Richmond 8507 Pamela Drive, 23229
Doriene M. Steeves .....Annandale 4657 Country Vale Court, 22003	Jean Ann Klinge .....Alexandria 505 Monticello Boulevard, 22305
John Alderson .....Daleville Post Office Box 167, 24083	Helen Marie Taylor .....Richmond 2325 Monument Avenue, 23220
Fitzgerald Bemiss .....Richmond Post Office Box 1156, 23209	Howard B. Cohen .....Norfolk 7515 Pennington Road, 23505
Morton C. Blackwell .....Arlington 3128 North 17th Street, 22201	Edwin H. Barker .....Virginia Beach 4313 Thalis Drive, 23452
Bert A. Bobbitt .....Chesapeake 2121 Markand Drive, 23325	James W. Harper .....Callao Post Office Box 106, 22435
Edward W. Early .Charlotte Courthouse 23923	Alexander B. Depaoli .....Vienna 9524 Narragansett Place, 22180
Guy O. Farley, Jr. .....Warrenton Summerfield Farm, 22186	Mark D. Obenshain .....Richmond 25 Maxwell Road, 23226
E. David Foreman .....Springfield 6800 Seton Court, 22152	Rosanna L. Bencoach ....Charlottesville 3345 University Station, 22903
DeRonda Hudgins .....Newport News 52 Settlers Road, 23606	David A. Williams .....Arlington 1515 North Buchanan Street, 22203
Raymond J. LaJeunesse, Jr. ..Arlington 3709 North Glebe Road, 22207	Gary C. Byler .....Virginia Beach 4615 Paul Revere Road, 23455
John D. Marsh .....Gainsville 6305 Catharpin Road, 22065	Enid H. Neill .....Lottsburg Box 575, 22511
William S. Proctor, Jr. .....Richmond 10 Country Squire Lane, 23229	Sonya M. Bell .....Alexandria 6301 Stevenson Avenue, #612, 22304
Cassandra P. Riley .....Leesburg 9 Bradfield Drive, 22075	Marilyn Lussen .....Richmond 700-A Castille Court, 23233
O. Grant Rush .....Harrisonburg 467 Eagle Lane, 22801	Jack Hurley, Jr. .....Bluefield 112 Penn Street, 24605

DISTRICT

1—Vernon L. Brown .....Poquoson 113 Sandy Bay Drive, 23662 Joanna G. Snyder .....Accomac 23301 Elizabeth Nuckols .....Topping Box 101-A, 23169	1—Gladys H. Hardwicke . . .Hampton 38A Elizabeth Road, 23669 Charles H. Cunningham .Hampton 3312 Driftwood Drive, 23666 Robert L. Clifford . .Williamsburg 109 Shellbank Drive, 23185

VIRGINIA (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
2—Peggy Abel .....Virginia Beach 1016 Chumley Road, 23451	2—Elizabeth J. Campbell Virginia Beach 1913 Lynn Cove Lane, 23454
James H. Campbell Virginia Beach 1913 Lynn Cove Lane, 23454	Edwin Greene .....Norfolk 8624 Willow Terrace, 23503
Charlotte Christian .Virginia Beach 407 Shagbark Road, 23454	Violet Greene .....Norfolk 8624 Willow Terrace, 23503
3—Helen Obenshain .....Richmond 25 Maxwell Road, 23226	3—John H. Hager .....Richmond 325 Charmain Road, 23226
E. Hatcher Crenshaw, Jr. Richmond 5401 Patterson Avenue, 23226	Mary Lee Cantor .....Richmond 500 Parham Road, 23229
James H. Turner, III . . .Richmond 3812 West End Drive, 23229	Sharon C. Dameron . . .Chesterfield 6801 Able Road, 23832
4—Diane G. Winston . . . .Portsmouth 3312 Carney Farm Lane, 23703	4—Elizabeth Cox .....Stony Creek 23882
Sterling Rives, Jr. .....Petersburg 420 North Park Drive, 23803	Thomas Raines .....Carson 23830
C. Gilbert Hudson, Jr. . .Emporia 600 Sadler Drive, 23847	Louise Thornton .....Sussex 23884
5—Joseph R. Crouch .....Lynchburg 7821 Timber Lake Road, 24502	5—Elliotte Boswell, III . . . .Burkeville Route #1, Box 144, 23922
Dennis Peterson .....Midlothian Route #1, Box 309AA, 23113	J. M. H. Irby .....Blackstone Box 307, 23824
René Trent .....Chase City Box 273, 23924	Toti Perez .....Danville 247 Cambridge Circle, 24541
6—D. Moncue Ware .....Fincastle Route 2, 24090	6—John H. Voit .....Roanoke 169 Laconia Avenue, N.E., 24012
Geraldine Walker .....Bedford Route 5, Box 597, 24523	Rex Pixley .....Amherst 24521
George Lennox .....Waynesboro 1249 Nova Drive, 22980	John W. Appleford . . . . .Monterey Post Office Box 254, 24465
7—Emily K. Steger .....Culpeper Route 3, Box 232-B, 22701	7—Robert W. Patterson, Jr. Richmond Route 2, Lower Tuckahoe, 23233
Jared Scripture .....Basye Post Office Box 110, 22810	Richard Kern .....Winchester 504 Courtland Court, 22601
S. J. Converse . . . . .Fredericksburg Route 1, Box 419 T, 22401	Wada W. Keller . . .Charlottesville 1608 Keith Valley Road, 22901
8—Hunter Hurst .....Alexandria 121 Queens Street, 22304	8—Beverly Suit .....Springfield 6503 Lovingston Circle, 22150
Lawrence Pratt .....Springfield 6812 Landor Lane, 22152	James Wentzel .....Annadale 4832 Dodson Drive, 22003
Thomas McMurray . . . .Annandale 8601 Ordinary Way, 22003	Robert Baldwin . . . . .Woodbridge 13013 Kerrydale Road, 22193

VIRGINIA (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
9—Wayne Bostic .....Swords Creek Route 1, Box 29, 24649	9—Mark Fletcher .....Bristol 930 Commonwealth Avenue, 24201
Julius W. Hall .....Hurley Rural Route, 24620	Robert Price .....Grundy Box 458, 24614
Gary Waddell ...Pennington Gap Box 384, 24277	Andrew Sargent .....Richlands 107 Eagle Street, 24641
10—Naomi Zeavin .....Falls Church 3424 Greentree Drive, 22041	10—Karen Clifford .....Sterling 807 S. Hoga Street, 22170
Patsy Drain .....Falls Church 2131 Great Falls St., 22043	Joan S. Smutko .....Arlington 833 S. Frederick Street, 22204
Jade C. West .....Arlington 3709 North Glebe Road, 22207	Bruce Eberle .....Vienna 1449 Montague Drive, 22180

VIRGIN ISLANDS

(Four Delegates)

Chairman of Delegation: Philip C. Clark

AT LARGE

Delegates	*Alternates*
Philip C. Clark .....St. Croix P.O. Box 788, Christiansted, 00820	Bettie Z. Williams .....St. Croix P.O. Box 997, Christiansted, 00820
Leslie Chenet .....St. Croix P.O. Box 7053 Sunny Isle, Christiansted, 00820	Howard Davis .....St. Croix P.O. Box 420, Kingshill, 00850
Luther Benjamin .....St. Thomas P.O. Box 1514, 00801	Thyra Hodge Smith .....St. Thomas 205 Hospital Ground, 00801
Kelly Evans .....St. Thomas P.O. Box 9872, 00801	James Cuchiara .....St. Thomas 1 Regjerrings Gade, 00801

WASHINGTON

(Thirty-seven Delegates)

Chairman of Delegation: C. Dale Duvall

AT LARGE

Delegates	*Alternates*
Bernece Bippes .....Tekoa Box 161, 99033	Elinor Anderson .....Spokane 10714 East 30th, 99206
Richard Derham .....Seattle 524 West Comstock, 98119	Sandy Barrett .....Bellevue 1405 179th Ave. N.E., 98008

WASHINGTON (Continued)

Delegates

C. Dale Duvall .....Spokane
20 West Sumner, #402, 99204
Richard Evans .....Richland
403 Ash Street, 99352
Edsel Hammond .....Seattle
18541 Burke Avenue N., 98133
Clifford M. Johnston .....Emonds
7317 Lake Ballinger Way, 98020
Inez Jones .....Gig Harbor
4421 Holly Lane, 98335
Jim Munn .....Seattle
300 West Prospect, 98119
Garry Pagon .....Snohomish
16020 Old Snohomish Rd., 98290
Ann Quirox .....Tonasket
Highway 97, P.O. #611, 98855
Frank Robins .....Kirkland
11816 N.E. 143rd, 98033
Sharon Schultz .....Lynnwood
15231 22nd Place West, 98036
Philip Scott .....Walla Walla
1861 Rustic Place, 99362
Billie Staab .....Puyallup
14015 13th Ave. Court E., 98371
Charlotte Tochterman .....Bellevue
3309 166th Place S.E., 98008
Raymond Williams .....Tieton
Route 1, Box 119, 98947

Alternates

Max Benitz .....Prosser
RR 2, Box 2521, 99350
Peg Bradburn .....Lynnwood
15612 Larch Way, 98036
Mary Ellen Britten .....Chehalis
2401 N.E. Kresky Road, 98532
Dennis Dunn .....Redmond
6301 158th Court N.E., 98052
Judy Dugger .....Yakima
105 East A Street, 98901
Joan E. Hart .....Mt. Vernon
1578 Best Road, 98273
Alfred E. Johnson .....Spokane
S. 2915 Howard Street, 99203
Doug Larson .....Kent
14643 S.E. 267th, 98031
Comil Padayo .....Spokane
North 5408 Hawthorne, 99208
Kay Regan .....Seattle
3542 N.E. 94th, 98115
Thomas Reid .....Wenatchee
Route 3, Box 3103, 98801
Melvin Rubin .....Tacoma
2403 North Alder, 98406
Al Sether .....Tacoma
One Stadium Way N., 98403
Jane Wilson .....Bellevue
14572 Newport Way, 98006

DISTRICT

1—Mardonna Austin-McKillop . .Seattle
2301 Fairview Avenue E., 98102
Della Newman .....Seattle
100 Ward Street, 98109
Joel Pritchard .....Seattle
2888 Federal Building, 98174

2—Ronnie Cannon .....Bellingham
416 BMB Building, 98225
Curtis E. Johnson .....Mt. Vernon
1773 Dodge Valley Rd., 98273
Noreen Thomas .....Edmonds
12525 Maplewood Ave., 98020

1—Buck Ferguson .....Seattle
3822 46th N.E., 98105
Michael Kranda .....Seattle
1543 Granview Place E., 98112
Helen R. Ziegler .....Seattle
3813 N.E. 190th Place, 98155

2—F. Charles Doney ....Friday Harbor
2771 Oak Hill Drive, 98250
Rita M. Reel .....Lake Stevens
9728 Davies Road, 98258
Don Top .....Lynden
1231 Garden Circle, 98264

WASHINGTON (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
3—Con Butenko .....Kent 14234 S.E. 216th, 98031	3—R.H. "Ron" Carlson ..Maple Valley 24514 219th Avenue S.E., 98038
Ruby Hopper .....Shelton 2214 King Street, 98584	R. G. Harms .....Port Orchard 1601 Rainier, 98368
Art Munson .....Beaver St. Route 2, Box 5, 98305	Kathy L. Rankin .....Tacoma 9020 S. Hosmer, Apt. C-27, 98444
4—Herbert H. Hill .....Yakima 712 Hill Drive, 98908	4—Gladwin Bellamy, Jr. .....Chelan Box 1505, 98816
William D. Scott .....Wenatchee Route 2, Box 2330, 98801	Bill E. Hughes .....Vancouver 1204 N.E. 65th Street, 98665
Doris K. Sorenson .....Ridgefield 18419 N.W. 41st Avenue, 98642	James Lefever .....Goldendale Box 558, 98620
5—Helen M. Barrett .....Spokane W. 5823 Keenan Lane, 99208	5—Mary Thomas Barney .....Colville 842 East 1st, 99114
Jack Hern .....Spokane 1614 E. 66th, 99203	Richard C. Robinson .....Spokane E. 2602 S. Riverton, #3, 99207
Darwin R. Nealey .....Lacrosse Box 365, 99143	Eileen Wexler .....Pullman Route 1, Box 67, 99163
6—Roland Cave .....Bremerton 2910 Olympus Drive, 98310	6—Tom Barry .....Tacoma 3538 South Ainsworth, 98408
David Hunt .....Tacoma 1933 Day Island E., 98466	Claude Cunningham .....Puyallup 2412 41st Avenue N.E., 98371
Rick Schmidt .....Federal Way 31666 36th Avenue S.W., 98003	Kenneth Rupp .....Tacoma 1510 South Geiger, 98465
7—Russell A. Austin, Jr. .....Seattle 16220 Maplewild S.W., 98166	7—Caroline Ebright .....Seattle 2519 S.W. 119th Place, 98146
Jennifer B. Dunn .....Bellevue 37 Tatoosh Key, 98006	Charles E. Jung .....Seattle 9317 46th Avenue S.W., 98136
James R. Medley .....Seattle 1216 Pine, 98101	Ronald S. Prevost .....Des Moines 23044 Thunderbird Dr. S., 98188

WEST VIRGINIA

(Eighteen Delegates)

Chairman of Delegation: Arch A. Moore, Jr.

AT LARGE

Delegates	*Alternates*
William T. Bright .....Summersville 11 Starbuck Road, 26651	Patricia Bright .....Summersville 11 Starbuck Road, 26651
Rex Bumgardner .....Clarksburg 1559 Hoffman Street, 26301	Robert McWhorter .....Clarksburg Woodside Heights, 26301
James C. Jeter .....Ronceverte Route 2, Box 96, 24970	Joan Jeter .....Ronceverte Route 2, Box 96, 24970

WEST VIRGINIA (Continued)

Delegates

John Steven LeRose .....Summersville
326 Brady Avenue, 26651
Arch A. Moore, Jr. .....Glen Dale
507 Jefferson Avenue, 26038
Cecil H. Underwood .....Huntington
609 13th Avenue, 25701

Alternates

Edgar F. Heiskell .....Morgantown
32 Lakeview Drive, 26505
Charles Robert Hooten ...S. Charleston
1220 Woodland Drive, 25303
Sharon Underwood .....Huntington
609 13th Avenue, 25701

DISTRICT

1—Judith A. Herndon .....Wheeling
27 Elmwood Pl., 26003
Gene A. Haynes .....Parkersburg
1601 Market Street, 26101
J. Frank Deem .....Parkersburg
4541 Emerson Avenue, 26101

2—J. D. Hinkle .....Buckhannon
One Lightburn Street, 26201
Robert D. Harman .....Keyser
1090 Carolina Avenue, 26726
James W. Teets .....Terra Alta
101 Highland Avenue, 26764

3—Margaret D. Miller ...S. Charleston
1518 Martha Road, 25303
David M. "Mick" Staton
S. Charleston
1506 Susan Road, 25303
Richard Robb .....S. Charleston
1707 Massey Circle, 25303

4—Wade H. Ballard .....Welch
532 Riverside Drive, 24801
Ted T. Barr .....Huntington
56 James Court, 25705
Bettye Esposito .....Huntington
171 Woodland, 25705

1—Richard G. Herndon ....Wheeling
27 Elmwood Pl., 26003
Stacey L. Haynes .....Parkersburg
1601 Market St., 26101
Harry H. Esbenshade, Jr.
Parkersburg
401 Country Club Dr., 26101

2—John M. Wells, Sr. .....Charleston
888 Chester Road, 25314
Harry W. Boggs .....Keyser
Meadowlark Acres, 26726
J. Donald Everly .....Kingwood
1906 Milford St., 26726

3—Howard Gochenour .....Marmet
9702 McCorkle Ave., 25315
Dewain Canterbury .....Walton
'25286

John C. Musgrave ...Point Pleasant
505 Kathnor Lane, 25550

4—Robert W. Bean .....Iaeger
c/o Industrial News, 24844
Teresa Barr .....Huntington
946 12th Ave., 25701
Albert Esposito .....Huntington
171 Woodland, 25705

WISCONSIN

(Thirty-four Delegates)

Chairman of Delegation: Lee S. Dreyfus

Note: Opposite each Delegate is shown the Alternate for that particular Delegate.

AT LARGE

Delegates

Fred Luber .....Milwaukee
9703 N. Lake Drive, 53217

Alternates

Gregory Pauly .....New Holstein
1711 Circle Drive, 53061

WISCONSIN (Continued)

Delegates

Ody J. Fish .....Pewaukee
323 Main Street, 53072
Joni Jackson .....Madison
5321 Milward Drive, 53711
John C. Shabaz .....New Berlin
21425 W. Glengarry Road, 53151
F. James Sensenbrenner .....Milwaukee
1601 E. Lake Bluff, 53211
Thomas Buestrin .....Milwaukee
741 N. Milwaukee, 53202
Douglass Cofrin .....Shorewood
3966 N. Lake Drive, 53211

Alternates

J. Michael Borden .....Elm Grove
14350 Hillside Road, 53122
Rose Brojanac .....Milwaukee
4269 N. 91st Street, 53222
Bruce Wetlaufer .....Mosinee
1773 Plantation Lane, 54455
Tommy G. Thompson .....Elroy
609 Academy Street, 53929
J. Carleton MacNeil .....Mequon
1207 W. Pippin Court, 53092
Pam Anderson .....Madison
909 S. Whitney Way, 53711

DISTRICT

1—Peter Jansson .....Racine
4729 James Avenue, 53402
Steve King .....Whitewater
Post Office Box 155, 53190
Russell A. Olson .....Madison
State Capitol, 53702
2—Ann Peckham .....Madison
3433 Crestwood Drive, 53705
Margaret Lewis .....Madison
1005 Gilbert Road, 53711
James Haney .....Madison
5537 Comanche Way, 53704
3—Janet Schipper .....Viroqua
107 S. Dunlap, Box 391, 54665
K. Sue Mattka .....Whitehall
Box 185, 54773
Lori Wiggert .....La Crosse
1120 Cedar Road, 54601
4—Darlene Wink .....Milwaukee
3132A S. 9th Street, 53215
Gladys Fullwood .....Wauwatosa
2347 N. 101 Street, 53213
Edward Pinzer .....Wauwatosa
7435 Lincoln Pl., 53213
5—Joy G. Teschner .....Milwaukee
929 North Astor St., 53202
Jonathan Sender .....Milwaukee
1725 Prospect Ave. #508, 53202
Warren P. Knowles ....Milwaukee
3039 Newport Ct., 53211

1—Kimberly Davis .....Janesville
339 N. Walnut, 53545
John Durfey .....Racine
4508 Taylor Ave., 53405
Marilyn Foss .....Clinton
Route 1, 53525
2—Chesley Erwin .....Madison
11 Red Maple Trail, 53717
Elaine McLeod .....Madison
5209 Whitcomb Drive, 53711
Tim Harder .....Madison
1017 N. Wingra Drive, 53715
3—Willard Holgate .....Eau Claire
4302 S. Lowes Creek Rd., 54701
Evelyn Pertzsch .....Onalaska
519 Main St., 54650
Clayton Wiggert .....La Crosse
1120 Cedar Road, 54601
4—Ken Clasen .....Hales Corners
Post Office Box 723, 53130
Lewis Collison .....Wauwatosa
8007 Warren Ave., 53213
Joseph Lex .....West Allis
11943 W. Burdick Ave., 53227
5—Jean C. Novshek .....Milwaukee
2977 N. Farewell Ave., 53211
Henry Anderson .....Milwaukee
2809 W. Highland, #207, 53208
John Lenartz .....Milwaukee
2611 W. Wisconsin Ave., 53233

WISCONSIN (Continued)

Delegates

6—Jack Steinhilber .....Oshkosh
219 Washington Ave., 54901
Barbara Schrang .....Neenah
414 E. Wisconsin Ave., 54956
Anita Hankwitz .....Fond du Lac
860 S. Park Avenue, 54935
7—Lee S. Dreyfus .....Madison
State Capitol, 53702
John Van Hollen .....Mason
Route 2, 54856
Donald Semling .....Merrill
Post Office Box 397, 54452
8—Helen Bie .....Green Bay
135 E. Whitney, 54301
Grace Schmidley .....Green Bay
2507 Beaumont Ave., 54301
William Kinsman .....Manawa
Box B, 716 Bridge St., 54949
9—Don Taylor .....Waukesha
Waukesha St. Bank, Box 648
53187
Edythe Cooper .....Mukwonago
W306 S10804 Sandy Beach Rd.
53149
Eric Halvorson .....Milwaukee
4870 N. Sheffield Ave., 53217

Alternates

6—Kieran Powers .....Lyndon Station
Route 1, 53944
Paul Schmidt .....Oshkosh
1650 Arlington Drive, 54901
Pat Rusch .....Menasha
Route 1, Box 273-F, 54952
7—Vinton Vesta .....Hayward
Route 2, 54843
Lloyd Baertsch .....Hayward
Route 3, Box 3, 54843
Daniel Young .....Jim Falls
Route 1, Box 70, 54748
8—Hazel Sumnicht .....Appleton
17 Silver Spur Ln., 54911
Russell Rulau .....Iola
Route 2, Box 15BA, 54945
Robert Krauss .....Kewaunee
521 Dorelle, 54216
9—Vincent Hausmann .....West Bend
917 E. Mulberry Drive, 53095
Mary Simpson .....Mequon
13301 N. Wauwatosa Rd., 53092
Patricia Karcher .....Waukesha
1235 Hawthorne Ridge Dr.,
53186

WYOMING

(Nineteen Delegates)

Chairman of Delegation: Malcolm Wallop

AT LARGE

Delegates

L. V. "Neal" Stafford .....Buffalo
Post Office Box 820, 82834
Hazel Wiley .....Manderson
82432
Grace Davis .....Newcastle
Post Office Box 159, 82701
Leigh Flack .....Casper
411 Forest Drive, 82601
Harold Hellbaum .....Chugwater
82210

Alternates

John F. Ratchye .....Dayton
Post Office Box 157, 82836
Peg Shreve .....Cody
1120 Meadow Lane, 82414
Tom Sansonneti .....Gillette
Post Office Box 2620, 82716
Joan Street .....Casper
2665 East 6th, 82601
J. Barre Conley .....Douglas
1251 Village Drive, 82633

WYOMING (Continued)

Delegates	*Alternates*
Floyd Bousman .....Boulder Post Office Box 98, 82923	Beverly Andrews .....Riverton 239 Valley Circle, 82501
Malcolm Wallop....Washington, D.C. 452 Russell Senate Office Building, 20510	John Shaw .....Worland 407 Hillcrest, 82401
Joyce Stultz .....Riverton 406 Main Street, 82501	Mildred Cowgill .....Cody 1016 Aspen, 82414
Betty Percival .....Lusk Hat Creek Route, Box 12A, 82225	Janet LaRue .....Jackson Post Office Box 956, 83001
Jerrilyn Wall .....Evanston 334 10th Street, 82930	Bud Hertzler .....Veteran 82243
Eldon Spicer .....Rock Springs 1308 Virginia, 82901	Maxine Kellogg .....Grass Creek Post Office Box 243, 82425
Dave Scholl .....Buffalo 86 South Main, 82834	Troy Jones .....Jelm 82063
Robert LaLonde .....Jackson Post Office Box 1707, 83001	Barbara Williams .....Gillette 3 Grandview Circle, 82716
Eddie Moore .....Douglas Post Office Box 16, 82633	Marlene Simons .....Beulah 82712
Caryl Marion .....Cheyenne 3695 Dover Road, 82001	Nels Smith .....Sundance Smith Ranch, 82729
Craig Thomas .....Casper 340 West "B" 82601	Jim Thompson .....Lance Creek 82222

At Large District

Jack Mueller .....Cheyenne 3320 Capitol Avenue, 82001	Shirley Francis .....Cheyenne Post Office Box 365, 82001
Patti MacMillan .....Laramie 2136 Holliday Drive, 82070	Della Vivion .....Rawlins Post Office Box 674, 82301
Beverly Calhoun .....Opal Post Office Box 32, 83124	Tom Zollinger .....Rock Springs 817 Valley, 82901

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — The chair now recognizes Mr. Dick Derham from the State of Washington, Chairman of the Committee on Rules, for the purpose of presenting the report of the Committee.

MR. DERHAM. — Thank you, Madam Chairman.

Accompanying me here on the podium is Paula Hawkins from the State of Florida, the Vice Chairman of our Committee.

Madam Chairman, I offer the following resolution and ask for its immediate consideration: RESOLVED, that the rules as printed and distributed be adopted as the rules of this Convention; the rules for the election and governing of the National Committee and the rules under which delegates and alternate delegates shall be allotted to the respective states, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands and Guam in the next election; how their election shall be conducted, and how contests shall be considered.

MRS. HAWKINS. — I second the motion.

MR. DERHAM. — Madam Chairman and Delegates to this Convention, the report of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business has been printed and the printed report has been distributed to the delegates.

The committee, consisting of representatives chosen by each delegation to this Convention, has been meeting since Saturday. We have carefully reviewed the rules adopted by prior conventions and a report submitted to us by the Standing Committee on Rules of the Republican National Committee.

The rules before you consist of three sections. The first section deals with the rules which will govern this Convention, and only minor clarifying and technical amendments have been made from our prior rules.

The second section deals with rules establishing and governing the operations of the Republican National Committee. We have carefully considered recommendations received from the National Committee, and we have adopted several of their proposals to improve the functioning of the National Committee and to provide a greater opportunity for participation by grass roots Republican representation on that committee.

One major matter which we considered and rejected was to restructure the Executive Committee of our National Committee to reduce its size and streamline its functioning. While recognizing the desirability of smaller committees, we were mindful of the fact that the current Executive Committee contains representatives from our Party's auxiliaries, including our Women's Federation, Young Republicans, the Black Republican Council, the Republican National Hispanic Assembly, the Republican Heritage Groups Council, and representatives of our elected officials at local, state and Federal levels.

These auxiliaries, ladies and gentlemen, play a vital part in the outreach of our Party, and your Rules Committee felt strongly that their voices should continue to be heard at the highest levels of our Party councils.

The third part of our rules deals with the 1984 Convention. One important matter before our committee dealt with the delegation from Puerto Rico. Our Party has long endorsed statehood for Puerto Rico, and we have a vibrant and growing Republican Party in Puerto Rico.

While Puerto Rico does not now have electoral votes, it is our hope that in the 1984 Convention and election they will be part of the Republican majority of the states.

To evidence our support of our friends from Puerto Rico and to provide further incentive for their excellent work in carrying forth the Republican message to their voters at home, we have revised the delegate rules for Puerto Rico. These rules will grant the State of Puerto Rico bonus votes at the 1984 Convention as an incentive for their work.

Finally, we have received testimony from Senator Robert Dole of Kansas, from Judge Richard Rosenbaum of New York, dealing with the presidential primary system, a very important subject. We also have received a number of proposals to increase the delegate allocation to future conventions.

We have requested that the Republican National Committee carefully study these important political proposals, and if rules changes are appropriate for the future, that they report back to the Convention in 1984.

Madam Chairman, I urge the adoption of the rules.

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — Thank you.

Without objection, the previous question is ordered and the question occurs on the resolution and order of business offered by the Delegate from the State of Washington.

All those in favor of the resolution will so signify by saying aye. (Chorus of ayes.)

Those opposed, no. (Chorus of Noes.)

The ayes have it and the resolution is agreed to.

Without objection, the motion to reconsider is laid on the table.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

BE IT RESOLVED, *That the Republican Party is the party of the open door. Ours is the party of equality of opportunity for all and favoritism for none.*

It is the intent and purpose of these rules to encourage the broadest possible participation of all voters in the Republican Party activities at all levels and to assure that the Republican Party is open, accessible to all and answerable ultimately to the people in the true American tradition.

It is the further purpose of these rules to make certain that the Republican Party stands for the principle that while we are the party open to all, we are also the party of opportunity for all; opportunity for everyone of every race, religion, color, national origin, age or sex.

These rules provide for full participation with equal opportunity for men and women, for minorities and heritage groups, and for all Americans regardless of age or social or economic status.

These rules mandate that the Republican Party shall be a nationwide party, purposeful and strong in all sections of the country, North, South, East and West; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, *That the following be adopted as the rules of business of this convention, the rules for the election and government of the Republican National Committee, the rules under which delegates and alternate delegates shall be allotted to the respective states in the next convention, and how their election shall be conducted and contests shall be considered.*

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONVENTION

RULE NO. 1

The convention shall proceed in the order of business prepared and printed by the Republican National Committee.

RULE NO. 2

(a) No person, except members of the several delegations, officers of the convention, and members of the Republican National Committee shall be admitted to the section of the convention hall apportioned to delegates.

(b) Press and staff shall be admitted to the section(s) of the hall authorized for them.

RULE NO. 3

When the convention shall have assembled and the Committee on Credentials shall have been appointed, the secretary of the National Committee shall deliver to the said Committee on Credentials all credentials and other papers forwarded under Rule No. 34.

RULE NO. 4

No person on the temporary roll of the convention and whose right to be seated as a delegate or alternate is being contested (except those placed on the temporary roll by affirmative vote of at least two-thirds (⅔) of the members of the National Committee), shall be entitled to vote in the convention or in any committee thereof until by vote of the convention the contest as to such person has been finally decided and such person has been permanently seated.

RULE NO. 5

Whenever used in the rules, "state" or "states" shall be taken to include the District of Columbia, Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands, unless the context in which the word "state" or "states" is used clearly makes such inclusion inappropriate.

RULE NO. 6

(a) Each delegate in the convention shall be entitled to one (1) vote, which may be cast by his or her alternate in the absence of the delegate.

(b) In the absence of any delegate at large, or delegate from any Congressional district, the roll of alternates for the state or district shall be called in the order in which the names are placed upon the roll of the convention, unless the state or district convention, the Republican state committee or governing committee, or the law of the state or district electing the absent delegate shall otherwise direct, in which event the alternates from the state or district shall vote in the order established by the state or district convention, the Republican state committee or governing committee, or the law of the state or district.

RULE NO. 7

(a) The Rules of the House of Representatives of the United States shall be the rules of this convention, except that "Robert's Rules of Order Newly Revised" shall be the rules for committees and subcommittees of this convention, so far as they are applicable and not inconsistent with the rules herein set forth, provided, however, the convention may make its own rules concerning the reading of committee reports and resolutions.

(b) Committees and subcommittees may set time limits for speaking on any question by a simple majority vote; but not less than twenty (20) minutes, equally divided between proponents and opponents on any question shall be allowed in any case on any debatable motion, order or appeal.

(c) Upon request of one-fifth of the members of a committee or subcommittee, a vote shall be recorded in the manner provided by these rules, and no votes in the committees or subcommittees of the convention shall be taken by secret ballot.

RULE NO. 8

When the previous question shall be demanded by a majority of the delegates from any state, and the demand is likewise seconded by a majority of delegates from each of two (2) or more states, and the call is sustained by a majority of the delegates of the convention, the question shall then be proceeded with and disposed of according to the Rules of the House of Representatives of the United States in similar cases.

RULE NO. 9

A motion to suspend the rules shall be in order only when made by authority of a majority of the delegates from any state and seconded by a majority of the delegates from not less than five (5) other states, severally.

RULE NO. 10

It shall be in order to lay on the table a proposed amendment to a pending measure and such motion, if adopted, shall not carry with it or prejudice such original measure.

RULE NO. 11

No member shall speak more than once upon the same question or longer than five (5) minutes, unless by leave of the convention, except in the presentation of the name of a candidate for nomination for President or Vice President.

RULE NO. 12

Upon all subjects before the convention requiring a roll call, the states shall be called in alphabetical order.

RULE NO. 13

The report of the Committee on Credentials shall be disposed of before the report of the Committee on Resolutions is acted upon, and the report of the Committee on Resolutions shall be disposed of before the convention proceeds to the nomination of candidates for President and Vice President.

RULE NO. 14

(a) The delegates from each state elected to the national convention, immediately after they are elected, shall select from the delegation their members of the Resolutions, Credentials, Rules and Order of Business, and Permanent Organization Committees of the national convention, consisting of one (1) man and one (1) woman for each committee, and shall file notice of such selection with the secretary of the national committee; provided, however, that no delegates may serve on more than one (1) committee of the national convention; provided, further, that the delegates from Guam and the Virgin Islands shall select as provided for above one representative on each such committee. Alternates may not serve as members of the convention committees.

(b) All resolutions relating to the platform shall be submitted to the Committee on Resolutions without reading and without debate.

(c) No resolution or amendment pertaining to the Report of the Committee on Resolutions or the Committee on Rules and Order of Business shall be reported out, or made a part of any report of such committee, or otherwise read or debated before the convention unless the same shall have been submitted to the Chairman, Vice Chairman or Secretary of such committee in writing prior to its report to the convention and shall have received the affirmative written support of a minimum of twenty-five percent (25%) of the membership of the committee.

RULE NO. 15

When a majority of the delegates of any six (6) states severally shall demand that a vote be recorded, the same shall be taken by the states in the order hereinbefore established.

RULE NO. 16

(a) Candidates for the Presidency shall demonstrate majority support from each of five (5) state delegations.

(b) In making the nominations for President and Vice President and voting thereon, in no case shall the call of the roll be dispensed with. The total time of the nominating speech and seconding speeches for any candidate for President or Vice President shall not exceed fifteen (15) minutes.

RULE NO. 17

When it appears at the close of the roll call that any candidate for the nomination for President or Vice President has received the majority of the votes entitled to be cast in the convention, the chairman of the convention shall announce the question to be: "Shall the nomination of the candidate be made unanimous?" If no candidate shall have received such majority, the chairman shall direct the vote to be taken again and shall repeat the taking of the vote until some candidate shall have received a majority of votes.

RULE NO. 18

(a) In the balloting, the vote of each state shall be announced by the chairman of the respective delegations; and in case the vote of any state shall be divided, the chairman shall announce the number of votes for each candidate, or for or against any proposition; but if exception is taken by any delegate to the correctness of such announcement by the chairman of that delegation, the chairman of the convention shall direct the roll of members of such delegation to be called and the result shall be recorded in accordance with the vote of the several delegates in such delegation.

(b) No delegate or alternate shall be bound by any attempt of any state or Congressional district to impose the unit rule.

(c) In balloting, if any delegation shall pass when its name is called, then at the conclusion of the roll call all delegations which passed shall be called in the order established in Rule No. 12; and no delegation will be allowed to change its votes until all delegations which passed shall have been given a second opportunity to vote.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

RULE NO. 19

(a) The Republican National Committee shall have the general management of the Republican party in the United States, the District of Columbia, Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands, subject to direction from the national convention. The members of the national committee shall be elected by the various states and shall consist of one man and one woman from each state.

(b) The duly elected and acting chairman of each state shall be a member of the national committee during his or her tenure in office.

(c) Auxiliaries of the Republican National Committee may be recognized only by the Republican National Convention.

RULE NO. 20

At each Republican National Convention called for the purpose of nominating candidates for President and Vice President, the roll shall be called and the delegation from each state shall report through its chairman the names of the elected national committee members whose election shall be ratified by the convention.

RULE NO. 21

State laws providing a method of election for national committeemen and committeewomen shall be binding on the Republican National Convention.

RULE NO. 22

Where state laws do not provide a method for the election of national committeemen and committeewomen, a national convention delegation shall be bound by the state party rules. The national convention may enforce these rules if they are not obeyed by the state's national convention delegation. This rule shall not apply to Republican state chairmen.

RULE NO. 23

Duly elected national committeemen and national committeewomen shall serve from the adjournment of the quadrennial national convention until the adjournment of the following quadrennial national convention.

RULE NO. 24

(a) The national committee shall issue the call for the next national convention to nominate candidates for President and Vice President of the United States prior to January 1 of the year in which the convention is to be held.

The national committee shall issue and promulgate the call in a manner consistent with these rules.

(b) These shall be the following committees:

(1) There shall be a standing Committee on Rules of the Republican National Committee composed of one representative from each state to review and propose recommendations on changes. The representatives serving on the Republican National Committee from the several states shall choose from their number within six months following the national convention appointees to serve on this committee. If the representatives serving on the Republican National Committee from one or more states do not within this period submit to the chairman of the Republican National Committee their choice to serve on the Rules Committee, the chairman of the Republican National Committee shall select, from among the representatives serving on the Republican National Committee from such state or states, one member to serve on the Rules Committee. The chairman of this committee shall be elected by the Committee on Rules.

(2) There shall be a Committee on Arrangements. The chairman of the Republican National Committee shall appoint from among the members of the Republican National Committee at least one representative to the Arrangements Committee from each state. The chairman of this committee and its subcommittees shall be elected by the Committee on Arrangements, and shall be members of the executive committee of the Committee on Arrangements together with such other officers elected by the Committee on Arrangements. The chairman of the Rules Committee and the chairman of the Contest Committee shall also be members of the Arrangements Committee.

(3) There shall be a Committee on Call whose chairman and members shall be appointed by the national chairman and composed of at least seven (7) members of the Republican National Committee. This committee to be appointed after the selection of the Committee on Arrangements and Committee on Rules.

(4) There shall be a Committee on Contests which shall be composed of two (2) members from each region elected by the members of the national committee residing in each region, and a chairman appointed by the chairman of the national committee. This committee shall be elected after the selection of the Rules and Arrangements Committees.

(5) There shall be a Committee on the Site of the National Convention, which shall be composed of two (2) members elected by the members of the national committee residing in each region from their number, and a chairman appointed by the chairman of the national committee, which committee shall be selected no later than two (2) years following the presidential election.

(6) Each member of the Republican National Committee shall be a member of at least one of these committees. The general counsel of the Republican National Committee shall be counsel to the above-mentioned

committees. The minutes of these committees shall be distributed immediately to all members of the national committee. Any of these committees may meet and act by telephone conference upon twenty-four (24) hours notice.

RULE NO. 25

(a) The officers of the national committee shall consist of:

(1) A chairman and a co-chairman of the opposite sex who shall be elected by the members of the Republican National Committee and who shall be full-time, paid employees. The chairman shall be the chief executive officer of the Republican National Committee. The chairman and co-chairman may be removed from office only by a two-thirds (⅔) vote of the entire National Committee.

(2) Eight (8) vice chairmen, one man and one woman from each of the following regions:

The Western States Association: Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Guam, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington and Wyoming;

The Midwestern States Association: Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, West Virginia and Wisconsin;

The Northeastern States Association: Connecticut, Delaware, the District of Columbia, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Puerto Rico, Rhode Island, Vermont, and the Virgin Islands;

The Southern States Association: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

(3) A secretary, a treasurer, and such other officers as the committee shall deem necessary, all to be elected by the national committee.

(b) The chairman, co-chairman and all other officers except the vice chairmen shall be elected immediately following the National Convention in 1980, and in January of each odd numbered year thereafter. All officers except the vice chairmen shall be nominated from the floor, and candidates must have at least two (2) votes in three (3) states in order to have their names put in nomination. There shall be no nominating committee.

(c) The eight (8) vice chairmen shall be elected at regional caucuses by the national committee members of the four (4) regions and shall be residents and national committee members from their respective regions. The election shall take place at the first meeting after the quadrennial national convention. The election of vice chairman does not need confirmation by the Republican National Committee.

(d) The chairman shall appoint a general counsel for the committee and a chairman of the Republican Finance Committee, both of whom shall be confirmed by the Republican National Committee at its next meeting.

RULE NO. 26

(a) The national committee is authorized and empowered to select an Executive Committee from the members of the Republican National Committee, to consist of fifteen (15) members; in addition the following shall serve as ex-officio members of the Executive Committee: The chairman, the co-chairman, the deputy chairman (if any), the vice-chairmen, the secretary, the treasurer, the general counsel, the chairman of the Republican Finance Committee, the president of the National Federation of Republican Women, the chairman of the Republican State Chairmen's Advisory Committee, the chairman of the Young Republican National Federation, the chairman of the College Republican National Committee, the chairman of the National Republican Heritage Groups Council, the chairman of the National Black Republican Council, the chairman of the Republican National Hispanic Assembly, the chairman of the National Conference of Republican Mayors, the Republican leader of the U.S. Senate, the Republican leader of the U.S. House of Representatives, the chairman of the Republican Governors Association, the president of the National Conference of Republican County Officials and the president of the National Republican Legislators Association.

(b) The Executive Committee may exercise all the executive and administrative functions required of the national committee between meetings of the full committee, with the exception of the following:

(1) election of officers of the national committee,

(2) ratification of members of the Republican National Committee or the Executive Committee,

(3) issuance of the call and designating the time and place for holding the quadrennial national convention.

(4) filling a vacancy in the office of Republican candidate for President or Republican candidate for Vice President.

The Executive Committee shall meet on the call of the chairman, and such meetings shall be held at least once quarterly each year. The minutes of all Executive Committee meetings shall be distributed immediately to all Republican National Committee members.

(c) The chairman, with the approval of the national committee, may appoint other committees and assistants as he or she may deem necessary, and whenever such committees are appointed, they shall consist of a chairman and an equal number of men and women.

(d) It shall be the responsibility of the finance chairman to appoint members of a Finance Committee who will be approved in advance by the state

chairmen of their respective states. The finance chairman, in consultation with the members of the Finance Committee, shall have the duty of developing and implementing a broad-based, fund raising plan.

(e) Upon written petition of at least twenty-five percent (25%) of the members of the Executive Committee, the chairman within ten (10) days shall call a meeting of the Executive Committee to be held in a city to be designated by the chairman. The date of such meeting shall fall between ten (10) and twenty (20) days from the date of the call.

(f) The national committee shall not, without the prior approval of three members of the national committee from the state involved, contribute to any candidate for public or party office except the nominee of the Republican Party or a candidate who is unopposed in the Republican primary after the filing deadline for that office.

RULE NO. 27

Vacancies in the national committee shall be ratified by the committee upon the election by the state Republican party in and for the state in which the vacancy occurs. The national committee shall have the power to declare vacant the seat of any member who refuses to support the Republican nominees for President and/or Vice President.

RULE NO. 28

(a) The first meeting of the national committee shall take place within fifteen (15) days after the convening of the national convention, upon the call of the member senior in time of service upon the previous national committee; and thereafter upon call of the chairman, or, in case of vacancy in the chairmanship, upon call of the vice chairman senior in time of service on the national committee; but such call shall be issued at least ten (10) days in advance of the date of the proposed meeting. Provided, however, that if one of the purposes of a meeting of the Republican National Committee is to fill a vacancy in the office of Republican candidate for President or Republican candidate for Vice President, then only five (5) days notice of the purpose, date, and place of said meeting shall be required. Upon written petition of sixteen (16) or more members of the national committee, representing not less than sixteen (16) states, filed jointly or separately with the chairman, asking for a meeting of the national committee, it shall be the duty of the chairman within ten (10) days from receipt of said petition to issue a call for a meeting of the national committee, to be held in a city to be designated by the chairman, the date of such called meeting to be not later than twenty (20) days or earlier then ten (10) days from the date of the call.

(b) The Republican National Committee shall meet at least twice a year. A tentative agenda for each meeting shall be mailed to the membership at least ten (10) days prior to the meeting. The minutes, including all resolutions and

motions, shall be mailed to all members of the Republican National Committee within thirty (30) days after the close of the meeting.

(c) The annual budget shall be approved at a meeting of the Republican National Committee. The proposed budget, in reasonable detail, shall be mailed to all members of the Republican National Committee at least ten (10) days prior to such meeting.

(d) All meetings of the Republican National Committee and all of its committees shall be open meetings except as provided for by "Robert's Rules of Order Newly Revised."

RULE NO. 29

"Robert's Rules of Order Newly Revised" shall govern in all meetings of the national committee insofar as they are applicable and not inconsistent with these rules. At its first meeting, the committee shall make its own rules governing the use of proxies.

MEMBERSHIP IN THE NEXT NATIONAL CONVENTION

RULE NO. 30

The membership of the next national convention shall consist of:

A. DELEGATES

1. Six (6) delegates at large from each of the fifty (50) states.

2. Three (3) district delegates from the district of each Representative in the United States House of Representatives from each state.

3. Fourteen (14) delegates at large for the District of Columbia, four (4) delegates at large for Guam, fourteen (14) delegates at large for Puerto Rico, and four (4) delegates at large for the Virgin Islands. Provided that if Puerto Rico shall become a state prior to the next national convention it shall have its delegates based upon the same formula as the other states.

4. From each state casting its electoral vote, or a majority thereof for the Republican nominee for President in the last preceding election: Four and one-half (4½) delegates at large plus the number of the delegates at large equal to 60% of the electoral vote from each such state. Except that if Puerto Rico shall become a state prior to the next national convention it shall be presumed that it would have cast its electoral vote, or a majority thereof, for the Republican nominee at the last preceding election. In addition, delegates at large shall be awarded to a state for any and each of the following public officials elected by such state in the year of the last preceding Presidential election or at any subsequent election held prior to January 1, 1984:

(a) One for each Republican United States Senator: Provided that no such additional delegate at large award to any state shall exceed two;

(b) One for a Republican governor: Provided, that no such additional delegate at large award to any state shall exceed one; or

(c) One for Republican membership of at least half of the state's delegation to the United States House of Representatives: Provided, that no such additional delegate at large award to any state shall exceed one.

In the computation of the number of delegates at large, any sum of the four and one-half (4½) plus the 60% representing a fraction shall be increased to the next whole number.

5. If the District of Columbia cast its electoral vote, or a majority thereof, for the Republican nominee for President in the last preceding Presidential election: Four and one-half (4½) delegates at large, plus the number of delegates at large equal to 30% of the fourteen (14) delegates at large alloted to the District of Columbia. In the computation of the number of delegates at large, any sum of the four and one-half (4½) plus the 30% representing a fraction shall be increased to the next whole number.

6. Any state which would receive fewer delegates under all provisions of this rule than it received to the 1972 Republican National Convention shall have its number of delegates increased to the same number of delegates it received to the 1972 Republican National Convention.

B. ALTERNATE DELEGATES

One (1) alternate delegate to each delegate to the national convention.

ELECTION OF DELEGATES TO NATIONAL CONVENTION

RULE NO. 31

Delegates at large to the national convention and their alternates and delegates from Congressional districts to the national convention and their alternates shall be elected in the following manner:

(a) By primary election in accordance with the applicable laws of such states as required by law, the election of delegates to the national conventions of political parties by direct primary and in the District of Columbia in accordance with its law; Provided, that in any of these in which Republican representation upon the Board of Judges or Inspectors of Elections for such primary election is denied by law, delegates and alternates shall be elected as hereinafter provided.

(b) By Congressional district or state conventions, as the case may be, to be called by the Congressional district or state committees, respectively. Notice of the call for any such convention shall be published in a newspaper or newspapers

of general circulation in the Congressional district or state, as the case may be, not less than fifteen (15) days prior to the date of said convention.

(c) By the Republican state committee or governing committee in any state in which the law of such state specifically authorizes the election of delegates or alternates in such manner.

(d) In selecting delegates and alternates to the national convention, no state law shall be observed which hinders, abridges or denies to any citizen of the United States, eligible under the Constitution of the United States, to the office of President or Vice President, the right or privilege of being a candidate under such state law for the nomination for the President or Vice President; or which authorizes the election of a number of delegates or alternates from any state to the national convention different from that fixed in these rules.

(e) In a Congressional district where there is no Republican Congressional Committee, the Republican state committee shall issue the call and make said publication.

(f) All delegates from any state may be chosen from the state at large, in the event that the laws of the state in which the election occurs so provide.

(g) Alternate delegates shall be elected to said national convention for each unit of representation equal in number to the number of delegates elected therein and shall be chosen in the same manner, at the same time, and under the same rules the delegates are chosen; provided, however, that if the law of any state shall prescribe the method of choosing alternates they shall be chosen in accordance with the provisions of the law of the state in which the election occurs.

(h) The election of delegates and alternates from the District of Columbia, Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands shall be held under the direction of the respective recognized Republican governing committee therein in conformity with the rules of the Republican National Committee or the laws of the District of Columbia, Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands.

(i) Election of delegates and alternates shall be certified in every case where they are elected by conventions, by the chairman and secretary of such conventions, respectively, and forwarded to the secretary of the Republican National Committee, and in the case of election by primary, they shall be certified by the proper official and all certificates shall be forwarded by said duly elected delegates and alternates in the manner herein provided.

(j) All delegates and alternates shall be elected not later than thirty-five (35) days before the date of the meeting of said national convention, unless otherwise provided by the laws of the state in which the election occurs.

(k) Delegates and alternates at large to the national convention when serving as delegates and alternates shall be duly qualified voters of their respective states. All delegates and alternates allocated as delegates and alter-

nates at large shall be elected at large in the several states unless otherwise mandated by state law.

(l) Delegates and alternates to the national convention, representing Congressional districts, shall be residents and qualified voters in said districts respectively when serving as delegates and alternates. All delegates and alternates allocated to represent Congressional districts shall be elected by the Congressional districts of the several states unless the laws of the state shall otherwise mandate.

(m) No delegate or alternate delegate shall be required to pay an assessment or fee in excess of that provided by the law of the state in which the election occurs as a condition of serving as a delegate or alternate delegate to the Republican National Convention.

ELECTION OF DELEGATES TO DISTRICT AND STATE CONVENTIONS

Delegates to Congressional district and state conventions shall be elected under the following rules:

(n) Except where state law otherwise mandates, only legal and qualified voters who are deemed to be Republicans pursuant to state law or by state party rule shall participate in a Republican primary, caucus, mass meeting, or mass convention held for the purpose of selecting delegates to a county, district, or state convention, and only such legal and qualified voters shall be elected as delegates to county, district, and state conventions; provided, however, that in addition to the qualifications provided herein the governing Republican committee of each state, shall have authority to prescribe additional qualifications not inconsistent with law. Such additional qualifications shall be adopted and published in at least one daily newspaper having a general circulation throughout the state, such publication to be at least ninety (90) days before such qualifications shall become effective.

(o) No delegates shall be deemed eligible to participate in any district or state convention, the purpose of which is to elect delegates to the said national convention, who were elected prior to the date of issuance of the call of such national convention unless this rule be inconsistent with the law of the state.

(p) District conventions shall be composed of delegates who are legal and qualified voters therein, and delegates to state conventions shall be qualified voters of the respective districts which they represent in said state conventions. Such delegates shall be apportioned among the counties, parishes, and cities of the state or district having regard to the Republican vote therein.

(q) There shall be no proxies at any district or state convention held for the purpose of selecting delegates to the Republican National Convention. If alternate delegates to such selection convention are selected, the alternate delegate, and no other shall vote in the absence of the delegate.

(r) There shall be no automatic delegates at any level of the delegate selection procedures who serve by virtue of party position or elective office.

(s) The Republican National Committee shall assist the states in their efforts to inform all citizens how they may participate in delegate selection procedures. The states, in cooperation with the Republican National Committee, shall prepare instructive material on delegate selection methods and make it available for distribution.

(t) The Chairman of the Republican National Committee shall insure that guest passes to the Republican National Convention are distributed in an equitable fashion. Each delegate and alternate to the Republican National Convention shall receive a minimum of at least one guest pass to each session of the convention.

RULE NO. 32

(a) Participation in a Republican primary, caucus, or any meeting or convention held for the purpose of selecting delegates and alternates to a county, district, state or national convention shall in no way be abridged for reasons of sex, race, religion, color, age or national origin. The Republican National Committee and the Republican state committee or governing committee of each state shall take positive action to achieve the broadest possible participation by everyone in party affairs, including such participation by women, young people, minority and heritage groups and senior citizens in the delegate selection process.

(b) Unless otherwise provided by the laws of the state in which the election occurs, in those states where delegates and alternates are elected through the convention system or a combination of convention and primary systems, the precinct, ward, township, or county meetings shall be open meetings and all citizens who are qualified shall be urged to participate.

(c) Each state shall endeavor to have equal representation of men and women in its delegation to the Republican National Convention.

(d) The provisions of Rule 32 are not intended to be the basis of any kind of quota system.

RULE NO. 33

No state shall elect a greater number of persons to act as delegates and alternates than the actual number of delegates and alternates respectively to which they are entitled under the call for the national convention, and no unit of representation may elect any delegate or delegates, or their alternates, with permission to cast a fractional vote.

RULE NO. 34

Thirty (30) days before the time set for the meeting of the national convention, the credentials of each delegate and alternate shall be filed with the secretary of the national committee for use by the secretary in making up the temporary roll of the convention, except in the case of delegates or alternates elected at a time or times in accordance with the laws of the state in which the election occurs rendering impossible filing of credentials within the time above specified.

RULE NO. 35

(a) Where more than the authorized number of delegates from any state are reported to the secretary of the national committee, a contest shall be deemed to exist and the secretary shall notify the several claimants so reported and shall submit all such credentials and claims to the whole Republican National Committee for decision as to which claimants reported shall be placed upon the temporary roll of the convention; provided, however, that the names of the delegates and alternates presenting certificates of election, from the canvassing board or officer created or designated by the law of the state in which the election occurs to canvass the returns and issue certificates of election to delegates or alternates to national conventions of political parties in a primary election, shall be placed upon the temporary roll of the convention by the national committee.

(b) All contests arising in any state electing district delegates by district conventions shall be decided by its state convention, or if the state convention shall not meet prior to the national convention, then by its state committee; and only contests affecting delegates elected at large shall be presented to the national committee; provided, however, if the contest regarding a district delegate arises out of the irregular or unlawful action of the state committee or state convention, the national committee may take jurisdiction thereof and hear and determine the same under the procedure provided in Rule 35.

(c) Notices of contests shall be filed thirty (30) days before the time set for the meeting of the national convention, with the secretary of the national committee, except in the case of delegates or alternates elected at a time or times in accordance with the laws of the state in which the election occurs rendering impossible the filing of the notice of contest within the time above specified, stating the grounds of the contest.

(d) Not less than twenty-two (22) days before the convening of the Republican National Convention, each of the contesting persons or groups shall file with the secretary of the Republican National Committee at least three (3) printed or typewritten copies of the brief in support of their claim to sit as delegates or alternates in the national convention. The secretary of the Republican National Committee upon receiving the brief of a contesting person or group shall furnish the opposing contesting person or group a copy of said brief.

Each brief shall begin with a summary of not more than one thousand (1,000) words setting forth succinctly a synopsis of the brief and a definite statement of the points relied upon.

(e) The Contest Committee shall make up a report of each contest filed, showing the grounds of contest, the statute and rule, if any, under which the contest is waged, and the contentions of each party thereto. The report shall conclude with a statement of the points of issue in the contest, both of fact and law, and shall be signed by the chairman. When the Contest Committee has prepared such report stating the issues of law and fact, a copy of the statement of such issues shall be forthwith submitted to a person in the convention city, whom the contestants must appoint, at the time of filing the contest, to receive such statement; and a copy shall forthwith be served by the chairman of the Contest Committee upon the contestants by registered mail.

(f) The contestants shall have eight (8) days to file written objections to the Contest Committee's statement of the issues of fact or law or both unless the Republican National Committee acting as a committee of the whole is called to act upon the contest sooner, in which case such objections shall be made before the meeting of the whole committee. In case the contestants reside in the states of Alaska or Hawaii, or in Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands or Guam, they shall be entitled to ten (10) days to file written objections.

The objections shall contain any additional statement of issue of either law or fact or both, claimed by the contestant submitting the same, to be involved in and necessary to be decided in the contest.

(g) The Contest Committee shall hear and decide the statement of law and fact at once and make its decision as to what issues are involved and submit these issues, either in law or fact, or both, to the national committee sitting as a committee of the whole, and such issues shall be the sole and only issues passed upon and determined by the committee of the whole, unless the national committee shall by a majority vote extend or change the same.

If the Contest Committee for any reason shall fail to state the issues either of law or fact, the national committee shall decide upon what issues the contest shall be tried, and the hearing shall be limited to such issues, unless the national committee by a majority vote shall decide otherwise.

(h) When the national committee is called to pass upon any contest that may arise, the members of the Credentials Committee of each state shall also be notified of the time and place of such meeting and shall have the right to attend all hearings of all contests but without the right to participate in the discussion or to vote.

(i) If an appeal is taken from any ruling of the national committee on any contest, notice of such appeal must be filed with the secretary of the national committee within twenty-four (24) hours after the decision and shall specify the grounds upon which the appeal is taken, and only the grounds so specified shall be heard by the Credentials Committee upon such appeal. No evidence other

THE HONORABLE JAMES T. LYNN of Ohio
General Counsel of the Republican National Committee

than that taken before the national committee shall be taken up by the Credentials Committee unless it shall by a majority vote of all of its members so direct.

(j) No contest involving a delegate or delegates may originate before the Credentials Committee of the Republican National Convention. All contests must first be presented to the Contest Committee of the Republican National Committee or to the Republican National Committee as a whole.

RULE NO. 36

Rules 1 through 18 shall be the Temporary Rules of the 1984 Republican National Convention and its Committees.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PERMANENT ORGANIZATION

The Chair recognizes Gerti B. Thomas from the State of California, the Chairman of the Committee on Permanent Organization, for the purpose of presenting a resolution.

MS. THOMAS. — Madam Chairman, Delegates, Alternates, ladies and gentlemen of the Convention: I have the distinct honor to present the report of the Committee on Permanent Organization.

Your committee was organized with Gerti Thomas of California presiding as chairman and Donna Sytek of New Hampshire as Secretary. Mr. Robert Woody of Washington, D.C., served as Counsel.

Mr. Walter Warren of Virginia served as Co-Counsel and Parliamentarian.

Mr. Robert Viser served as Staff Director.

Your Committee recommends the Permanent Chairman of this Convention to be Congressman John J. Rhodes of Arizona. We further recommend that the Temporary Secretary and other temporary officers whose names were read into the record of this Convention at the first session be made permanent officers of the Convention.

Madam Chairman, I move adoption of this report.

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — Without objection, the previous question is ordered and the question occurs on the resolution offered by the Delegate from California.

All those in favor of the resolution signify by saying aye. (Chorus of ayes.)

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — Those opposed, no. (No response.)

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — The ayes have it and the resolution is agreed to, and without objection the motion to reconsider is laid on the table.

COMMITTEE TO ESCORT PERMANENT CHAIRMAN TO PLATFORM

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — The Chair requests that Representative Eldon Rudd, Mr. Tom Pappas, Ms. Caroline Coronado, Representative Bill Frenzel, Representative Joseph McDade, Representative Dick Cheney, Representative Ed Madigan, Ms. Bo Jones, Representative Silvio Conte, Mr. Warren Steffey, and Mr. Edward Reed provide an escort for our Permanent Chairman, Representative John Rhodes, to the platform at the appropriate time.

OFFICIAL PHOTOGRAPH OF THE CONVENTION

TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — It is now time for the official photograph of the 1980 Republican National Convention. Would the Delegates and Alternates please stand and face the ABC News booth. Everybody rise for a picture.

(The Official Photograph was taken at 5:32 p.m.)

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — Would you please take your seats?

The chair recognizes the distinguished Republican Leader of the House of Representatives, the permanent chairman of this Convention, the Honorable John Rhodes of Arizona. (Applause.)

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — Before turning over the gavel to our most distinguished and able Permanent Chairman, who has deftly led many Republican conventions, I wish to express appreciation for the privilege of presiding over this historic convention and for the courtesies that have been extended to me by all of you.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Ladies and gentlemen, first I want to express my appreciation to Senator Kassebaum for doing such a wonderful job of starting this Convention off. And I also want to thank my good friends from Arizona and from the House of Representatives who have escorted me to the podium. First, my friend, Silvio Conte, the ranking Republican Member and the next Chairman of the Committee on Appropriations. The beautiful lady in the red dress is my chief clerk in the Phoenix office, Ms. Caroline Coronado of Phoenix, Arizona. Standing next to her is my good friend, my esteemed colleague from the 4th District of Arizona, the Honorable Eldon Rudd; and from my district, a resident of Tempe, Arizona, one of the hardest-working Republican gals in the whole country, Ms. Bo Jones. And a lady who has been in many convention spots and always performed with great skill, equanimity, one of the hardest-working and one of the most valuable members of the Republican Party, the distinguished Congresswoman from Massachusetts, Margaret Heckler.

TO FILL ANY VACANCY ON THE TICKET

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Now the Chair will recognize the great, distinguished Governor of the State of Minnesota, my former colleague, the Honorable Al Quie, for the purpose of offering a resolution.

GOVERNOR QUIE. — RESOLVED, the National Committee is hereby authorized and empowered to fill any and all vacancies which may occur on the ticket nominated by this Convention, and that in voting in said Committee, the Committee members representing any State, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands and Guam shall be entitled to cast the same number of votes as said State, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and Guam was entitled to cast in the 1980 Republican National Convention, or that the National Committee in its judgment may call a national convention for the purpose of filling such vacancies.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Without objection, the previous question is ordered.

The question occurs on the resolution offered by the Governor of Minnesota.

All those in favor of the resolution will signify by saying aye. (Chorus of ayes.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Those opposed, no. (No response.)

In the opinion of the Chair the ayes have it.

The ayes have it and it is so ordered.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Now the Chair recognizes the very distinguished Senator from the State of Texas, the Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, for the purpose of offering a resolution. Senator John Tower, the Senator from Texas.

SENATOR TOWER. — Thank you.

Mr. Chairman and my fellow delegates, it is with a great deal of pride that I present to the Convention the 1980 Platform for the Republican Party as reported by the Committee on Resolutions.

This Platform is the product of many months of work. For about six months we held regional hearings in some ten cities throughout the United States and listened to Americans from all walks of life. We believe that this Platform reflects the concerns and the aspirations of the American people.

I want to express my particular thanks to the hardworking men and women of the Platform Committee who in a spirit of good will and cooperation reached

for Party consensus and for the American consensus, and I believe succeeded in that effort.

The Platform is divided into six sections: Free Individuals in a Free Society; Strong Families; Secure and Prosperous Neighborhoods; Jobs and the Workplace, The Nation, and Peace and Freedom.

Various members of the Platform Committee will present the various sections of the Platform.

I might say to you that the platform itself is edited for presentation here this evening. Due to time constraints, we cannot present orally the entire platform to you. But it is printed and at your places in its entirety. So in our oral presentation, we will probably leave out some significant matters in which you have an interest.

I will begin the presentation of the platform by the reading of the Preamble:

The Republican Party convenes, presents this platform, and selects its nominees at a time of crisis. America is adrift. Our country moves agonizingly, aimlessly, almost helplessly into one of the most dangerous and disorderly periods in history.

At home, our economy careens, whiplashed from one extreme to another. Earlier this year, inflation skyrocketed to its highest levels in more than a century; weeks later, the economy plummeted, suffering its steepest slide on record. Prices escalate at more than 10 percent a year. More than eight million people seek employment. Manufacturing plants lie idle across the country. The hopes and aspirations of our people are being smothered.

Overseas, conditions already perilous, deteriorate. The Soviet Union for the first time is acquiring the means to obliterate or cripple our land-based missile system and blackmail us into submission. Marxist tyrannies spread more rapidly through the Third World and Latin America. Our alliances are frayed in Europe and elsewhere. Our energy supplies become even more dependent on uncertain foreign suppliers. In the ultimate humiliation, militant terrorists in Iran continue to toy with the lives of Americans.

These events are not isolated, or unrelated. They are signposts. They mark a continuing downward spiral in economic vitality and international influence. Should the trend continue, the 1980s promise to be our most dangerous years since World War II. History could record, if we let the drift go on, that the American experiment, so marvelously successful for 200 years, came strangely, needlessly, tragically to a dismal end early in our third century.

By far the most galling aspect of it all is that the chief architects of our decline — Democratic politicians — are without programs or ideas to reverse it. Divided, leaderless, unseeing, uncomprehending, they plod on with listless offerings of pale imitations of the same policies they have pursued so long, knowing full well their futility. The Carter Administration is the unhappy and

inevitable consequence of decades of increasingly outmoded Democratic domination of our national life. Over the past four years it has repeatedly demonstrated that it has no basic goals other than the perpetuation of its own rule and no guiding principle other than the fleeting insights provided by the latest opinion poll. Policies announced one day are disavowed or ignored the next, sowing confusion among Americans at home and havoc among our friends abroad.

Republicans, Democrats, and Independents have been watching and reading these signs. They have been watching incredulously as disaster after disaster unfolds. They now have had enough. They are rising up in 1980 to say that this confusion must end; this drift must end; we must pull ourselves together as a people before we slide irretrievably into the abyss. (Applause.)

It doesn't have to be this way; it doesn't have to stay this way. We, the Republican Party, hold ourselves forth as the Party best able to arrest and reverse the decline. We offer new ideas and candidates, from the top of our ticket to the bottom, who can bring to local and national leadership firm, steady hands and confidence and eagerness. We have unparalleled unity within our own ranks, especially between our presidential nominee and our Congressional membership. Most important, we go forth to the people with ideas and programs for the future that are as powerful and compelling as they as fresh. Together, we offer a new beginning for America.

Our foremost goal here at home is simple: economic growth and full employment without inflation. Sweeping change in economic policy in America is needed so that Mr. Carter's promise of hard times and austerity — his one promise well kept — can be replaced with Republican policies that promise economic growth and job creation. It is our belief that the stagflation of recent years not only has consigned millions of citizens to hardship but also has bottled up the enormous ingenuity and creative powers of our people. Those energies will not be released by the sterile policies of the past: We specifically reject the Carter doctrine that inflation can be reduced only by throwing people out of work. Prosperity will not be regained simply by government fiat. Rather, we must offer broad new incentives to labor and capital to stimulate a great outpouring of private goods and services and to create an abundance of jobs. From America's grassroots to the White House we will stand united as a party behind a bold program of tax rate reductions, spending restraints, and regulatory reforms that will inject new life into the economic bloodstream of this country.

Overseas, our goal is equally simple and direct: to preserve a world at peace by keeping America strong. This philosophy once occupied a hallowed place in American diplomacy, but it was casually, even cavalierly dismissed at the outset by the Carter Administration — and the results have been shattering. Never before in modern history has the United States endured as many humiliations, insults, and defeats as it has during the past four years: our ambassadors murdered, our embassies burned, our warnings ignored, our diplomacy

scorned, our diplomats kidnapped. The Carter Administration has shown that it neither understands totalitarianism nor appreciates the way tyrants take advantage of weakness. The brutal invasion of Afghanistan promises to be only the forerunner of much more serious threats to the West — and to world peace — should the Carter Administration somehow cling to power.

Republicans are united in a belief that America's international humiliation and decline can be reversed only by strong presidential leadership and a consistent, far-sighted foreign policy, supported by a major upgrading of our military forces, a strengthening of our commitments to our allies, and a resolve that our national interests be vigorously protected. Ultimately, those who practice strength and firmness truly guard the peace.

This platform addresses many concerns of our Party. We seek to restore the family, the neighborhood, the community, and the workplace as vital alternatives in our national life to ever-expanding federal power.

We affirm our deep commitment to the fulfillment of the hopes and aspirations of all Americans — blacks and whites, women and men, the young and old, rural and urban.

For too many years, the political debate in America has been conducted in terms set by the Democrats. They believe that every time new problems arise beyond the power of men and women as individuals to solve, it becomes the duty of government to solve them, as if there were never any alternative. Republicans disagree and have always taken the side of the individual, whose freedoms are threatened by the big government that Democratic idea has spawned. Our case for the individual is stronger than ever. A defense of the individual against government was never more needed. And we will continue to mount it.

But we will redefine and broaden the debate by transcending the narrow terms of government and the individual; those are not the only two realities in America. Our society consists of more than that; so should the political debate. We will reemphasize those vital communities like the family, the neighborhood, the workplace, and others which are found at the center of society, between government and the individual. We will restore and strengthen their ability to solve problems in the places where people spend their daily lives and can turn to each other for support and help.

We seek energy independence through economic policies that free up our energy production and encourage conservation. We seek improvements in health care, education, housing, and opportunities for youth. We seek new avenues for the needy to break out of the tragic cycle of dependency. All of these goals — and many others — we confidently expect to achieve through a rebirth of liberty and resurgence of private initiatives, for we believe that at the root of most of our troubles today is the misguided and discredited philosophy of an allpowerful government, ceaselessly striving to subsidize, manipulate, and control individuals. But it is the individual, not the government, who reigns at the center of our Republican philosophy.

To those Democrats who say Americans must be content to passively accept the gradual but inexorable decline of America, we answer: The American people have hardly begun to marshal their talents and resources or realize the accomplishments and dreams that only freedom can inspire.

To those Democrats who say we face an "age of limits," we ask: Who knows the limit to what Americans can do when their capacity for work, creativity, optimism, and faith is enhanced and supported by strong and responsive political leadership and ideals?

To those who, with Mr. Carter, say the American people suffer from a national "malaise," we respond: The only malaise in this country is found in the leadership of the Democratic Party, in the White House and in Congress. (Applause.)

Its symptoms are an incompetence to lead, a refusal to change, and a reluctance to act. This malaise has become epidemic in Washington. Its cure is government led by Republicans who share the values of the majority of Americans. (Applause.)

Republicans pledge a restoration of balance in American society. But society cannot be balanced by the actions of government or of individuals alone. Balance is found at society's vital center, where we find the family and the neighborhood and the workplace.

America will not, however, achieve any of these goals on its present course nor under its present leadership. The uncharted course of Mr. Carter will lead surely to catastrophe. By reversing our economic decline, by reversing our international decline, we can and will resurrect our dreams.

And so, in this 1980 Republican Platform, we call out to the American people: With God's help, let us now, together, make America great again; let us now, together, make a new beginning. (Applause.) (End of Preamble)

SENATOR TOWER. — To present the first section of our platform, Free Individuals in a Free Society, the distinguished Delegate from the State of New Jersey, Patricia Stewart.

STATEMENT OF PATRICIA STEWART, DELEGATE FROM THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY

MS. STEWART. — Republicans have always believed that government should foster individual liberty and freedom of choice for all Americans. We believe that the American people properly informed can and will make the right decision about their personal well-being and about the well-being of our society, that they can make those decisions free of the pervasive and heavy-handed intrusion of the Federal Government into the decision-making process.

Throughout our platform, we Republicans advocate reduced taxation to promote economic growth and put Americans back to work. But there is another reason to cut taxes, and that is fairness to the individual.

Republicans will reduce the tax burden on the working men of this country. The tax system of the Democratic Party taxes effort, it taxes savings, it taxes investment. It is a recipe for unemployment instead of productivity, for improvidence instead of independence, for welfare instead of savings.

The Republican tax system is totally different from the disastrous dogma of the Democrats. Republicans will cut personal income tax rates across the board by reducing the tax on added earnings. We will ensure that America's workers win greater rewards for greater efforts.

Our program will benefit the economy, that is true. But the greater justification is that it will leave in the pockets of the American workers a lot more of what they have worked to earn.

Republicans will reverse the direction of the Democratic welfare policies, away from waste and fraud and toward efficient management, away from dependency and toward independence and dignity, away from federalization and toward decentralization, to the states and the local communities across the land. (Applause.)

Republicans will keep full faith with America's veterans, including those who fought in the Vietnam War. Republicans recognize that the widespread distribution of private property ownership is the cornerstone of American liberty. The next Republican Administration will protect that cherished human right and work to help millions of Americans, particularly those from disadvantaged groups, to share in the ownership and wealth of their Nation.

Republicans will protect the right of privacy against invasion by the Internal Revenue Service, the Census Bureau, and the Social Security Administration and other agencies.

Republicans affirm our Party's historic commitment to equal rights and equal opportunity for women. We will enforce equal opportunities laws, enforce equal pay laws, assure equal credit opportunity for businesswomen, promote community level solutions to the child care problem for working mothers, eliminate the marriage tax on two-worker families, and reduce the estate tax burden on widows and minor children.

Republicans affirm once again that no American should be victimized by discrimination because of race, sex, advanced age, physical handicap, national origin, religion or economic circumstances. We oppose those in any form. But we will vigorously enforce the laws requiring fair and equal treatment for all. Free individuals in a free society, that is the creed and the guiding spirit of the party of Abraham Lincoln that struck down the chains that held black Americans in servitude, the party that abolished the hated slave block and created in its place a school, the Grand Old Party, that for over a century has stood steadfast for the freedom of all Americans to become whatever they had it within themselves to become. And proudly we Republicans now offer this platform to all Americans.

Thank you. (Applause.)

SENATOR TOWER. — The section on Strong Families will be presented by the distinguished Delegate from Louisiana, Marilyn Thayer.

STATEMENT OF MARILYN THAYER, DELEGATE FROM THE STATE OF LOUISIANA

MS. THAYER. — The family is the foundation of our society. It is the school of democracy. But the Democrats have shunted the family aside. They have given its power to the bureaucracy, its jurisdiction to the courts, and its resources to government agencies.

Government may be strong enough to destroy families, but it can never replace them. (Applause.)

Unlike the Democrats, we do not advocate new Federal bureaucracies with ominous power to regiment our family structure. Rather, we insist that all domestic policies from child care and schooling to Social Security and the tax code must be formulated with the family in mind. (Applause.)

The Republican Party is determined to restore common sense and quality to education for the sake of all students. We will strive to replace wasteful Federal aid programs with a system of block grants that will restore decision-making to local school officials, voters and parents. (Applause.)

America has a great stake in maintaining standards of high quality of public education. To that end, the Republican Party supports deregulation by the Federal Government of public education. (Applause.)

We support Republican initiatives in the Congress to restore the right of individuals to participate in voluntary, non-denominational prayers in schools and public facilities. (Applause.)

We must halt forced busing and get on with the education of our children. (Applause.)

Federal education policy must be based on the primacy of parental rights and responsibility to reaffirm our support for the system of educational assistance based on tax credits that will, in part, compensate parents for their financial sacrifices in paying tuition at the elementary, secondary and post-secondary level. (Applause.)

Our Republican White House will assist, not sabotage, Congressional efforts to enact tuition tax relief into law. Our country's unequalled system of medical care, bringing greater benefits to more people than anywhere else on earth, is a splendid example of how Americans have taken care of their own needs, using private institutions. (Applause.)

What ails American medicine is government meddling and the straitjacket of federal programs. (Applause.)

The prescription for good health care is deregulation and an emphasis upon consumer rights and patient choice. (Applause.)

We propose tax and financial incentives to enable people to choose their own health coverage, including protection from the catastrophic cost of major long-term illness without compulsory regimentation. (Applause.)

We endorse alternatives to institutional care. It is not only costly, but it also separates individuals from the supportive environment of family and friends. This is especially important for the elderly and those requiring long-term care. We advocate the reform of Medicare to encourage home-based care wherever feasible. We must maintain our commitment to the aged and the poor by providing quality care through Medicare and Medicaid.

The Republican Party recognizes that young people want the opportunity to exercise the rights and responsibilities of adults. Republicans are committed to the enactment of a youth differential in the minimum wage and other vitally needed incentives for the creation of jobs for our young. (Applause.)

We reaffirm our commitment to broaden the involvement of young people in all phases of the political process. We propose to assist families and individuals of all ages to meet the needs of the elderly, primarily through vigorous private initiatives. Only a comprehensive reduction in tax rates will enable families to save for retirement income and to protect that income from the ravages of inflation.

Federal programs for the elderly, such as Medicaid and supplemental security income, must address humanely and generously the special circumstances of those who choose to stay with families rather than enter a nursing home or other institution. (Applause.)

Social Security is one of the Nation's most vital commitments to our senior citizens. We commit the Republican Party to first save and then strengthen this fundamental contract between our government and its productive citizens. As a matter of basic fairness, we proudly reaffirm our opposition to mandatory retirement and our long-standing Republican commitment to end the Democrats' earning limitations upon Social Security benefits. (Applause.)

We will preserve our Social Security for its original purpose and insist that its financing be sound and stable. (Applause.)

To meet this country's commitment to Social Security recipients, present and future, we need more people at work earning more money, thereby paying more into the trust funds. We pledge to clean up the much-abused disability system. We will also expand eligibility for and increase contributions allowed to individual retirement accounts, to enable more Americans to plan for their retirement years. Republicans will seek every effective means to enable families more easily to assist their handicapped members and to provide for their education and special medical and therapeutic needs.

Targeted tax relief can make it possible for parents to keep a handicapped child at home without giving up essential professional assistance. It is increasingly common for both husbands and wives to work outside the home. Often

this occurs out of economic necessity and it creates major difficulties for families with children, especially those of pre-school age. We pledge to increase the availability of non-institutional child care.

We see a special role for local, private organizations in meeting this need. We reject the bias in the Federal tax system against working spouses whose combined incomes are taxed at a proportionately higher rate than if they were single. (Applause.)

We deplore this marriage tax and call for equity in tax treatment of families. We applaud our society's increasing awareness of the role of the homemakers in the economy, not apart from the work force, but as a very special part of it.

We endorse expanded homemakers' eligibility for individual retirement accounts, and we will explore other ways to advance their standing and security.

The future of America depends on the strength of her families.

Thank you. (Applause.)

SENATOR TOWER. — To present the section on Secure and Prosperous Neighborhoods, I present the distinguished Delegate from the District of Columbia, Stephen Danzansky.

STATEMENT OF STEPHEN I. DANZANSKY, DELEGATE FROM THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

MR. DANZANSKY. — Republicans will address the real problems that face Americans in their neighborhoods day by day — deterioration and urban blight, dangerous streets and violent crime that make millions of Americans, especially senior citizens, fearful in their own neighborhoods and prisoners in their own homes — and the real problems of today's economy, problems that destroy jobs and deny even the hope of home ownership to millions of American families. We are, moreover, committed to nurturing the spirit of self-help and cooperation through which so many neighborhoods have revitalized themselves and served their residents.

The American ethic of neighbor helping neighbor has been an essential factor in the building of our civilization on this continent. To help non-governmental community programs meet the needs of the poor, disabled and other disadvantaged, we will permit taxpayers to deduct charitable contributions from their Federal income tax, whether or not they itemize deductions.

In contrast, the Democrats' assault against voluntary programs highlights their insensitivity to the neighborhood spirit that motivates so many Americans.

Government must never elbow aside private institutions in meeting the social needs in our neighborhoods and communities.

Republican economic programs will create conditions for the rebirth of citizen activity in the neighborhoods and cities across the land. In a Republican economic climate, America's cities can once again produce, build and grow. (Applause.)

A Republican Administration will focus its efforts to revitalize neighborhoods in five areas:

First, we will cut taxes, increase incentives to save, restore sound money and stimulate capital investment to create jobs.

Second, we will create and apply new tax incentives for employees and employers to stimulate economic growth.

Third, we will encourage our cities to undertake neighborhood revitalization and preservation programs in cooperation with local government, residents, and financial institutions.

Fourth, we will replace categorical aid programs with bloc grant or revenue sharing programs and where possible transfer the programs along with the tax sources back to the state and local governments.

Fifth, we will remain fully committed to the fair enforcement of all civil rights statutes and the continuation of more minority business enterprise and similar programs. (Applause.)

These programs will revitalize our inner cities, create new jobs, and substantially reduce the Federal Government's role and allow the individual citizen to reclaim dignity and independence.

Our citizens must have a real opportunity to live in decent, affordable housing. Due to the disastrous policy of the Carter Administration and the Democratic Congress, the goal of home ownership and all that this aspiration entails are now in jeopardy. As many as 1.4 million people who depend upon home rebuilding for work are threatened with loss of their jobs in this recession. As tax revenues decline and expenditures increase to aid the unemployed, extreme pressures will build on state, local and Federal budgets. We support financing and tax incentives to encourage the construction of rental housing as an essential addition to our housing industry. To assist the record number of young families who wish to become homeowners, we propose to implement a young family's housing initiative to assist young families to meet monthly payment requirements.

We recommend the use of alternative mortgage instruments in order to restrain new housing cost regulations which are not official. Limited production and raised prices must be eliminated.

We favor expansion of the Republican-sponsored urban homesteading program as a means of restoring abandoned housing. New priority should be given to rehabilitation and preservation of existing housing in Federal housing policy.

To assure a stable and continuous flow of funds for home mortgage financing, we pledge to fund responsible use of mortgage revenue bonds; we will provide these funds. We will support legislation to lower tax rates on savings in order to increase funds available for housing.

Republicans will also end the mismanagement and waste that is characterized by the Department of Housing and Urban Development from the Carter Administration. (Applause.)

HUD programs now present local governments and developers with a maze of bureaucracy, complicated applications and inflexible requirements. The cost of these programs is so high that relatively few of the needy are ultimately housed or helped.

Safety and security are vital to the health and well-being of people in their neighborhoods and communities. Republicans are committed to ensuring that neighborhoods will be safe places in which families and individuals can live. We support a vigorous and effective effort on the part of law enforcement agencies. Just as vital to efforts to stem crime is the fair and speedy application of criminal penalties. We believe in the right of citizens to keep and bear arms and believe that that right must be preserved. (Applause.)

To deter abuse, we support mandatory sentences for the commission of armed felonies. (Applause.)

Republicans consider drug abuse an intolerable threat to our society, especially to the young, and we pledge a government that will take seriously its responsibility to curb illegal drug traffic and will cooperate with private and non-private drug abuse administration agencies in fighting drug abuse.

We commend the religious leaders, community activists, parents and local officials who are working with great dedication to protect young Americans from the drug plague.

In our neighborhoods we nurture the next generation and a new and better America. (Applause.)

SENATOR TOWER. — To present the section entitled Jobs and the Workplace, the Honorable Cliff McCorkle, the Delegate from Nevada.

STATEMENT OF CLIFF McCORKLE, DELEGATE FROM THE STATE OF NEVADA

MR. MCCORKLE. — Jimmy Carter has made many promises to Americans, but there is one that he has kept with a vengeance, the promise of hard times and austerity. The Democrats say that Americans must tighten their belts, pay higher taxes, take home ever less of their paychecks and learn to live in a stagnant or sinking economy. All, I say, baloney! Republicans reject this counsel of defeat and despair.

We make America a very different promise. We promise investment, employment, and sound money. We promise the return of prosperity for millions of Americans who have had enough of idle factories, unemployment lines and financial hardship. We promise sound and sustained economic growth; the kind of economic growth that will make possible a balanced budget, unquestioned military capability, adequate funding of necessary social services, and enough left over to reduce payroll taxes and income taxes on America's workers and retirees instead of increasing them.

Republicans will reduce tax rates on individuals and businesses to increase incentives to encourage new investment savings, output, productivity and jobs for all Americans.

Republicans will provide special incentives for savings and revitalize our productive capabilities. Through accelerated tax deduction for job-producing investment and industry, we will limit government spending to a fixed and smaller percentage of gross national product and we will balance the Federal budget at these levels of taxation and spending.

Republicans will provide a safety net for workers who have lost their livelihood in the deliberate — and I want to emphasize deliberate — Carter economic recession. We will make sure they get their earned unemployment benefits and adjustment assistance. And, very importantly, we will aggressively negotiate foreign trade agreements that do not jeopardize American jobs.

The Democrats have spent nearly $100 billion on public sector job programs that offer people little hope for productive, long-term employment. Republicans know that four out of five jobs are in the private sector. The success of Federal employment efforts must depend on private sector participation.

Republicans will help with free employment and educational instruction, job placement and retention services. We will emphasize constructive public–private partnerships to train and employ those lacking in sufficient skills. Small business is the backbone of the American economy; Republicans will work actively to strengthen it. We will cut individual and business taxes. We will roll back needless regulatory burdens which crush the small businessman and woman. We will increase the surtax exemption and abolish the excessive inheritance taxes which threaten the small business and family farm. (Applause.)

And we will reform the patent laws and allocate a greater share of federal research and development contracts to small business firms.

We will reform the tax laws to help small businesses get the capital they need to expand without subjecting them to conglomerate control.

Furthermore — and this is a point worth emphasizing — Republicans deplore the action of a Democratic Administration that has tried to put a ceiling of 8½ percent on the annual increase in worker's wages while at the same time permitting a run-away inflation that devalues their paychecks at a rate as high as 18 percent.

We know that the best assurance of productive labor management bargaining is a strong, growing economy, while workers can bargain for their fair share of real economic gains.

A Republican labor policy will be based on the creation of new earnings for all, not a bitter haggling over shares of a shrinking pie.

Government regulation is necessary to protect the health and safety of workers and consumers. But under the Democratic Administration, government regulation has gone far beyond its legitimate role and all of us as consumers have paid the price.

Republicans reject the idea of a new consumer bureaucracy in Washington, instead, we will roll back unnecessary regulation to encourage better bargains for all consumers in the marketplace.

Republicans promise comprehensive reform and modernization of the Federal Government. We will declare a moratorium on all new Federal regulations that diminish the supply of goods and services and add significantly to inflation.

We will reduce the regulatory and paperwork burdens on small businesses.

You heard that, small businessmen. (Applause.)

We will encourage joint management committees to make the workplace a better, safer and more productive place. We will concentrate OSHA's resources on encouraging voluntary compliance by employers, monitoring situations where serious hazards are likely to occur.

The Democrats have produced a crisis in American agriculture. Republicans will meet the crisis head on and put American agriculture back on its feet. We will increase net farm income, aggressively expand markets at home and abroad, stimulate farm production of renewable energy resources, and make sure the resource of our public and private forces will remain available to meet America's needs.

We reject the futile Carter grain embargo which unfairly burdens American farmers. We deplore the excessive Federal regulation of agriculture that has drained profitability from farming, ranching and commercial fishing. We will strengthen incentive-oriented locally-controlled soil and water conservation programs. We will bring forth a fair and effective national water resource plan and a comprehensive farm labor program that is fair.

We will improve rural transportation and make the Department of Agriculture an effective, up-to-date friend to farmers, ranchers and rural America.

We will modernize our food safety laws and protect the effectiveness of rural cooperatives.

In short, we Republicans will again prove to America that we, and not the Democrats, are the party of prosperity and progress. (Applause.)

SENATOR TOWER. — To present the section on The Nation, the Delegate from Michigan, Congressman Dave Stockman.

STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE DAVE STOCKMAN, MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF MICHIGAN

MR. STOCKMAN. — The intent of the founders of our Republic and each succeeding generation of Americans was that the central government should perform those functions which are essential to preserve order and to do for the people only those things which they cannot do for themselves. Government must be ever the servant of the people but it must never become their master. (Applause.)

Big government's power to make and to tax, to regulate and to require has reached menacing proportions in our society today.

Republicans pledge that we will halt the needless growth of government and we will return the decision-making powers to the smaller communities of our society. (Applause.)

The Republican Party reaffirms a belief in the decentralization of government and in the people and in their strengths and their capacity to govern themselves. We will offer block grants and we will offer revenue sharing to local governments in order to give them the means and the flexibility to decide their own solutions in ways which are appropriate to each locale across our country. We will continue our efforts to return power to the state and local governments. We pledge to extend that process so that power can also be transferred to private, non-governmental entities and institutions of our society.

As Republicans, we favor the establishment immediately of a national commission of distinguished citizens to recommend ways of reorganizing and reducing the size and the scope of the Executive Branch.

We will recommend that Federal departments and agencies and bureaus should be consolidated, that bureaucratic red tape and government paperwork should be eliminated and that agencies should be made to justify every official form and every official filing requirement wherever possible. And whenever possible, we as Republicans favor deregulation of our private economy. (Applause.)

The Republican Party supports the use of the Congressional veto, of sunset laws, of strict budgetary control as means of eliminating unnecessary government spending, bureaucracy and regulations. Agencies should be required to review existing regulations and to eliminate those that are outmoded, duplicative and contradictory.

We support legislation to require the Federal Government to provide restitution to those who are wrongfully injured by agency actions of the Federal Government. We oppose — and I emphasize this strongly — we oppose the use

of taxpayers' money in order to pay the expenses of intervenors in the rule-making process of the Federal agencies. (Applause.)

We propose to repeal Federal restrictions and to rewrite those Federal standards which hinder minorities from finding employment, from starting their own businesses and from gaining valuable work experience or enjoying the fruit of their own labors.

The role of government in transportation should be redefined so that the forces of the free market are brought into play. There must be more freedom of entry into the industry to promote competition, thereby reducing cost to the consumer. At the same time, vigorous antitrust law enforcement is necessary in order to prevent predatory pricing and other unfair practices against captive consumers.

Every American is painfully aware that our national energy situation has deteriorated badly over these past four years of Democratic control. Never before in the history of American government has so much been done at such great expense with such utterly dismal results. (Applause.)

Republicans believe that the long-term solution to our national energy problem should be based on the proven American values of free enterprise so that we can solve our energy problems in the marketplace where the solution has lain all along.

In order to increase domestic energy production we Republicans advocate the following major steps: The decontrol of the price at wellhead of oil and natural gas; amendment and revision of the so-called windfall profits tax which is really unrelated to profit, to include a throw-back provision to ensure an increase in drilling and production in this country.

We advocate the decontrol of prices on all oil products and an end to government's authority to allocate petroleum supplies except during periods of national emergency.

We urge that market restrictions on the use of natural gas be eliminated and that coal, our most abundant resource in this country, be utilized as never before through upgrading our systems of transportation and through removing those regulatory impediments that stand in the way of using the resources that we have here in this country to supply our energy needs. (Applause.)

As Republicans, we advocate in the platform we offer this year accelerated use of nuclear energy to technologies that have been proven efficient and safe in more than 20 years of operation.

We urge that the nuclear licensing process be streamlined and Republicans will continue to support the development of new technologies to develop liquid and solid hydrocarbons which can be derived from coal, oil shale, fire sands and other domestic resources.

We also believe the government must continue to support productive research in order to provide the next generation with energy resources and hasten

the development of renewable energy technology including solar energy, wind, nuclear fusion, alcohol synthesis and biomass.

Conservation clearly plays a vital role in national energy policy. Republicans, however, reject the Democrats' approach which is to conserve through government fiat, regulation, direction and taxation. We will oppose punitive taxes on gasoline and other energy products that are only designed to artificially suppress energy consumption.

Republicans believe that an effective balance can be achieved between our national energy requirements and our national energy goals. We can ensure that government requirements are firmly grounded in the best scientific evidence available and are enforced evenhandedly and predictably.

The Republicans condemn the Democrats' massive withdrawal of great amounts of the most promising Federal lands from prospective energy development, including the rich potential of our Outer Continental Shelf.

It is clear that restrictive government policies on the leasing of our Federal lands and on making our Outer Continental Shelf lands available has clearly increased our dependence on foreign energy supplies. A vigorous domestic energy industry can only be achieved, in our view, in a climate that encourages risk-taking, that encourages initiative and that rewards the inherent resourcefulness of the American people.

The Republican Party pledges to reduce the rate of growth in Federal spending and to set an overall limit on the share of our gross national product that will be going into Federal spending. As Federal spending is reduced, and as tax cuts are phased in, the resulting surpluses will be sufficient to fund the tax cuts that we advocate and allow for reasonable expansion of necessary areas of Federal spending. Tax cuts will stimulate economic growth and they will reduce the need for Federal spending for unemployment and for welfare and for programs and job creation.

The Republican Party will also halt excessive government spending by eliminating waste, fraud and duplication. We believe that inflation is the single greatest domestic threat facing the nation today. It is crippling our economy at home and our competitive vitality abroad. It is destroying jobs and it is endangering families throughout our land today.

In his 3½ years in office, Mr. Carter's policies have increased the rate of inflatio from 4.8 percent in 1976 to a peak of 18 percent in 1980. His policies have fostered a 50 percent increase in Federal spending and his policies have resulted in an increase in the average family's tax burden of 70 percent during these last four years.

Monetary policy, fiscal policy must each play a role, must each play its part if we are to achieve our twin goals of full employment and price stability. If tax rates are lowered, if Federal spending is reduced, a balanced budget will enable us to retain and to maintain real economic growth and full employment in this country.

We will, simultaneously, put an end to inflation by putting monetary policy back on the solid course. (Applause.)

A strong, free economy, abundance of jobs and hope for all is the foundation of our Nation. We shall rebuild it together. Thank you. (Applause.)

SENATOR TOWER. — To present the subsection on National Security of the Section on Peace and Freedom, the Delegate from Pennsylvania, the Honorable Faith Whittlesey.

STATEMENT OF FAITH R. WHITTLESEY, DELEGATE FROM THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA

MS. WHITTLESEY. — My fellow Americans, as we begin the 1980s, the United States faces the most serious challenge to its survival in history. We are in greater danger than we were the day after Pearl Harbor. Our economic and social welfare in the 1980s may depend as much on our foreign and defense policy as it does on domestic policy.

The Republican Party reasserts that it is the purpose of our foreign policy to secure the people and free institutions of our Nation against every peril and to harden and fortify the love of freedom everywhere in the world.

The Carter Administration lacks a coherent, strategic concept to guide foreign policy, is oblivious to the scope and magnitude of the threat posed to our security, and without competence to provide leadership and direction to the free world.

The Administration's conduct of foreign policy has weakened our friends abroad and led our most dangerous adversaries to miscalculate the determination of the American people to resist aggression.

Republicans support a policy of peace through strength. (Applause.)

Despite clear danger signals indicating that the Soviet Union's nuclear power would overtake that of the United States by the early 1980's, threatening our Nation's survival and making possible, for the first time in post-war history, political coercion and defeat, the Carter Administration reduced the size and capability of our nuclear forces. Despite the increasing military threat to the nations of Western Europe, American defense programs, which could have offset that threat, were canceled or delayed to the dismay of allies who depend upon American military power for their security.

In his first three years in the White House, Mr. Carter reduced defense spending by over $38 billion from President Ford's last five-year defense plan. He has cut back, canceled or delayed every strategic initiative proposed by President Ford. He canceled production of the Minuteman missile and the B-1 bomber, he delayed all cruise missiles, the MX missile, the TRIDENT submarine and the TRIDENT-II missile. He did this while the Soviet Union deployed the Backfire bomber and designed an additional bomber equal in

capability to the B-1 and while the Soviets are deploying four new large intercontinental ballistic missiles and are developing four others.

Mr. Carter opposed efforts to correct the grossly inadequate pay rates for our military personnel and stood by as the alarming exodus of trained and skilled personnel from the services quickened. (Applause.)

Republicans pledge an immediate increase in defense spending to be applied judiciously to critically needed programs. We will build toward a sustained defense expenditure sufficient to close the gap with the Soviets and to ultimately reach the position of military support which the American people demand. (Applause.)

We must pursue a comprehensive military strategy which guides both the design and deployment of our forces. As the disparity between American and Soviet strategic nuclear forces grows over the next three years, most of our deterrent force will become vulnerable to a Soviet first strike. Such a situation indicates diplomatic blackmail and coercion of the United States by the Soviet Union during the coming decade.

We reject the mutual assured destruction strategy of the Carter Administration and propose instead a credible strategy which will deter a Soviet attack by the clear capability of our forces to survive and ultimately to destroy Soviet military targets.

We pledge to deploy at the earliest possible date the MX missile in a basing mode that would survive attack; accelerate development and deployment of a new manned strategic penetrating bomber and accelerate development and deployment of strategic cruise missiles. (Applause.)

Emboldened by the Carter Administration's failure to challenge their use of surrogate Cuban forces in other places, the Soviets, for the first time in post-war history, used their own army units outside the Soviet Bloc in a brutal invasion of Afghanistan, providing chilling evidence of the Soviet threat. It is not feasible at this time to deploy massive United States ground forces to such areas as the Persian Gulf on a permanent basis, as we now do in Europe and elsewhere. A more efficient strategy would be to maintain an effective quick response force in the area combined with the clear capability to reinforce this presence rapidly with the forces necessary to prevail in battle.

The budget cuts imposed by Mr. Carter on the Army have resulted in slow-downs, deferrals and cost increases in vitally-needed Army procurement programs. These critical and long-delayed modernizations must be restored to economical production rates and speeded into the field. We must bring our stocks of ammunition, spare parts and supplies to a standard which will enable us to sustain our forces in conflict. We will restore tactical aircraft development and procurement to speed the achievement of 26 modernized wings of aircraft able to conduct missions at night in all weather conditions and against the most sophisticated adversaries. (Applause.)

We will increase our intra- and inter-theater airlift capability and increase our aerial tanker fleet through procurement and speedy modernization.

Of all the services, the U.S. Navy and the U.S. Marines have suffered most from Mr. Carter's cuts. The current Chief of Naval Operations has testified that, "We are trying to meet a three ocean requirement with a one-and-a-half ocean Navy."

Mr. Carter slashed President Ford's 157-ship, five-year naval shipbuilding program to 83. Republicans pledge to reverse Mr. Carter's dismantling of the U.S. Naval and Marine forces. (Applause.)

We will restore our fleet to 600 ships at a rate equal to, or exceeding that, planned by President Ford. (Applause.)

We will restore naval and Marine aircraft procurement to economical rates enabling rapid modernization of the current forces, and expansion to meet the requirements of additional aircraft carriers.

The Republican Administration will establish a permanent fleet in the Indian Ocean. (Applause.)

Under Mr. Carter, the All-Volunteer force has not been given a fair chance to succeed. The gross mismanagement and neglect of personnel policy by the Carter Administration have made a shambles of the All-Volunteer force concept. (Applause.)

This Administration's active assault on military benefits has imposed enormous hardship on our career military people with resulting loss of 70,000 senior enlisted personnel. Republicans pledge to launch a comprehensive top priority program to correct this national disgrace. (Applause.)

The armed forces of the U.S. are today critically dependent upon our Nation's Reserve components for both combat arms and combat support. Today, however, the Reserves are ill-equipped and underpaid and undermanned by several hundred thousand personnel. Proper equipment, realistic and challenging training and greater full-time support must be made available as quickly as possible. (Applause.)

Readiness for war is the surest means of preventing it. (Applause.)

Lack of preparedness is the most dangerously provocative course we can take. Yet each year, for the past four years, funding requests for sufficient fuel, spare parts, ammunition and supplies for U.S. war reserves have been cut below the minimum quantities the armed services requested. This has left the U.S. Armed Forces at their lowest state of preparedness since the Korean War, seriously compromising their ability to fight and win a military conflict.

Republicans will upgrade the combat readiness of the United States Armed Forces and make the preparedness of the industrial base a top priority. (Applause.)

In the past, the United States' lead in qualitative and technological superiority provided a foundation for our military superiority. Yet we are now

on the verge of losing this advantage to the Soviet Union because of Mr. Carter's opposition to real increases in the research and development effort. Delays imposed cause years to elapse between the time when a new weapons system is proposed and when it becomes available to our forces.

Republicans pledge to revitalize America's military research and development efforts. We will seek increased funding to guarantee American superiority in this critical area and to enable us to deal with possible technological breakthroughs.

Republicans pledge specifically to support a vigorous space research program.

At this time of increasing danger, the United States intelligence community has lost much of its ability to supply the President's senior U.S. officials and the Congress with accurate and timely analysis concerning fundamental threats to our Nation's security.

Republicans will undertake an urgent effort to rebuild the intelligence agencies. (Applause.)

And to give full support to their knowledgeable and dedicated staffs, we will support legislation to invoke criminal sanctions against anyone who discloses the identities of U.S. intelligence officers abroad or who makes unauthorized disclosures of U.S. intelligence sources and methods. (Applause.)

We will seek the repeal of ill-considered restrictions sponsored by the opposition Democrats which have debilitated U.S. intelligence capabilities while easing the intelligence collection and subversion efforts of our adversaries. (Applause.)

The U.S. should take the lead in combating international terrorism. (Applause.)

The U.S. should force an international consensus that firmness and refusal to make concessions are ultimately the only effective deterrents to terrorism. (Applause.)

We must establish a military capability to deal promptly and effectively with any terrorist acts.

We cannot afford, as in the abortive Iranian rescue mission, to allow months to elapse while we prepare responses. (Applause.)

The Republican approach to arms control is based upon three fundamental principles:

First, while arms control negotiations are undertaken, the security of the United States must be assured by the funding and deployment of strong military forces sufficient to deter conflict at any level.

Second, negotiations must be conducted on the basis of strict reciprocity of benefits.

Third. arms control negotiations cannot be divorced from the broader political and military behavior of those with whom we are negotiating.

The Republican Party deplores the attempts of the Carter Administration to cover up Soviet non-compliance with arms control agreements, including the now overwhelming evidence of blatant Soviet violation of the Biological Warfare Convention by secret production of biological agents at Sverdlovsk.

The Republican Party will rebuild the Nation's strength. We will pursue a steady and consistent course and thereby assure world peace.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

SENATOR TOWER. — To present our final subsection on Foreign Policy, I would like to present one of the most able and dedicated men in the Congress of the United States, a man without whose leadership we could not have successfully completed our work on this platform, the distinguished Vice Chairman of the Platform Committee, the Honorable Trent Lott of Mississippi.

STATEMENT OF HONORABLE TRENT LOTT MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM MISSISSIPPI AND VICE CHAIRMAN OF THE PLATFORM COMMITTEE

MR. LOTT. — Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The greatest challenge facing the United States and its allies is to check the Soviet Union's global ambitions.

Republicans believe that the United States can negotiate with the Soviet Union only from a position of strength. We must not base our policies towards the Soviet Union on naive expectations, unilateral concessions, empty rhetoric and expedient maneuvers.

A Republican Administration will continue to seek to negotiate arms reductions in Soviet strategic weapons and in other areas where reductions or limitations may be feasible, but we will accept no agreements that do not fundamentally enhance our security.

Republicans pledge to stop the flow of technology to the Soviet Union that could contribute directly or indirectly to the growth of their military power.

A Republican Administration will press the Soviet Union to end its harassment and imprisonment of those who speak in opposition to official policy, who seek to worship according to their religious beliefs or who represent diverse ethnic minorities.

Republicans pledge our continued support of the people of the captive nations of Central and Eastern Europe in their role to achieve self-determination.

We support self-determination for nations of Africa and Latin America, threatened by the growing domination of Soviet power.

As a cornerstone of the Western Alliance for three decades, NATO has stood on the firm foundations of American strategic strength, joint Allied efforts, and cooperative diplomacy based on shared interests and close consultations.

Republicans deplore the current drift toward neutralism in Western Europe. We recognize that NATO and our Western Allies today face the greatest array of threats in their history from within and without. Through its inept policies, the Carter Administration has contributed to the evident erosion of Alliance security and confidence in the U.S.

A Republican Administration, in close consort with our NATO partners, will ensure that the U.S. leads a partnership toward a strong, confident alliance, fully prepared to meet the threats and the challenges of the 1980's.

In the past three-and-a-half years, during this Administration, the nations of the Middle East and the Persian Gulf have suffered unprecedented political, economic and military turmoil. Today these countries of the Middle East and the Persian Gulf are encircled as never before by the Soviet presence. The Soviets' goal is clear, to use subversion and the threat of military intervention to gain different political and economic leverages over Western and Third World Nations that are vulnerable to economic coercion.

The sovereignty, security, and integrity of the State of Israel is a moral imperative and serves the strategic interests of the United States. We reaffirm our fundamental and enduring commitment to this principle. A Republican Administration will encourage the peace process now in progress between Egypt and Israel and will seek to broaden it. And while we are emphasizing our commitment to Israel, a Republican Administration will pursue close ties and friendship with moderate Arab nations.

Republicans believe that Jerusalem should remain an undivided city with continued free and unimpeded access to all holy places by all religions.

With respect to ultimate peace settlement, Republicans reject any call for the involvement of the PLO; it is not in keeping with the long-term interest of Israel or the Palestinian Arabs. (Applause.)

The Carter Administration policies have encouraged a precipitous decline in U.S. relations with virtually every country in Latin America, the Caribbean and Central America.

The Carter Administration stands by while Castro, under Soviet sponsorship, foments warfare and revolution throughout the Western Hemisphere. This must end.

The Republicans pledge a strong new U.S. policy in the Americas. The Administration that the Republicans will put in the White House will seek a North American accord designed to foster close cooperation and mutual benefit between the United States, Canada and Mexico.

A new Republican Administration will restore a strong American role in Asia and the Pacific.

We will make it clear that any military action which threatens the independence of America's allies and friends will bring a response sufficient to make its cost prohibitive to any potential adversaries.

Japan will continue to be a pillar of American policy in Asia. The Republican Administration will work closely with the Japanese government to resolve outstanding trade and energy problems on an equitable basis.

Republicans recognize the unique danger presented to our ally, and friend, South Korea. We will maintain American ground and air forces in South Korea and will not reduce our presence any further.

We believe no expanded relations with Communist Vietnam should be pursued while it continues its course of brutal expansionism and genocide. We pledge, the Republican Administration will press for full accounting of Americans still listed as missing in action.

We believe that growing contacts between the United States and the People's Republic of China reflect the interest of both nations. Recognizing the importance of the People's Republic of China in world affairs, we will continue the process of building a working relationship with that country. The relationship between the two countries must be based on mutual respect and reciprocity with regard for the need to maintain peace and stability in Asia.

However, at the same time, we deplore the Carter Administration's treatment of Taiwan, our ally and friend. (Applause.)

We declare that the Republican Administration will strengthen the relations with Taiwan and will give priority consideration to its defense requirements. (Applause.)

The Republican Party supports the principle and process of self-determination in Africa and pledges its strong opposition to efforts by the Soviet Union and its militant allies to subvert this process. We believe that the African nations, if given a choice, will reject the Marxist, totalitarian model being forcibly imposed by the Soviet Union and its surrogates. The Republican Administration will seek to strengthen and assist regional security arrangements among nations to prepare to assume the burden of their own defense.

The principal consideration behind American foreign assistance or foreign aid, if you will, should be whether it will advance America's interests and objectives.

The Republican Party believes the United States must adopt an aggressive export policy. We have to put the U. S. back on the world's export map. The Republicans will put it there, and will promote world trade and ensure the long-term health of the U. S. economy.

We will emphasize the policy of free trade, but we will expect our trading partners to do so as well.

Republicans are committed to protect American jobs and American workers first and foremost by changing the economic policies of the Carter Administration.

We pledge to work to open the domestic markets of our trading partners to American industry and agriculture.

Let us begin together to rebuild our Nation's prosperity and strength and thereby secure for ourselves and our posterity the blessings of true peace.

The five words on the cover of our platform are "Family," "Neighborhood," "Work," "Peace," and "Freedom." These are more than just symbols. The individuals who labored on this platform last week and throughout the past year know that these words have vibrant meaning, they represent a theme, a strong new hope, a new beginning. Work means jobs for wage earners, work means employers, it means entrepreneurs starting new businesses and creating new jobs for thousands.

To Republicans work means real growth without inflation. We pledge to revitalize our productive capabilities.

The family is the heart of our society. It is from the family that the earliest, most important lessons are learned; lessons of cooperation, responsibility, mutual concern, industry and religious training.

Our platform calls for immediate measures to curb the government actions that threaten the American family. (Applause.)

Neighborhood includes our friends, our friends' towns and cities, like Detroit. It is the level of government closest to the people and thus most directly responsive to the people's needs. Our platform emphasizes the strength of local government and calls for bloc grant programs which allow the greatest local flexibility.

Peace is built from strength and based on a firm purposeful foreign policy. Weakness, as has already been said, invites aggression. Our platform commits the United States to a foreign policy which provides for the needs and security of the United States and our allies.

We pledge to rebuild our military strength so the U. S. will be respected in the world and could live in a world at peace.

We are proud of our platform. We urge the American people to read it because the summary just presented is only a brief synopsis of the proposals we have here.

Our platform reflects the priorities that we as Republicans hold dearest. It is the blueprint for the re-creation of the American dream. In this, the 1980 Republican Platform, we call out to the American people. With God's help, let us now together make America great again. Let us now together make a new beginning. (Applause.)

And now, Mr. Chairman, I would like to introduce the subcommittee chairmen and co-chairmen who helped direct our platform deliberations: serv-

ing with me as Vice Chairman of the Resolutions Committee, Governor Otis R. Bowen from the State of Indiana.

The subcommittee chairman and co-chairman from the Agriculture Subcommittee, Senator Bob Dole of Kansas and State Representative Alice Olson of North Dakota.

The Energy Subcommittee was chaired by Congressman Dave Stockman of Michigan and State Senator Mary George of Hawaii.

The Fiscal and Monetary Policy was worked on and led by Senator Bill Roth of Delaware and Congresswoman Marjorie Holt of Maryland.

Foreign Policy and Defense, Congressman Jack Kemp of New York and County Commissioner Faith Whittlesey of Pennsylvania.

Regulation and Free Enterprise was chaired by County Supervisor Judy Gignac of Arizona and Congressman Mickey Edwards of Oklahoma.

Housing and Urban Affairs, Congresswoman Margaret Heckler of Massachusetts and Congressman John Rousselot of California.

And the Human Resources Subcommittee was chaired by Congressman Bob Michel of Illinois and Angel Bradley of Florida.

The Secretary for the Platform Committee is Betty Rendel of Indiana; the Executive Director of the Committee on Resolutions is Roger Semerad.

The Editor of our platform is Mike Baroody.

Mr. Chairman, this concludes our presentation.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

SENATOR TOWER. — Mr. Chairman, I offer the following resolution and ask for its immediate consideration:

> RESOLVED, That the official report of the Committee on Resolutions as printed be adopted by this Convention.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Without objection, the previous question is ordered.

The question now occurs on the resolution offered by the distinguished Senator from Texas. All those in favor of the resolution will signify by saying aye. (Chorus of ayes.)

Those opposed, no. (Chorus of noes.)

In the opinion of the Chair, the ayes have it.

The ayes have it and it is so ordered.

MR. LEOPOLD. — Mr. Chairman?

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — For what purpose does the Delegate from Hawaii seek recognition?

MR. LEOPOLD. — With the unanimous support of my Delegation, I move that —

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Would the microphone of the Hawaiian Delegation please be turned on?

MR. LEOPOLD. — Mr. Chairman?

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — For what purpose does the Delegate seek recognition?

MR. LEOPOLD. — Mr. Chairman —

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Will the Delegate please state his purpose for requesting recognition?

MR. LEOPOLD. — Mr. Chairman, with the unanimous support of the Hawaii delegation, I move to suspend the rules to discuss the platform. (Chorus of noes.)

And I ask that my colleagues from five requisite States poll their delegations and move with the majority to second my motion. (Applause & boos.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The Chair will advise the Delegate from Hawaii that every motion must be in writing and at the desk so that the clerk may report the resolution. Has the Delegate reduced his motion to writing and has it been sent to the desk?

MR. LEOPOLD. — Mr. Chairman, I have delivered my motion in writing to the desk.

It is in the possession of the Chair.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The Chair has been previously advised that such a motion might arise, and the Chair has examined the rules and precedents on what is admittedly an unusual procedure. And the Chair is prepared to state how the motion to suspend the rules and amend the report of the Committee on Resolutions must be handled. Rule 9 of the Convention provides that a motion to suspend the rules is in order if made by a Delegate who acts for a majority of his or her delegation. Such a motion must then be seconded by a majority of the Delegates from not less than five other States severally.

I now ask the chairman of the delegation of Hawaii if a majority of that delegation supports a motion to suspend the rules on the platform.

MR. TAVARES. — Hannibal Tavares, Mr. Chairman, Chairman of the Hawaii delegation. I certify that there is more than a majority to support the motion made by John Leopold. (Applause and boos.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The Chair now inquires of the other States if the majority of the Delegates from any State is prepared to support the resolution offered by the delegation from Hawaii. If so, would the standard of such state be moved in such a way that the Chair can identify that state?

The Chair sees no delegation chairman. The Chair notes that the delegation from Massachusetts desires recognition.

For what purpose does the Delegate from Massachusetts ask to be recognized?

MR. CONTE. — Twenty-one members of the Massachusetts delegation have signed a petition requesting a roll call and second the motion of the gentleman from Hawaii. (Applause and boos.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — I would like to inform the Chairman of the delegation from Massachusetts that the request of the delegation from Hawaii was to suspend the rules and no request has been made for a roll call vote. In the opinion of the Chair, if such a request were made, it would probably have come too late.

Does the Chairman of the delegation from Massachusetts wish to state that a majority of his delegation favors the resolution to suspend of the delegation of Hawaii?

MR. CONTE. — Mr. Chairman, in all fairness, I can only report what the delegation voted, and the vote was members of the Massachusetts Republican delegation vote to request the Chair for a roll call vote on the Republican platform.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The Chairman of the delegation from Massachusetts reports that a majority of that delegation has not voted to support the resolution of the delegation of Hawaii.

Are there other States seeking recognition for the purpose of supporting the resolution of the delegation from Hawaii?

The Chair sees no indication that any delegation is seeking recognition and therefore declares that the resolution which would have been offered by the delegation from the State of Hawaii fails.

Without objection, a motion to reconsider the action of the Convention in adopting the platform is laid on the table.

THE COMPLETE PLATFORM AS ADOPTED BY THE 1980 REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

PREAMBLE

The Republican Party convenes, presents this platform, and selects its nominees at a time of crisis. America is adrift. Our country moves agonizingly, aimlessly, almost helplessly into one of the most dangerous and disorderly periods in history.

At home, our economy careens, whiplashed from one extreme to another. Earlier this year, inflation skyrocketed to its highest levels in more than a century; weeks later, the economy plummeted, suffering its steepest slide on

record. Prices escalate at more than 10 percent a year. More than eight million people seek employment. Manufacturing plants lie idle across the country. The hopes and aspirations of our people are being smothered.

Overseas, conditions already perilous, deteriorate. The Soviet Union for the first time is acquiring the means to obliterate or cripple our land-based missile system and blackmail us into submission. Marxist tyrannies spread more rapidly through the Third World and Latin America. Our alliances are frayed in Europe and elsewhere. Our energy supplies become even more dependent on uncertain foreign suppliers. In the ultimate humiliation, militant terrorists in Iran continue to toy with the lives of Americans.

These events are not isolated, or unrelated. They are signposts. They mark a continuing downward spiral in economic vitality and international influence. Should the trend continue, the 1980's promise to be our most dangerous years since World War II. History could record, if we let the drift go on, that the American experiment, so marvelously successful for 200 years, came strangely, needlessly, tragically to a dismal end early in our third century.

By far the most galling aspect of it all is that the chief architects of our decline — Democratic politicians — are without program or ideas to reverse it. Divided, leaderless, unseeing, uncomprehending, they plod on with listless offerings of pale imitations of the same policies they have pursued so long, knowing full well their futility. The Carter Administration is the unhappy and unevitable consequence of decades of increasingly outmoded Democratic domination of our national life. Over the past four years it has repeatedly demonstrated that it has no basic goals other than the perpetuation of its own rule and no guiding principle other than the fleeting insights provided by the latest opinion poll. Policies announced one day are disavowed or ignored the next, sowing confusion among Americans at home and havoc among our friends abroad.

Republicans, Democrats, and Independents have been watching and reading these signs. They have been watching incredulously as disaster after disaster unfolds. They now have had enough. They are rising up in 1980 to say that this confusion must end; this drift must end; we must pull ourselves together as a people before we slide irretrievably into the abyss.

It doesn't have to be this way; it doesn't have to stay this way. We, the Republican Party, hold ourselves forth as the Party best able to arrest and reverse the decline. We offer new ideas and candidates, from the top of our ticket to the bottom, who can bring to local and national leadership firm, steady hands and confidence and eagerness. We have unparalleled unity within our own ranks, especially between our presidential nominee and our Congressional membership. Most important, we go forth to the people with ideas and programs for the future that are as powerful and compelling as they are fresh. Together, we offer a new beginning for America.

Our foremost goal here at home is simple: economic growth and full employment without inflation. Sweeping change in economic policy in America

is needed so that Mr. Carter's promise of hard times and austerity — his one promise well kept — can be replaced with Republican policies that promise economic growth and job creation. It is our belief that the stagflation of recent years not only has consigned millions of citizens to hardship but also has bottled up the enormous ingenuity and creative powers of our people. Those energies will not be released by the sterile policies of the past: we specifically reject the Carter doctrine that inflation can be reduced only by throwing people out of work. Prosperity will not be regained simply by government fiat. Rather, we must offer broad new incentives to labor and capital to stimulate a great outpouring of private goods and services and to create an abundance of jobs. From America's grassroots to the White House we will stand united as a party behind a bold program of tax rate reductions, spending restraints, and regulatory reforms that will inject new life into the economic bloodstream of this country.

Overseas, our goal is equally simple and direct: to preserve a world at peace by keeping America strong. This philosophy once occupied a hallowed place in American diplomacy, but it was casually, even cavalierly dismissed at the outset by the Carter Administration — and the results have been shattering. Never before in modern history has the United States endured as many humiliations, insults, and defeats as it has during the past four years: our ambassadors murdered, our embassies burned, our warnings ignored, our diplomacy scorned, our diplomats kidnapped. The Carter Administration has shown that it neither understands totalitarianism nor appreciates the way tyrants take advantage of weakness. The brutal invasion of Afghanistan promises to be only the forerunner of much more serious threats to the West — and to world peace — should the Carter Administration somehow cling to power.

Republicans are united in a belief that America's international humiliation and decline can be reversed only by strong presidential leadership and a consistent, far-sighted foreign policy, supported by a major upgrading of our military forces, a strengthening of our commitments to our allies, and a resolve that our national interests be vigorously protected. Ultimately, those who practice strength and firmness truly guard the peace.

This platform addresses many concerns of our Party. We seek to restore the family, the neighborhood, the community, and the workplace as vital alternatives in our national life to ever-expanding federal power.

We affirm our deep commitment to the fulfillment of the hopes and aspirations of all Americans — blacks and whites, women and men, the young and old, rural and urban.

For too many years, the political debate in America has been conducted in terms set by the Democrats. They believe that every time new problems arise beyond the power of men and women as individuals to solve, it becomes the duty of government to solve them, as if there were never any alternative. Republicans disagree and have always taken the side of the individual, whose freedoms are threatened by the big government that Democratic idea has spawned. Our case

for the individual is stronger that ever. A defense of the individual against government was never more needed. And we will continue to mount it.

But we will redefine and broaden the debate by transcending the narrow terms of government and the individual; those are not the only two realities in America. Our society consists of more than that; so should the political debate. We will reemphasize those vital communities like the family, the neighborhood, the workplace, and others which are found at the center of society, between government and the individual. We will restore and strengthen their ability to solve problems in the places where people spend their daily lives and can turn to each other for support and help.

We seek energy independence through economic policies that free up our energy production and encourage conservation. We seek improvements in health care, education, housing, and opportunities for youth. We seek new avenues for the needy to break out of the tragic cycle of dependency. All of these goals — and many others — we confidently expect to achieve through a rebirth of liberty and resurgence of private initiatives, for we believe that at the root of most of our troubles today is the misguided and discredited philosophy of an all-powerful government, ceaselessly striving to subsidize, manipulate, and control individuals. But it is the individual, not the government, who reigns at the center of our Republican philosophy.

To those Democrats who say Americans must be content to passively accept the gradual but inexorable decline of America, we answer: The American people have hardly begun to marshal their talents and resources or realize the accomplishments and dreams that only freedom can inspire.

To those Democrats who say we face an "age of limits," we ask: Who knows the limit to what Americans can do when their capacity for work, creativity, optimism, and faith is enhanced and supported by strong and responsive political leadership and ideals.

To those who, with Mr. Carter, say the American people suffer from a national "malaise," we respond: The only malaise in this country is found in the leadership of the Democratic Party, in the White House and in Congress. Its symptoms are an incompetence to lead, a refusal to change, and a reluctance to act. This malaise has become epidemic in Washington. Its cure is government led by Republicans who share the values of the majority of Americans.

Republicans pledge a restoration of balance in American society. But society cannot be balanced by the actions of government or of individuals alone. Balance is found at society's vital center, where we find the family and the neighborhood and the workplace.

America will not, however, achieve any of these goals on its present course nor under its present leadership. The uncharted course of Mr. Carter will lead surely to catastrophe. By reversing our economic decline, by reversing our international decline, we can and will resurrect our dreams.

And so, in this 1980 Republican Platform, we call out to the American people: With God's help, let us now, together, make America great again; let us now, together, make a new beginning.

FREE INDIVIDUALS IN A FREE SOCIETY

It has long been a fundamental conviction of the Republican Party that government should foster in our society a climate of maximum individual liberty and freedom of choice. Properly informed, our people as individuals or acting through instruments of popular consultation can make the right decisions affecting personal or general welfare, free of pervasive and heavy-handed intrusion by the central government into the decision-making process. This tenet is the genius of representative democracy.

Republicans also treasure the ethnic, cultural, and regional diversity of our people. This diversity fosters a dynamism in American society that is the envy of the world.

TAXES

Elsewhere in this platform we discuss the benefits, for society as a whole, of reduced taxation, particularly in terms of economic growth. But we believe it is essential to cut personal tax rates out of fairness to the individual.

Presently, the aggregate burden of taxation is so great that the average American spends a substantial part of every year, in effect, working for government.

Substantial tax rate reductions are needed to offset the massive tax increases facing the working men and women of this country. Over the next four years, federal taxes are projected to increase by over $500 billion due to the Carter Administration's policies. American families are already paying taxes at higher rates than ever in our history; as a result of these Carter policies, the rates will go even higher. The direct and indirect burden of federal taxes alone, imposed on the average family earning $20,000, has risen to $5,451 — over 27 percent of the family's gross income. During the Carter term, the federal tax alone on this family will have risen $2,000.

The Republican Party believes balancing the budget is essential but opposes the Democrats' attempt to do so through higher taxes. We believe that an essential aspect of balancing the budget is spending restraint by the federal government and higher economic growth, not higher tax burdens on working men and women.

Policies of the Democratic Party are taxing work, saving, investment, productivity, and the rewards for human ingenuity. These same tax policies subsidize debt, unemployment, and consumption. The present structure of the

personal income tax system is designed to broaden the gap between effort and reward.

Therefore, the Republican Party supports across-the-board reductions in personal income tax rates, phased in over three years, which will reduce tax rates from the range of 14 to 70 percent to a range of 10 to 50 percent.

For most Americans, these reduced tax rates will slow the rate at which taxes rise. This will assure workers and savers greater rewards for greater effort by lowering the rate at which added earnings would be taxed.

These reductions have been before the Congress for three years in the Roth-Kemp legislation. The proposal will not only provide relief for all American taxpayers, but also promote non-inflationary economic growth by restoring the incentive to save, invest, and produce. These restored incentives will in turn increase investment and help reinvigorate American business and industry, leading to the creation of more jobs. In fact, Governor Reagan and Congressional Republicans have already taken the first step. Working together, they have boldly offered the American people a 10 percent tax rate cut for 1981, which will stimulate growth in our economy, and a simplification and liberalization of depreciation schedules to create more jobs.

Once tax rates are reduced, Republicans will move to end tax bracket creep caused by inflation. We support tax indexing to protect taxpayers from the automatic tax increases caused when cost-of-living wage increases move them into higher tax brackets.

Tax rate reductions will generate increases in economic growth, output, and income which will ultimately generate increased revenues. The greater justification for these cuts, however, lies in the right of individuals to keep and use the money they earn.

IMPROVING THE WELFARE SYSTEM

The measure of a country's compassion is how it treats the least fortunate. In every society there will be some who cannot work, often through no fault of their own.

Yet current federal government efforts to help them have become counterproductive, perpetuating and aggravating the very conditions of dependence they seek to relieve. The Democratic Congress has produced a jumble of degrading, dehumanizing, wasteful, overlapping, and inefficient programs that invite waste and fraud but inadequately assist the needy poor.

Poverty is defined not by income statistics alone, but by an individual's true situation and prospects. For two generations, especially since the 1960's, the Democrats have deliberately perpetuated a status of federally subsidized poverty and manipulated dependency for millions of Americans. This is especially so for blacks and Hispanics, many of whom remain pawns of the bureaucracy, trapped outside the social and economic mainstream of American life.

For those on welfare, our nation's tax policies provide a penalty for getting a job. This is especially so for those whose new income from a job is either equal to, or marginally greater than, the amount received on welfare. In these cases, due to taxes, the individual's earned income is actually less than welfare benefits. This is the "poverty trap" which will continue to hold millions of Americans as long as they continue to be punished for working.

The Carter Administration and the Democratic Party continue to foster that dependency. Our nation's welfare problems will not be solved merely by providing increased benefits. Public service jobs are not a substitute for employable skills, nor can increases in the food stamp program by themselves provide for individual dignity. By fostering dependency and discouraging self-reliance, the Democratic Party has created a welfare constituency dependent on its continual subsidies.

The Carter Administration has proposed, and its allies in the House of Representatives actually voted for, legislation to nationalize welfare, which would have cost additional billions and made millions more dependent upon public assistance. The Democrats have presided over — and must take the blame for — the most monstrous expansion and abuse of the food stamp program to date. They have been either unable or unwilling to attack the welfare fraud that diverts resources away from the truly poor. They have sacrificed the needy to the greedy, and sent the welfare bills to the taxpayers.

We categorically reject the notion of a guaranteed annual income, no matter how it may be disguised, which would destroy the fiber of our economy and doom the poor to perpetual dependence.

As a party we commit ourselves to a welfare policy that is truly reflective of our people's true sense of compassion and charity as well as an appreciation of every individual's need for dignity and self-respect. We pledge a system that will:

- provide adequate living standards for the truly needy;
- end welfare fraud by removing ineligibles from the welfare rolls, tightening food stamp eligibility requirements, and ending aid to illegal aliens and the voluntarily unemployed;
- strengthen work incentives, particularly directed at the productive involvement of able-bodied persons in useful community work projects;
- provide educational and vocational incentives to allow recipients to become self-supporting; and
- better coordinate federal efforts with local and state social welfare agencies and strengthen local and state administrative functions.

We oppose federalizing the welfare system; local levels of government are most aware of the needs in their communities. We support a bloc grant program

that will help return control of welfare programs to the states. Decisions about who gets welfare, and how much, can be better made on the local level.

Those features of the present law, particularly the food stamp program, that draw into assistance programs people who are capable of paying for their own needs should be corrected. The humanitarian purpose of such programs must not be corrupted by eligibility loopholes. Food stamp program reforms proposed by Republicans in Congress would accomplish the twin goals of directing resources to those most in need and streamlining administration.

Through long association with government programs, the word "welfare" has come to be perceived almost exclusively as tax-supported aid to the needy. But in its most inclusive sense — and as Americans understood it from the beginning of the Republic — such aid also encompasses those charitable works performed by private citizens, families, and social, ethnic, and religious organizations. Policies of the federal government leading to high taxes, rising inflation, and bureaucratic empire-building have made it difficult and often impossible for such individuals and groups to exercise their charitable instincts. We believe that government policies that fight inflation, reduce tax rates, and end bureaucratic excesses can help make private effort by the American people once again a major force in those works of charity which are the true signs of a progressive and humane society.

VETERANS

Republicans recognize the very special sacrifice of those who have served in our nation's armed forces. Individual rights and societal values are only as strong as a nation's commitment to defend them. Because of this our country must never forget its appreciation of and obligation to our veterans.

Today the veteran population numbers 30 million. This is the largest veteran population in our nation's history. We recognize the major sacrifices they have made for their fellow Americans.

We will maintain the integrity of the Veterans Administration. We will seek to keep it separate and distinct from other federal agencies as the single agency for the administration of all veterans' programs. In particular we feel it is of vital importance to continue and expand the health programs provided to veterans through the Veterans Administration hospitals. Here we see the need for increased access to care, especially for older veterans.

We further advocate continued and expanded health care for our Vietnam veterans and consider it vital for the Veterans Administration to continue its programs for the rehabilitation of the disabled as well as its job training efforts.

We are committed to providing timely and adequate adjustments in compensation for service-disabled veterans and the survivors of those who died as a result of their service. We are also committed to maintaining the pension

program for those who have served during a period of war, for those who were disabled and impoverished, and for their widows and orphans.

We will support measures to provide for every veteran at death a final resting place for his remains in a national cemetery, and for costs of transportation thereto.

Veterans preference in federal employment in all departments and agencies will be continued and strictly enforced.

Retired military benefits deserve more than the cursory attention given them by a Department of Defense otherwise interested in on-going programs. We believe that such benefits should be administered by the Veterans Administration.

PRIVATE PROPERTY

The widespread distribution of private property ownership is the cornerstone of American liberty. Without it neither our free enterprise system nor our republican form of government could long endure.

Under Democratic rule, the federal government has become an aggressive enemy of the human right to private property ownership. It has dissipated savings through depreciation of the dollar, enforced price controls on private exchange of goods, attempted to enforce severe land use controls, and mistreated hundreds of thousands of national park and forest inholders.

The next Republican Administration will reverse this baneful trend. It will not only protect the cherished human right of property ownership, but will also work to help millions of Americans — particularly those from disadvantaged groups — to share in the ownership of the wealth of their nation.

TRANSPORTATION — PERSONAL MOBILITY

Americans enjoy greater personal mobility than any other people on earth, largely as a result of the availability of automobiles and our modern highway system. Republicans reject the elitist notion that Americans must be forced out of their cars. Instead, we vigorously support the right of personal mobility and freedom as exemplified by the automobile and our modern highway system. While recognizing the importance of fuel efficiency and alternate modes of transportation, we quickly acknowledge that for millions of Americans there is no substitute on the horizon for the automobile. We reaffirm our support for a healthy domestic automobile industry, complete with continued support for the highway trust fund, which is the fairest method yet devised for financing America's highway system.

Republicans recognize the need for further improvement in highway safety. Projections indicate that highway fatalities may exceed 60,000 per year in the coming decades. Republicans support accelerated cost-effective efforts to improve highway, automobile, and individual driver safety.

PRIVACY

The essence of freedom is the right of law-abiding individuals to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness without undue governmental intervention. Yet government in recent years, particularly at the federal level, has overwhelmed citizens with demands for personal information and has accumulated vast amounts of such data through the IRS, the Social Security Administration, the Bureau of the Census, and other agencies. Under certain limited circumstances, such information can serve legitimate societal interests, but there must be protection against abuse.

Republicans share the concerns of our citizens as to the nature, use, and final disposition of the volume of personal information being collected. We are alarmed by Washington's growing collection and dissemination of such data. There must be protection against its misuse or disclosure.

The Republican Party commits itself to guaranteeing an individual's right of privacy. We support efforts of state governments to ensure individual privacy.

BLACK AMERICANS

For millions of black Americans, the past four years have been a long trail of broken promises and broken dreams. The Carter Administration entered office with a pledge to all minorities of a brighter economic future. Today there are more black Americans unemployed than on the day Mr. Carter became President. The unemployment rate of black teenagers is once again rising sharply. And the median income of black families has declined to less than 60 percent of white family income.

Republicans will not make idle promises to blacks and other minorities; we are beyond the day when any American can live off rhetoric or political platitudes.

Our Party specifically rejects the philosophy of the Carter Administration that unemployment is the answer to inflation. We abhor the notion that our cities should become battlegrounds in the fight against inflation and that the jobs of black Americans should be sacrificed in an attempt to counterbalance the inflationary excesses of government. Nor are we prepared to accept the practice of turning the poor into permanent wards of the state, trading their political support for continued financial assistance.

Our fundamental answer to the economic problems of black Americans is the same answer we make to all Americans — full employment without inflation through economic growth. First and foremost, we are committed to a policy of economic expansion through tax-rate reductions, spending restraint, regulatory reform, and other incentives.

As the Party of Lincoln, we remain equally and steadfastly committed to the equality of rights for all citizens, regardless of race. Although this nation has

not yet eliminated all vestiges of racism over the years, we are heartened by the progress that has been made, we are proud of the role that our Party has played, and we are dedicated to standing shoulder to shoulder with black Americans in that cause.

Elsewhere in this platform, we set forth a number of specific proposals that will also serve to improve the quality of life for blacks. During the next four years we are committed to policies that will:

- encourage local governments to designate specific enterprise zones within depressed areas that will promote new jobs, new and expanded businesses, and new economic vitality;
- open new opportunities for black men and women to begin small businesses of their own by, among other steps, removing excessive regulations, disincentives for venture capital, and other barriers erected by the government;
- bring strong, effective enforcement of federal civil rights statutes, especially those dealing with threats to physical safety and security which have recently been increasing; and
- ensure that the federal government follows a non-discriminatory system of appointments up and down the line, with a careful eye for qualified minority aspirants.

HISPANIC-AMERICANS

Hispanics are rapidly becoming the largest minority in the country and are one of the major pillars in our cultural, social, and economic life. Diverse in character, proud in heritage, they are greatly enriching the American melting pot.

Hispanics seek only the full rights of citizenship — in education, in law enforcement, in housing — and an equal opportunity to achieve economic security. Unfortunately, those desires have not always been fulfilled; as in so many other areas, the Carter Administration has been long on rhetoric and short on action in its approach to the Hispanic community.

We pledge to pursue policies that will help to make the opportunities of American life a reality for Hispanics. The economic policies enunciated in this platform will, we believe, create new jobs for Hispanic teenagers and adults and will also open up new business opportunities for them. We also believe there should be local educational programs which enable those who grew up learning another language such as Spanish to become proficient in English while also maintaining their own language and cultural heritage. Neither Hispanics nor any other American citizens should be barred from education or employment opportunities because English is not their first language.

THE HANDICAPPED

The Republican Party strongly believes that handicapped persons must be admitted into the mainstream of American society. It endorses efforts to enable our handicapped population to enjoy a useful and productive life.

Too often in the past, barriers have been raised to their education, employment, transportation, health care, housing, recreation, and insurance. We support a concerted national effort to eliminate discrimination in all these areas. Specifically we support tax incentives for the removal of architectural and transportation barriers. We pledge continued efforts to improve communications for the handicapped and to promote a healthy, constructive attitude toward them in our society.

WOMEN'S RIGHTS

We acknowledge the legitimate efforts of those who support or oppose ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

We reaffirm our Party's historic commitment to equal rights and equality for women.

We support equal rights and equal opportunities for women, without taking away traditional rights of women such as exemption from the military draft. We support the enforcement of all equal opportunity laws and urge the elimination of discrimination against women. We oppose any move which would give the federal government more power over families.

Ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment is now in the hands of state legislatures, and the issues of the time extension and rescission are in the courts. The states have a constitutional right to accept or reject a constitutional amendment without federal interference or pressure. At the direction of the White House, federal departments launched pressure against states which refused to ratify ERA. Regardless of one's position on ERA, we demand that this practice cease.

At this time, women of America comprise 53 percent of the population and over 42 percent of the work force. By 1990, we anticipate that 51 percent of the population will be women, and there will be approximately 57 million in the work force. Therefore, the following urgent problems must be resolved:

- total integration of the work force (*not* separate but equal) is necessary to bring women equality in pay;
- girls and young women must be given improved early career counseling and job training to widen the opportunities for them in the world of work;
- women's worth in the society and in the jobs they hold, at home or in the workplace, must be reevaluated to improve the conditions of women workers concentrated in low-status, low-paying jobs;

— equal opportunity for credit and other assistance must be assured to women in small businesses; and

— one of the most critical problems in our nation today is that of inadequate child care for the working mother. As champions of the free enterprise system, of the individual, and of the idea that the best solutions to most problems rest at the community level, Republicans must find ways to meet this, the working woman's need. The scope of this problem is fully realized only when it is understood that many female heads of households are at the poverty level and that they have a very large percentage of the nation's children.

The important secret about old age in America today is that it is primarily a woman's issue, and those over 65 are the fastest growing segment of the population. With current population trends, by the year 2020, 15.5 percent of our population will be over 65; by 2035, women in this age group will outnumber men by 13 million.

In 1980, 42 percent of women between 55 and 64 are in the work force. Half of the six million elderly women who live alone have incomes of $3,700 or less, and black women in that category have a median income of $2,600. How do they survive with the present rate of inflation? The lower salaries they earned as working women are now reflected in lower retirement benefits, if they have any at all. The Social Security system is still biased against women, and non-existent pension plans combine with that to produce a bereft elderly woman. The Republican Party must not and will not let this continue.

We reaffirm our belief in the traditional role and values of the family in our society. The damage being done today to the family takes its greatest toll on the woman. Whether it be through divorce, widowhood, economic problems, or the suffering of children, the impact is greatest on women. The importance of support for the mother and homemaker in maintaining the values of this country cannot be over-emphasized.

In other sections of this platform, we call for greater equity in the tax treatment of working spouses. We deplore this marriage tax which penalizes married two-worker families. We call for a reduction in the estate tax burden, which creates hardships for widows and minor children. We also pledge to address any remaining inequities in the treatment of women under the Social Security system.

Women know better than anyone the decline in the quality of life that is occurring in America today. The peril to the United States and especially to women must be stressed. Women understand domestic, consumer, economic issues more deeply because they usually manage the households and have the responsibility for them. With this responsibility must also come greater opportunity for achievement and total equality toward solution of problems.

EQUAL RIGHTS

The truths we hold and the values we share affirm that no individual should be victimized by unfair discrimination because of race, sex, advanced age, physical handicap, difference of national origin or religion, or economic circumstance. However, equal opportunity should not be jeopardized by bureaucratic regulations and decisions which rely on quotas, ratios, and numerical requirements to exclude some individuals in favor of others, thereby rendering such regulations and decisions inherently discriminatory.

We pledge vigorous enforcement of laws to assure equal treatment in job recruitment, hiring, promotion, pay, credit, mortgage access, and housing.

Millions of Americans who trace their heritage to the nations of Eastern, Central, and Southern Europe have for too long seen their values neglected. The time has come to go beyond the ritual election year praise given to Ethnic Americans. We must make them an integral part of government. We must make recognition of their values an integral part of government policy. The Republican Party will take positive steps to see to it that these Americans, along with others too long neglected, have the opportunity to share the power, as well as the burdens of our society. The same holds true of our Asian-American citizens from the cultures of the Orient.

As a party we also recognize our commitment to Native Americans. We pledge to continue to honor our trusted relationship with them and we reaffirm our federal policy of self-determination. We support the assumption by Indians, Aleuts, and Eskimos themselves of the decisions and planning which will affect their lives and the end of undue federal influence on those plans and decisions.

Puerto Rico has been a territory of the United States since 1898. The Republican Party vigorously supports the right of the United States citizens of Puerto Rico to be admitted into the Union as a fully sovereign state after they freely so determine. We believe that the statehood alternative is the only logical solution to the problem of inequality of the United States citizens of Puerto Rico within the framework of the federal Constitution, with full recognition within the concept of a multicultural society of the citizens' right to retain their Spanish language and traditions. Therefore we pledge to support the enactment of the necessary legislation to allow the people of Puerto Rico to exercise their right to apply for admission into the Union at the earliest possible date after the presidential election of 1980.

We also pledge that such decision of the people of Puerto Rico will be implemented through the approval of an admission bill. This bill will provide for the Island's smooth transition from its territorial fiscal system to that of a member of the Union. This enactment will enable the new state of Puerto Rico to stand economically on an equal footing with the rest of the states and to assume gradually its fiscal responsibilities as a state.

We continue to favor whatever action may be necessary to permit American citizens resident in the United States territories of the Virgin Islands and Guam to vote for President and Vice President in national elections.

ABORTION

There can be no doubt that the question of abortion, despite the complex nature of its various issues, is ultimately concerned with equality of rights under the law. While we recognize differing views on this question among Americans in general — and in our own Party — we affirm our support of a constitutional amendment to restore protection of the right to life for unborn children. We also support the Congressional efforts to restrict the use of taxpayers' dollars for abortion.

We protest the Supreme Court's intrusion into the family structure through its denial of the parent's obligation and right to guide their minor children.

STRONG FAMILIES

The family is the foundation of our social order. It is the school of democracy. Its daily lessons — cooperation, tolerance, mutual concern, responsibility, industry — are fundamental to the order and progress of our Republic. But the Democrats have shunted the family aside. They have given its power to the bureaucracy, its jurisdiction to the courts, and its resources to government grantors. For the first time in our history, there is real concern that the family may not survive.

Government may be strong enough to destroy families, but it can never replace them.

Unlike the Democrats, we do not advocate new federal bureaucracies with ominous power to shape a national family order. Rather, we insist that all domestic policies, from child care and schooling to Social Security and the tax code, must be formulated with the family in mind.

EDUCATION

Next to religious training and the home, education is the most important means by which families hand down to each new generation their ideals and beliefs. It is a pillar of a free society. But today, parents are losing control of their children's schooling. The Democratic Congress and its counterparts in many states have launched one fad after another, building huge new bureaucracies to misspend our taxes. The result has been a shocking drop in student performance, lack of basics in the classroom, forced busing, teacher strikes, manipulative and sometimes amoral indoctrination.

The Republican Party is determined to restore common sense and quality to education for the sake of all students, especially those for whom learning is the highway to equal opportunity. Because federal assistance should help local school districts, not tie them up in red tape, we will strive to replace the crazyquilt of wasteful programs with a system of bloc grants that will restore decision-making to local officials responsible to voters and parents. We recog-

nize the need to preserve, within the structure of bloc grants, special educational opportunities for the handicapped, the disadvantaged, and other needy students attending public and private nonprofit elementary and secondary schools.

We hail the teachers of America. Their dedication to our children is often taken for granted, and they are frequently underpaid for long hours and selfless service, especially in comparison with other public employees.

We understand and sympathize with the plight of America's public school teachers, who so frequently find their time and attention diverted from their teaching responsibilities to the task of complying with federal reporting requirements. America has a great stake in maintaining standards of high quality in public education. The Republican Party recognizes that the achievement of those standards is possible only to the extent that teachers are allowed the time and freedom to teach. To that end, the Republican Party supports deregulation by the federal government of public education, and encourages the elimination of the federal Department of Education.

We further sympathize with the right of qualified teachers to be employed by any school district wishing to hire them, without the necessity of their becoming enrolled with any bargaining agency or group. We oppose any federal action, including any action on the part of the Department of Education, to establish "agency shops" in public schools.

We support Republican initiatives in the Congress to restore the right of individuals to participate in voluntary, non-denominational prayer in schools and other public facilities.

Our goal is quality education for all of America's children, with a special commitment to those who must overcome handicap, deprivation, or discrimination. That is why we condemn the forced busing of school children to achieve arbitrary racial quotas. Busing has been a prescription for disaster, blighting whole communities across the land with its divisive impact. It has failed to improve the quality of education, while diverting funds from programs that could make the difference between success and failure for the poor, the disabled, and minority children.

We must halt forced busing and get on with the education of all our children, focusing on the real causes of their problems, especially lack of economic opportunity.

Federal education policy must be based on the primacy of parental rights and responsibility. Toward that end, we reaffirm our support for a system of educational assistance based on tax credits that will in part compensate parents for their financial sacrifices in paying tuition at the elementary, secondary, and post-secondary level. This is a matter of fairness, especially for low-income families, most of whom would be free for the first time to choose for their children those schools which best correspond to their own cultural and moral values. In this way, the schools will be strengthened by the families' involve-

ment, and the families' strengths will be reinforced by supportive cultural institutions.

We are dismayed that the Carter Administration cruelly reneged on promises made during the 1976 campaign. Wielding the threat of his veto, Mr. Carter led the fight against Republican attempts to make tuition tax credits a reality.

Next year, a Republican White House will assist, not sabotage, Congressional efforts to enact tuition tax relief into law.

We will halt the unconstitutional regulatory vendetta launched by Mr. Carter's IRS Commissioner against independent schools.

We will hold the federal bureaucracy accountable for its harassment of colleges and universities and will clear away the tangle of regulation that has unconscionably driven up their expenses and tuitions. We will respect the rights of state and local authorities in the management of their school systems.

The commitment of the American people to provide educational opportunities for all has resulted in a tremendous expansion of schools at all levels. And the more we reduce the federal proportion of taxation, the more resources will be left to sustain and develop state and local institutions.

HEALTH

Our country's unequalled system of medical care, bringing greater benefits to more people than anywhere else on earth, is a splendid example of how Americans have taken care of their own needs with private institutions.

Significant as these achievements are, we must not be complacent. Health care costs continue to rise, farther and faster than they should, and threaten to spiral beyond the reach of many families. The causes are the Democratic Congress' inflationary spending and excessive and expensive regulations.

Republicans unequivocally oppose socialized medicine, in whatever guise it is presented by the Democratic Party. We reject the creation of a national health service and all proposals for compulsory national health insurance.

Our country has made spectacular gains in health care in recent decades. Most families are now covered by private insurance, Medicare, or in the case of the poor, the entirely free services under Medicaid.

Republicans recognize that many health care problems can be solved if government will work closely with the private sector to find remedies that will enhance our current system of excellent care. We applaud, as an example, the voluntary effort which has been undertaken by our nation's hospitals to control costs. The results have been encouraging. More remains to be done.

What ails American medicine is government meddling and the straitjacket of federal programs. The prescription for good health care is deregulation and an emphasis upon consumer rights and patient choice.

As consumers of health care, individual Americans and their families should be able to make their own choices about health care protection. We propose to assist them in so doing through tax and financial incentives. These could enable them to choose their own health coverage, including protection from the catastrophic costs of major long-term illness, without compulsory regimentation.

Americans should be protected against financial disaster brought on by medical expense. We recognize both the need to provide assistance in many cases and the responsibility of citizens to provide for their own needs. By using tax incentives and reforming federal medical assistance programs, government and the private sector can jointly develop compassionate and innovative means to provide financial relief when it is most needed.

We endorse alternatives to institutional care. Not only is it costly but it also separates individuals from the supportive environment of family and friends. This is especially important for the elderly and those requiring long-term care. We advocate the reform of Medicare to encourage home-based care whenever feasible. In addition, we encourage the development of innovative alternate health care delivery systems and other out-patient services at the local level.

We must maintain our commitment to the aged and to the poor by providing quality care through Medicare and Medicaid. These programs need the careful, detailed reevaluation they have never received from the Democrats, who have characteristically neglected their financial stability. We believe that the needs of those who depend upon those programs, particularly the elderly, can be better served, especially when a Republican Administration cracks down on fraud and abuse so that program monies can be directed toward those truly in need. In the case of Medicaid, we will aid the states in restoring its financial integrity and its local direction.

We welcome the long-overdue emphasis on preventive health care and physical fitness that is making Americans more aware than ever of their personal responsibility for good health. Today's enthusiasm and emphasis on staying well holds the promise of dramatically improved health and well-being in the decades ahead. Additionally, health professionals, as well as individuals, have long recognized that preventing illness or injury is much less expensive than treating it. Therefore, preventive medicine combined with good personal health habits and health education, can make a major impact on the cost of health care. Employers and employees, unions and business associations, families, schools, and neighborhood groups all have important parts in what is becoming a national crusade for better living.

YOUTH

The Republican Party recognizes that young people want the opportunity to exercise the rights and responsibilities of adults.

The Republican agenda for making educational and employment opportunities available to our youth has been addressed in detail in other sections of this platform.

Republicans are committed to the enactment of a youth differential in the minimum wage and other vitally needed incentives for the creation of jobs for our young.

In addition, we reaffirm our commitment to broaden the involvement of young people in all phases of the political process — as voters, party workers and leaders, candidates and elected officials, and participants in government at all levels.

We pledge, as we have elsewhere in this platform, efforts to create an environment which will enable our nation's youth:

- to live in a society which is safe and free;
- to pursue personal, educational, and vocational goals to the utmost of their abilities;
- to experience the support, encouragement, and strength that comes from maintenance of the family and its values; and
- to know the stimulus of challenge, renewal through encouragement, provision of opportunities, and the growth that comes from responsible participation in numerous aspects of our society.

OLDER AMERICANS

Inflation is called "the cruelest tax." It strikes most cruelly at the elderly, especially those on fixed incomes. It strikes viciously at the sick and the infirm, and those who are alone in the world.

Inflation has robbed our elderly of dignity and security. An entire generation of responsible and productive citizens who toiled and saved a full working life to build up a retirement nest egg now finds that it cannot survive on its savings. Today's inflation rates dwarf yesterday's interest rates, and the pensions and annuities of our elderly citizens cannot keep up with the rising cost of living. Millions of once-proud and independent elderly Americans face a future of welfare dependency and despair.

We propose to assist families, and individuals of all ages, to meet the needs of the elderly, primarily through vigorous private initiative. Only a comprehensive reduction in tax rates will enable families to save for retirement income, and to protect that income from ravaging inflation. Only new tax exemptions and incentives can make it possible for many families to afford to care for their older members at home.

Present laws can create obstacles to older Americans' remaining in the family home. Federal programs for the elderly, such as Medicare and Supplemental Security Income, must address, humanely and generously, the special

circumstances of those who choose to stay with their families rather than enter a nursing home or other institution.

Social Security is one of this nation's most vital commitments to our senior citizens. We commit the Republican Party to first save, and then strengthen, this fundamental contract between our government and its productive citizens.

Republicans consider older Americans a community asset, not a national problem. We are committed to using the sadly wasted talents of the aged throughout our society, which sorely needs their experience and wisdom. To that end, and as a matter of basic fairness, we proudly reaffirm our opposition to mandatory retirement and our long-standing Republican commitment to end the Democrats' limitation on earnings for elderly Social Security recipients. In addition, the Republican Party is strongly opposed to the taxation of Social Security benefits and we pledge to oppose any attempts to tax these benefits.

Republicans have resisted Democratic electioneering schemes to spend away the Social Security trust funds for political purposes. Now the bill has come due, and the workers of America are staggering under their new tax burdens. This must stop.

Precisely because Social Security is a precious lifeline for millions of the elderly, orphaned, and disabled, we insist that its financing be sound and stable. We will preserve Social Security for its original purpose.

The problems of Social Security financing are only an aspect of the overriding problems of the economy which Democratic mismanagement has produced. There is but one answer, the comprehensive tax rate reduction to which Republicans are committed. To save Social Security, we have no choice but to redirect our economy toward growth. To meet this country's commitments to Social Security recipients, present and future, we need more people at work, earning more money, thereby paying more into the trust funds. That same growth can balance the federal budget with lower taxes, over time reducing inflation, which falls so cruelly on senior citizens whose income is fixed by the size of their public or private pension.

We pledge to clean up the much-abused disability system. We will also expand eligibility for Individual Retirement Accounts to enable more persons to plan for their retirement years.

THE WELFARE SYSTEM

The Republican agenda for welfare reform has been discussed in a previous section, but we think it important to stress that central to it is the preservation of the families the system is designed to serve. The current system does not do this. Neither would guaranteed annual income schemes. By supplanting parental responsibility and by denying children parental guidance and economic support, they encourage and reward the fragmentation of families. This is unconscionable. The values and strengths of the family provide a vital element in breaking the bonds of poverty.

Ultimately, the Republican Party supports the orderly, wholesale transfer of all welfare functions to the states along with the tax sources to finance them.

THE FAMILY ECONOMY

It is increasingly common for both husbands and wives to work outside the home. Often, it occurs out of economic necessity, and it creates major difficulties for families with children, especially those of pre-school age. On one hand, they are striving to improve the economic well-being of their families; on the other they are concerned about the physical and emotional well-being of their children. This dilemma is further aggravated in instances of single parenthood due to death or divorce.

Recognizing these problems, we pledge to increase the availability of non-institutional child care. We see a special role for local, private organizations in meeting this need.

We disapprove of the bias in the federal tax system against working spouses, whose combined incomes are taxed at a proportionately higher rate than if they were single. We deplore this "marriage tax" and call for equity in the tax treatment of families.

We applaud our society's increasing awareness of the role of homemakers in the economy, not apart from the work force but as a very special part of it: the part that combines the labor of a full-time job, the skills of a profession, and the commitment of the most dedicated volunteer. Recognizing that homemaking is as important as any other profession, we endorse expanded eligibility for Individual Retirement Accounts for homemakers and will explore other ways to advance their standing and security.

FAMILY PROTECTION

In view of the continuing efforts of the present Administration to define and influence the family through such federally funded conferences as the White House Conference on Families, we express our support for legislation protecting and defending the traditional American family against the ongoing erosion of its base in our society.

HANDICAPPED PEOPLE

Republicans will seek every effective means to enable families more easily to assist their handicapped members and to provide for their education and special medical and therapeutic needs. In the case of handicapped children particularly, flexibility must be maintained in programs of public assistance so that, whenever possible, these youngsters may remain at home rather than in institutions.

Targeted tax relief can make it possible for parents to keep such a child at home without foregoing essential professional assistance. Similarly, tax incen-

tives can assist those outside the home, in the neighborhood and the workplace, who undertake to train, hire, or house the handicapped.

SECURE AND PROSPEROUS NEIGHBORHOODS

The quality of American neighborhoods is the ultimate test of the success or failure of government policies for the cities, for housing, and for law enforcement.

Obsessed with the demands of special interest groups and preoccupied with the design of expensive "comprehensive" programs, the Democrats in Congress and the Administration have lost sight of that simple but important criterion. They have proposed more social and fiscal tinkering with our cities and towns.

Republicans will address the real problems that face Americans in their neighborhoods day by day — deterioration and urban blight, dangerous streets and violent crime that make millions of Americans, especially senior citizens, fearful in their own neighborhoods and prisoners in their own homes.

In the summer of 1980, Americans suffer a rising national unemployment rate, now at nearly eight percent, and double-digit inflation and interest rates. As Republicans meet in Detroit, the policies of the Carter Administration and the Democratic Congress have pushed the economy into recession and have resulted in unemployment approaching 20 percent in our host city.

The people of Detroit have worked long and hard to revitalize their city, and the evidence of its rebirth is impressive. Their efforts have been severely set back by Carter Administration policies outside of this or any city's control. The grim evidence is manifested in jobs lost as a direct consequence of bankrupt economic policies which have fostered this recession. Republicans will address and resolve the real problems of today's economy, problems that destroy jobs and deny even the hope of homeownership to millions of American families. We are, moreover, committed to nurturing the spirit of self-help and cooperation through which so many neighborhoods have revitalized themselves and served their residents.

NEIGHBORHOOD SELF-HELP

The American ethic of neighbor helping neighbor has been an essential factor in the building of our nation. Republicans are committed to the preservation of this great tradition.

To help non-governmental community programs aid in serving the needs of poor, disabled, or other disadvantaged, we support permitting taxpayers to deduct charitable contributions from their federal income tax whether they itemize or not.

In contrast, the Democrats' assault against Meals-on-Wheels highlights their insensitivity to the neighborly spirit that motivates so many Americans. For over 25 years, voluntary Meals-on-Wheels organizations have been feeding needy homebound citizens — usually the elderly — with funding from local private charitable sources. Promising for the first time to "help" these neighborhood volunteer efforts in 1978, the Democratic Congress and Administration instead used the carrot of federal funding and the stick of federal regulation to crowd out private ventures.

Government must never elbow aside private institutions — schools, churches, volunteer groups, labor and professional associations — in meeting the social needs in our neighborhoods and communities.

NEIGHBORHOOD REVITALIZATION

The city is the focus for the lives of millions of Americans. Its neighborhoods are places of familiarity, of belonging, of tradition and continuity. They are arenas for civic action and creative self-help. The human scale of the neighborhood encourages citizens to exercise leadership, to invest their talents, energies, and resources, and to work together to create a better life for their families.

Republican economic programs will create conditions for rebirth of citizen activity in neighborhoods and cities across the land. In a Republican economic climate, America's cities can once again produce, build, and grow.

A Republican Administration will focus its efforts to revitalize neighborhoods in five areas. We will:

- cut taxes, increase incentives to save, restore sound money, and stimulate capital investment to create jobs;
- create and apply new tax incentives for employees and employers alike to stimulate economic growth and reduce red-tape for business ventures. Local government will be invited to designate specific depressed areas as jobs and enterprise zones;
- encourage our cities to undertake neighborhood revitalization and preservation programs in cooperation with the three essential local interests; local government, neighborhood property owners and residents, and local financial institutions;
- replace the categorical aid programs with block grant or revenue sharing programs and, where appropriate, transfer the programs, along with the tax sources to pay for them, back to the state and local governments; and
- remain fully committed to the fair enforcement of all federal civil rights statutes and continue minority business enterprise and similar programs begun by Republican Administrations but bungled by overregulation and duplication during the Carter Administration.

Republican programs will revitalize the inner cities. New jobs will be created. The federal government's role will be substantially reduced. The individual citizen will reclaim his or her independence.

The revitalization of American cities will proceed from the revitalization of the neighborhoods. Cities and neighborhoods are no more nor less than the people who inhabit them. Their strengths and weaknesses provide their character. If they are to grow, it is the people who must seize the initiative and lead.

HOUSING AND HOMEOWNERSHIP

Our citizens must have a real opportunity to live in decent, affordable housing. Due to the disastrous policies of the Carter Administration and the Democratic Congress, however, the goal of homeownership and all that aspiration entails is now in jeopardy. These irrational policies have been catastrophic to the housing industry. The highest home mortgage interest rates in the history of the United States have depressed housing starts to the lowest level since World War II. Democratic policies guarantee shortages in owner-occupied and rental housing.

As many as 1.4 million people who depend upon homebuilding for work may lose their jobs in this recession. Many already have. In addition to the toll taken on millions of American families, intolerable pressures will build on state, local, and federal budgets as tax revenues decline and expenditures increase to aid the unemployed.

We support financing and tax incentives to encourage the construction of rental housing as an essential addition to our housing inventory.

Prospective first-time home buyers simply cannot afford to buy. The affordability of housing has become a crisis. The high rates of inflation have driven mortgage payments, house prices, and down-payment requirements beyond the means of close to 80 percent of young American families. In order to assist the record number of young families who wish to become home buyers, we propose to implement a young family housing initiative, which would include several elements such as: urban homesteading, savings and tax reforms, and innovative alternate mortgage instruments to help meet monthly payment requirements without federal subsidies. To assist older homeowners, again without federal subsidy, we urge more extensive availability of the reverse annuity mortgage which allows older homeowners to withdraw the substantial equity they have built up in their homes and thus supplement their retirement income. In order to slow increases in housing costs, regulations which artificially limit housing production and raise housing costs must be eliminated.

We favor expansion of the Republican-sponsored urban homesteading program as a means of restoring abandoned housing. This innovative program is locally administered, returns property to the tax rolls, and develops new ownership and stability within our neighborhoods.

The collapse of new home production and the distress of the housing finance system are closely related. The stop and go economic policies of the past year have created extreme volatility in financial markets which have made it impossible for thrift institutions to supply housing credit at a reasonable cost.

A set of policies aimed at higher and more stable levels of housing production will simultaneously reduce housing costs and unemployment in the economy. To assure a stable and continuous flow of funds for home mortgage financing, we pledge to allow responsible use of mortgage revenue bonds. We will work to change the tax laws to encourage savings so that young families will be able to afford their dreams.

Specifically, we will support legislation to lower tax rates on savings in order to increase funds available for housing. This will help particularly to make homeownership an accessible dream for younger families, encouraging them not to despair of ever having a home of their own, but to begin working and saving for it now. We oppose any attempts to end the income tax deductibility of mortgage interest and property taxes.

Republicans will also end the mismanagement and waste that has characterized the Department of Housing and Urban Development during the Carter Administration. As presently structured, HUD programs present local governments and developers with a maze of bureaucracy, complicated applications, and inflexible requirements, often unsuited to local needs. Such programs often infringe upon the right of local governments to retain jurisdiction over their own zoning laws and building codes. As a result, their cost is so high that relatively few of the needy are ultimately housed or helped. Republicans will replace many of HUD's categorical programs with decentralized block grants to provide more efficient and responsive housing assistance to the elderly, the handicapped, and the poor. In remaining programs, particular emphasis should be given to rehabilitation and preservation of existing housing stock as a priority in federal housing policy.

CRIME

Safety and security are vital to the health and well-being of people in their neighborhoods and communities. Republicans are committed to ensuring that neighborhoods will be safe places in which families and individuals can live, and we support and encourage community crime fighting efforts such as neighborhood crime watch and court monitoring programs.

First, we believe that Republican economic proposals, more particularly those proposals which strengthen society and smaller communities discussed elsewhere in this document, will go a long way toward stabilizing American society.

Second, we support a vigorous and effective effort on the part of law enforcement agencies. Although we recognize the vital role of federal law

enforcement agencies, we realize that the most effective weapons against crime are state and local agencies.

Just as vital to efforts to stem crime is the fair but firm and speedy application of criminal penalties. The existence and application of strong penalties are effective disincentives to criminal actions. Yet these disincentives will only be as strong as our court system's willingness to use them.

We believe that the death penalty serves as an effective deterrent to capital crime and should be applied by the federal government and by states which approve it as an appropriate penalty for certain major crimes.

We believe the right of citizens to keep and bear arms must be preserved. Accordingly, we oppose federal registration of firearms. Mandatory sentences for commission of armed felonies are the most effective means to deter abuse of this right. We therefore support Congressional initiatives to remove those provisions of the Gun Control Act of 1968 that do not significantly impact on crime but serve rather to restrain the law-abiding citizen in his legitimate use of firearms.

In recent years, a murderous epidemic of drug abuse has swept our country. Mr. Carter, through his policies and his personnel, has demonstrated little interest in stopping its ravages. Republicans consider drug abuse an intolerable threat to our society, especially to the young. We pledge a government that will take seriously its responsibility to curb illegal drug traffic. We will first and most urgently restore the ability of the FBI to act effectively in this area. Republican government will work with local law enforcement agencies to apprehend and firmly punish drug pushers and drug smugglers with mandatory sentences where appropriate. We support efforts to crack down on the sale and advertising of drug paraphernalia. Private, nonprofit drug abuse rehabilitation agencies have taken the lead in fighting drug abuse, and they deserve greater cooperation and flexibility from federal, state, and local agencies and grant programs. We pledge the enactment of legislation to ban the utilization of federal funds by grantees of the Legal Services Corporation to render their services in cases involving the pushing or smuggling of drugs as well as in cases of repeat offenders. We commend the religious leaders, community activists, parents, and local officials who are working with fervor and dedication to protect young Americans from the drug plague.

URBAN TRANSPORTATION

The complex problems of mobility, congestion, and energy resources demand creative solutions if we are to improve the living conditions of our urban areas. Many urban centers of our nation need dependable and affordable mass transit systems. The first line of responsibility must lie with the local governments. They must be given the latitude to design and implement the transportation system best suited to their singular circumstances. Republicans believe we should encourage effective competition among diverse modes of transporta-

tion. The role of the federal government should be one of giving financial and technical support to local authorities, through surface transportation block grants. Because of the long planning and construction times inherent in bus, rail, and other mass transit systems, a consistent and dependable source of revenue should be established.

Mass transportation offers the prospect for significant energy conservation. In addition, both management and labor agree that ease of access to the workplace is an important factor in employment decisions and industrial plant location. Lack of adequate access is a major reason why businesses have moved out of crowded urban areas, resulting in lower tax bases for cities. To encourage existing businesses to remain in urban centers and to attract new businesses to urban areas, it is vital that adequate public and private transportation facilities be provided.

RURAL TRANSPORTATION

Republicans recognize the importance of transportation in the rural areas of America.

Public transit is becoming more significant to rural areas as the costs of energy rise. While public transit will not replace the importance of private vehicles in rural America, it can serve as a vital adjunct to transportation in neighborhoods throughout rural America.

JOBS AND THE WORKPLACE

We propose to put Americans back to work again by restoring real growth without inflation to the United States economy. Republican programs and initiatives detailed in this platform will create millions of additional new jobs in the American workplace. As a result of Mr. Carter's recession, more than eight million Americans are now out of work.

Sweeping change in America's economic policy is needed. We must replace the Carter Administration's promise of hard times and austerity — one promise which has been kept — with Republican policies that restore economic growth and create more jobs.

The Democratic Congress and the Carter Administration are espousing programs that candidate Carter in 1976 said were inhumane; using recession, unemployment, high interest rates, and high taxes to fight inflation. The Democrats are now trying to stop inflation with a recession, a bankrupt policy which is throwing millions of Americans out of work. They say Americans must tighten their belts, abandon their dreams, and accept higher taxes, less take-home pay, fewer jobs, and no growth in the national economy.

We categorically reject this approach. Inflation is too much money chasing too few goods. Shutting down our nation's factories and throwing millions of people out of work leads only to shortages and higher prices.

We believe inflation can only be controlled by monetary and spending restraint, combined with sharp reductions in the tax and regulatory barriers to savings, investment, production, and jobs.

THE NEED FOR GROWTH AND ITS IMPACT ON WORKERS

The Republican Party believes nothing is more important to our nation's defense and social well-being than economic growth.

Since 1973, the U.S. economy has grown in real terms at a rate of only 1.9 percent a year. This is barely half of the 3.7 percent annual growth rate we experienced between 1950 and 1973 and well below the 4.6 percent growth rate we enjoyed between 1961 and 1969. If our economy continues to grow at its current rate of less than two percent a year, our Gross National Product (GNP) will barely reach $3 trillion by 1990.

But if we can regain the growth we experienced during the economic boom of the 1960's, our GNP will reach nearly $4 trillion by the end of the decade, nearly one-third higher.

With this kind of economic growth, incomes would be substantially higher and jobs would be plentiful. Federal revenues would be high enough to provide for a balanced budget, adequate funding of health, education and social spending, and unquestioned military preeminence, with enough left over to reduce payroll and income taxes on American workers and retirees. Economic growth would generate price stability as the expanding economy eliminated budget deficits and avoided pressure on the Federal Reserve to create more money. And the social gains from economic growth would be enormous. Faster growth, higher incomes, and plentiful jobs are exactly what the unemployed, the underprivileged, and minorities have been seeking for many years.

All working men and women of America have much to gain from economic growth and a healthy business environment. It enhances their bargaining position by fostering competition among potential employers to provide more attractive working conditions, better retirement and health benefits, higher wages and salaries, and generally improving job security. A stagnant economy, which Democratic policies have brought about, decreases competition among business for workers, discourages improved employee benefits, reduces income levels, and dramatically increases unemployment.

SAVINGS, PRODUCTIVITY, AND JOBS

Savings and investment are the keys to economic growth. Only that part of national income which goes into savings and which is not consumed by government deficits is available to finance real economic growth.

Americans now save less than any other people in the Western world because inflation and the high rates of taxation imposed by the Carter Administration and the Democratic Congress have destroyed their ability and incentive

to save and invest. This has strangled economic growth, choked off private initiative, pushed up prices, and retarded productivity and job creation.

The sharp drop in the growth of American productivity is the main reason why Americans' average real weekly earnings are no more than they were 19 years ago. This problem has worsened to the point that workers earn eight percent less in real purchasing power as the Carter term comes to a close than they did when it began.

The 25 years of Democratic domination of the Congress have cost us a generation of lost opportunities. The Carter Administration in particular has opposed every Republican effort to restore the health of the economy through lower taxes on work effort, savings, and the modernization of America's productive machinery.

Republicans are committed to an economic policy based on lower tax rates and a reduced rate of government spending.

Therefore, the Republican Party pledges to:

— reduce tax rates on individuals and businesses to increase incentives for all Americans and to encourage more savings, investment, output and productivity, and more jobs for Americans:

— provide special incentives for saving by lowering the tax rates on savings and investment income;

— revitalize our productive capacities by simplifying and accelerating tax depreciation schedules for facilities, structures, equipment, and vehicles;

— limit government spending to a fixed and smaller percentage of the Gross National Product; and

— balance the budget without tax increases at these lower levels of taxation and spending.

We also oppose Carter proposals to impose withholding on dividend and interest income. They would serve as a disincentive to save and invest and create needless paperwork burdens for government, business, industry, and the private citizen. They would literally rob the saver of the benefits of interest compounding and automatic dividend reinvestment programs.

Unless taxes are reduced and federal spending is restrained, our nation's economy faces continued inflation, recession, and economic stagnation. Tax rate reductions and spending restraint will restore the savings and investment needed to create new jobs, increase living standards, and restore our competitive position in the world.

EMPLOYMENT SAFETY-NET

To those individuals who have lost their jobs because of the Carter recession, we pledge to ensure that they receive their rightfully earned unemployment compensation benefits.

The Republican Party recognizes the need to provide workers who have lost their jobs because of technological obsolescence or imports the opportunity to adjust to changing economic conditions. In particular, we will seek ways to assist workers threatened by foreign competition.

The Democratic Administration's inability to ensure fairness and equity between our nation and some of our trading partners has resulted in massive unemployment in many core industries. As we meet in Detroit, this Party makes special notice that among the hardest hit have been the automotive workers whose jobs are now targeted by aggressive foreign competition. Much of this problem is a result of the present Administration's inability to negotiate foreign trade agreements which do not jeopardize American jobs. We will take steps to ensure competitiveness of our domestic industries to protect American jobs. But for workers who have already lost their jobs, we will provide assistance incentives for job retraining and placement, and job search and relocation allowances. Toward this end, we will pursue specific tax and regulatory changes to revitalize America's troubled basic industries. We will also seek the aid of private individuals, businesses, and non-profit organizations to formulate creative new self-supporting answers to training and placement problems as well as non-governmental sources of temporary financial support.

The Republican Party believes that protectionist tariffs and quotas are detrimental to our economic well-being. Nevertheless, we insist that our trading partners offer our nation the same level of equity, access, and fairness that we have shown them. The mutual benefits of trade require that it be conducted in the spirit of reciprocity. The Republican Party will consider appropriate measures necessary to restore equal and fair competition between ourselves and our trading partners.

The international exchange of goods and services must take place under free and unfettered conditions of market entry.

TRAINING AND SKILLS

Unemployment is a growing problem for millions of Americans, but is an unparalleled disaster for minority Americans. As this country's economic growth has slowed over the past decade, unemployment has become more intractable. The gravity of the crisis is so severe that as we entered the present recession, unemployment was over six percent for the entire labor force but it was 33 percent for minority youth. In addition, the black unemployment rate was 10.8 percent and youth between the ages of 16 and 24 continued to account for about one-half of the total unemployed.

Despite the almost $100 billion spent on well-intended public sector employment and training programs, the structural unemployment problem continues to fester among minorities and young people. In addition to providing a growth climate for job creation, specific and targeted programs must be developed to alleviate these problems.

Since four out of five jobs are in the private sector, the success of federal employment efforts is dependent on private sector participation. It must be recognized as the ultimate location for unsubsidized jobs, as the provider of means to attain this end, and as an active participant in the formulation of employment and training policies on the local and national level. Throughout America, the private and independent sectors have repeatedly helped in the creation of minority business through donated counseling and consulting services. They have encouraged equal opportunity hiring practices within their own industries and have built nonprofit, self-supporting training centers where the products produced during training are sold to support the programs.

A coordinated approach needs to be developed which maximizes the use of existing community resources, offers adequate incentives to the private sector, focuses on both large and small business, and minimizes red tape.

In recognizing the seriousness of the youth employment problem, Republicans also realize that a job alone will do very little to move a disadvantaged young person beyond the poverty line. Republicans support the creation of comprehensive programs for disadvantaged youth which would offer pre-employment training, education, instruction, and job placement and retention services. Republicans support efforts to establish and maintain programs which seek to match the needs of the private sector and our young people as efficiently and effectively as possible. We also support expansion for proven skill training practices, such as apprenticeship, as well as private schools and trade schools. These methods can provide quality training and point toward the acquisition of specific job skills leading to specific employment goals.

We will encourage and foster the growth of new organizations operated by public-private partnerships to help forge a closer link between the schools and private employers. These institutions can afford in-school and out-of-school disadvantaged youth the opportunity to upgrade basic skills, acquire work habits and orientation to work, and move directly from successful completion of the program to private unsubsidized jobs.

We believe that present laws create additional barriers for unemployed youth. One of the keys to resolving the youth unemployment problem is to reduce the cost to private employers of hiring young people who lack the necessary skills and experience to become immediately productive. Unfortunately, current government policy makes it too expensive for employers to hire unskilled youths. We urge a reduction of payroll tax rates, a youth differential for the minimum wage, and alleviation of other costs of employment until a young person can be a productive employee.

SMALL BUSINESS

Small business is the backbone of the American economy, with unique strengths and problems which must be recognized and addressed. For more than half of all American workers, the workplace is a small business. Small business is

family business both in the sense that many of them are owned and operated by single families, and also because most American families rely not only on the goods and services, but on the jobs produced there for their livelihood and standard of living.

Republicans have demonstrated their sensitivity to the problems of the small business community. The Carter Administration held a conference to learn what Republicans have long known. In the Congress, we have been working to pass legislation to solve small business problems and achieve the very goals later identified by that conference. A 1978 initiative by the late Representative Bill Steiger reduced the capital gains tax rates which were destroying capital formation in America. Under the leadership of Republicans in Congress, efforts to simplify and liberalize the restrictive depreciation schedule are a top priority. Another proposal long advocated by our Party is the drive to encourage the entrepreneur by reform of the regulatory laws which stifle the very life of business through fines, threats, and harassment. Republicans realize the immediate necessity of reducing the regulatory burden to give small business a fighting chance against the federal agencies. We believe that wherever feasible, small business should be exempt from regulations and, where exemption is not feasible, small business should be subject to a less onerous tier of regulation. We have offered legislation to reimburse small businessmen who successfully challenge the federal government in court. Republicans believe the number one priority for small business in America is the achievement of lower business and personal tax rates for small businessmen and women and we intend to work to secure them.

All of these initiatives will receive immediate attention from a Republican Administration and Congress. Without such changes as these, the small entrepreneur, who takes the risks which help make the economy grow and provides over 90 percent of all new jobs annually, will be an endangered species.

By fostering small business growth, we are promoting permanent private sector solutions to the unemployment problem. We will continue to provide for small business needs by enacting a substantial increase in the surtax exemption. The heavy estate tax burden imposed on the American people is threatening the life savings of millions of our families, forcing spouses and children to sell their homes, businesses, and family farms to pay the estate taxes. To encourage continuity of family ownership, we will seek to ease this tax burden on all Americans and abolish excessive inheritance taxes to allow families to retain and pass on their small businesses and family farms.

We will reform the patent laws to facilitate innovation and we will further this goal by encouraging a greater share of federal research and development be done by small businesses. Finally, we will reform those tax laws which make it more profitable to break up a small business or merge it into a conglomerate than to allow it to grow and develop as an independent business.

FAIRNESS TO THE WORKER

The Republican Party is committed to full employment without inflation. We will seek to provide more jobs, increase the standard of living, and ensure equitable treatment on the job for all American workers by stimulating economic growth.

We reaffirm our commitment to the fundamental principle of fairness in labor relations, including the legal right of unions to organize workers and to represent them through collective bargaining consistent with state laws and free from unnecessary government involvement. We applaud the mutual efforts of labor and management to improve the quality of work life.

Wage demands today often represent the attempt of working men and women to catch up with government-caused inflation and high tax rates. With the blessing of the Democrats' majority in Congress, the Council on Wage and Price Stability has put a de facto ceiling of seven to eight and one-half percent on workers' wages, while the Administration devalues their paychecks at a rate of 13 to 15 percent. The government, not the worker, is the principal cause of inflation.

We recognize the need for governmental oversight of the health and safety of the workplace, without interfering in the economic well-being of employers or the job security of workers.

The Republican Party reaffirms its long-standing support for the right of states to enact "Right-to-Work" laws under section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act.

The political freedom of every worker must be protected. Therefore, the Republican Party strongly supports protections against the practice of using compulsory dues and fees for partisan political purposes.

FAIRNESS TO THE CONSUMER

The Republican Party shares the concerns of consumers that there be full disclosure and fairness in the marketplace. We recognize that government regulation and taxes add significantly to costs of goods and services to the consumer, reducing the standard of living for all Americans. For example, safety and environmental standards, some of which are counterproductive, increase the average price of a new car by over $700. Compliance with those regulations alone costs motorists as much as $12 billion a year.

Fairness to the consumer, like fairness to the employer and the worker, requires that government perform certain limited functions and enforce certain safeguards to ensure that equity, free competition, and safety exist in the free market economy. However, government action is not itself the solution to consumer problems; in fact, it has become in large measure a part of the problem. By consistent enforcement of law and enhancement of fair competition, government can and should help the consumer.

An informed consumer making economic choices and decisions in the marketplace is the best regulator of the free enterprise system. Consumers are also taxpayers, workers, investors, shoppers, farmers, and producers. The Republican Party recognizes the need for consumer protection but feels that such protection will not be enhanced by the creation of a new consumer protection bureaucracy. Just as there can be no single monolithic consumer viewpoint, so the Republican Party opposes the funding of special self-proclaimed advocates to represent consumer interests in federal agency proceedings.

FAIRNESS TO THE EMPLOYER

The Republican Party declares war on government overregulation. We pledge to cut down on federal paperwork, cut out excessive regulation, and cut back the bloated bureaucracy.

In addressing these problems we recognize that overregulation is particularly harmful to America's small businesses whose survival is often threatened by the excessive costs of complying with government rules and handling federal paperwork.

While we recognize the role of the federal government in establishing certain minimum standards designed to improve the quality of life in America, we reaffirm our conviction that these standards can best be attained through innovative efforts of American business without the federal government mandating the methods of attainment.

The extraordinary growth of government, particularly since the middle 1960's, has brought mounting costs to society which, in turn, have added to inflationary pressures, reduced productivity, discouraged new investment, destroyed jobs, and increased bureaucratic intrusion into everyday life.

Regulatory costs are now running in excess of $100 billion each year, or about $1,800 for every American family. Federal paperwork annually costs businesses from $25 to $32 billion. According to official figures, it takes individuals and business firms over 143 million man-hours to complete 4,400 different federal forms each year. Government regulation produces many indirect, immeasurable costs as well and has led to increased bureaucratization of industry. Regulation also restricts personal choices, tends to undermine America's democratic public institutions, and threatens to destroy the private, competitive free market economy it was originally designed to protect.

GOVERNMENT REFORM

In the face of a crisis of overregulation, the Carter Administration and the Democrats who control Congress have failed to recognize the problems facing workers, employers, and consumers and seem unable to come to grips with the underlying causes. While belatedly supporting transportation deregulation programs initiated by previous Republican Administrations, they have em-

barked on ambitious new schemes to tighten Washington's hold on energy and education. They have ignored or sidetracked Republican proposals to eliminate wasteful and outmoded spending programs and regulations. They have combined to push through more legislation and create additional programs which expand the size and power of the federal bureaucracy at the expense of ordinary taxpayers, consumers, and businesses. In contradiction to 1976 Carter campaign promises to cut back on regulation, the number of pages in the Federal Register devoted to new rules and regulations has increased from 57,072 in 1976 to 77,497 in 1979 and will approach 90,000 by the end of 1980.

The result of Democratic rule in both the White House and the Congress is that government power has grown unchecked. Excessive regulation remains a major component of our nation's spiraling inflation and continues to stifle private initiative, individual freedom, and state and local government autonomy.

The Republican Party pledges itself to a comprehensive program of government reform. We propose to enact a temporary moratorium on all new federal regulations that diminish the supply of goods and services and add significantly to inflation. Such a moratorium will be consistent with the goal of achieving a safe and healthy working environment. We shall work to reduce substantially the regulatory and paperwork burdens on small businesses.

We encourage management and labor to form joint safety and health committees to make the workplace a better place to produce goods and services. At the same time we believe that the arbitrary and high-handed tactics used by OSHA bureaucrats must end. OSHA should concentrate its resources on encouraging voluntary compliance by employers and monitoring situations where close federal supervision is needed and serious hazards are most likely to occur. OSHA should be required to consult with, advise, and assist businesses in coping with the regulatory burden before imposing any penalty for noncompliance. Small businesses and employers with good safety records should be exempt from safety inspections, and penalties should be increased for those with consistently poor performance.

AGRICULTURE

In no American workplace is there to be found greater productivity, cooperation, neighborly concern, creative use of applied science, information and relevant research, honesty, perseverance, hard work, and independence than on the farm and ranch.

The Republican Party takes pride in the ability of American farmers to provide abundant, high quality, and nutritious food and fiber for all our citizens including those most in need and to millions throughout the world, and at the same time to supply the largest single component in our export balance of trade.

Crisis in Agriculture

Four years of the Carter Administration and 25 consecutive years of a Congress controlled by Democrats have brought farmers and ranchers to the

brink of disaster and the hardest times they have known since the Great Depression. In the last four years, more than 100,000 family farms have failed as farm income has plummeted. Even the present Administration's own figures show a decrease in real net farm income of some 40 percent in the last year alone — from $33 billion in 1979 to less than $22 billion projected for 1980.

The Democratic Party and the Carter Administration have abused their authority and failed in their responsibility to provide sound agricultural policies. Republicans pledge to make life in rural America prosperous again. We will:

- increase net farm income by supporting and refining programs to bring profitable farm prices with the goal of surpassing parity levels in a market-oriented agricultural economy;
- control inflation by adopting sound fiscal and monetary policies and by eliminating excessive and unnecessary federal regulations;
- expand markets at home by effectively utilizing the advantages of the energy potential for farm, forestry, and other biomass products. We encourage the continued innovative efforts in developing alcohol and other renewable energy sources and equipment for both on-farm and commercial use;
- aggressively expand markets abroad by effectively using the Eisenhower Food for Peace program and revolving credit incentives, working to remove foreign restraints on American products, and encouraging the development of dependable new markets in developing countries;
- assure a priority allocation of fuel for U.S. agriculture, including food and fiber production, transportation, and processing; and
- combine efforts to encourage the renewable resource timber production capability of privately-owned forests and woodlands with a federal program committed to multiple-use (timber, recreation, wildlife, watershed and/or range management) where federal land has not been designated as wilderness.

Rural America

Attention to the quality of life in our rural areas is a vital necessity because rural Americans impart a special strength to the national character. It is our goal to assure that all rural citizens — whether they are farmers or not — have the same consideration in matters of economic development, in energy, credit and transportation availability, and in employment opportunities which is given to those who live in towns and cities. The opportunity for non-farm jobs enhances the ability of people to live and work in rural America in the decade ahead, and our dedication to a prosperous and energetic rural America is part and parcel of our commitment to make America great again.

Expand Export Markets

Agriculture's contribution to the U.S. trade balance makes it especially fitting that an aggressive market development program to establish dependable new markets for farm exports will be a vital part of the policies to restore profitability to American agriculture. Republicans will ensure that:

- international trade is conducted on the basis of fair and effective competition and that all imported agricultural products meet the same standards of quality that are required of American producers;
- the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade becomes a meaningful vehicle for handling agricultural trade problems and grievances;
- an aggressive agricultural market development program and the streamlining of the export marketing system is given top national priority;
- government-to-government sales of agricultural commodities be eliminated, except as specifically provided by law;
- the future of U.S. agricultural commodities is protected from the economic evils of predatory dumping by other producing nations and that the domestic production of these commodities, so important to the survival of individuals and small rural communities is preserved; and
- the important and productive potential of the commercial seafood industry is given encouragement.

Farmer-Held Reserves

We support farmer-owned grain reserves, should they become necessary, and adamantly oppose government-controlled reserves.

Grain Embargo

We believe that agricultural embargoes are only symbolic and are ineffective tools of foreign policy. We oppose singling out American farmers to bear the brunt of Carter's ill-conceived, ineffective, and improperly implemented grain embargo. The Carter grain embargo should be terminated immediately.

Excessive Regulation of Agriculture

The crushing burden of excessive federal regulations such as many of those imposed on farmers, ranchers, foresters, and commercial fishermen by OSHA, EPA, the Departments of Agriculture, Labor, Justice, Interior, and other government entities are unrealistic and unnecessary.

We pledge a sensible approach to reduce excessive federal regulation that is draining the profitability from farming, ranching, and commercial fishing. Especially high on the agenda for changes in policy under Republican leadership are such regulatory issues as the Interior Department's ineffective predator control policies, EPA and FDA's excessive adherence to "zero risk" policies

relative to the use of pesticides, herbicides, antibiotics, food additives, preservatives, and the like.

Soil and Water Conservation

We believe the strong soil and water conservation stewardship to which farmers, ranchers, watermen, and rural Americans are devoted is exemplary, and encourage appropriate local, state, and federal programs to give conservation practices vitality. Voluntary participation with adequate incentives is essential to the effective conservation of our soil and water resources.

Water Policy

The conservation and development of the nation's water resources are vital requisites for rebuilding America's national strength. The natural abundance of water can no longer be taken for granted. The impending crisis in water could be far more serious than our energy problems unless we act now. A dynamic water policy, which addresses our national diversity in climate, geography, and patterns of land ownership, and includes all requirements across the spectrum of water use, including Reclamation policy, will be a priority of the Republican Administration working with the advice and counsel of state and local interests. We must develop a partnership between the federal and state governments which will not destroy traditional state supremacy in water law. Further, there must be cooperation between the Executive Branch and Congress in developing and implementing that policy. Lack of such partnership has resulted in four years of bitter confrontation between the states and the obstructive policies of the Democratic Administration. The Congress has been frustrated in its efforts to conserve and develop our water resources. Working together, the states and the federal government can meet the impending water crisis through innovative and alternative approaches to such problems as cleaning our lakes and rivers, reducing toxic pollution, developing multiple-use projects, and achieving a workable balance between the many competing demands on our water resources.

Agricultural Labor

Comprehensive labor legislation, which will be fair to American workers and encourage better relations with our neighbors in Mexico and Canada with whom we wish to establish a working North American Accord, is an essential endeavor. We deplore disruptive work stoppages which interrupt the supply of food to consumers.

Taxation

Federal estate and gift taxes have a particularly pernicious effect on family farms. Young farmers who inherit farm property are often forced to sell off part of the family farm to pay taxes. Once these taxes are paid, young farmers often must begin their careers deeply in debt. Our tax laws must be reformed to encourage rather than discourage family farming and ranching.

We deplore the imposition of present excessive estate and gift taxes on family farms. We support the use of lower, productivity-based valuation when farms are transferred within the family. Further, we believe that no spouse should pay estate taxes on farm property inherited from a husband or wife. We support the Republican tax cut proposal which provides accelerated depreciation and expanded investment tax credits to farm vehicles, equipment, and structures. Finally, we support legislation which would remove tax advantages foreign investors realize on the sale of U.S. forests, farmland, and other real estate.

Rural Transportation

It is essential to the well-being and security of our nation that an adequate rural transportation system be restored as a vital link between rural areas and their markets, both domestic and export. Overall, we pledge to eliminate those rules and regulations which restrict the free flow of commerce and trade of agricultural products and encourage an environment that will enhance the private development and improvement of all modes of transportation to move agricultural production swiftly, safely, and economically. Recognizing the inherent advantages of each mode of transportation, the Republican Party will work to encourage and allow those advantages to be utilized on a balanced and equitable basis.

We believe the federal 55 miles per hour speed limit is counterproductive and contributes to higher costs of goods and services to all communities, particularly in rural America. The most effective, no-cost federal assistance program available would be for each state to set its own speed limit.

A Strong USDA

We pledge an Administration dedicated to restoring profitability to agriculture. A top priority will be the selection of a qualified and effective Secretary and policy staff who will speak up for American farmers — and a President who will listen.

America's preeminence in agriculture is rooted in a system of agricultural research, extension, and teaching — unique and unequalled in the world. Land Grant Universities focus on problems of national, regional, and local concern. Cooperative extension, operating in every county of the United States and its territories, brings the results of USDA and Land Grant University research to farmers and ranchers, rural women, consumers, agribusiness, and to youth through 4-H programs.

Food Safety

The Republican Party favors a legislative effort to revise and modernize our food safety laws, providing guidelines for risk assessment, benefit assessment, peer review, and regulatory flexibility which are consistent with other government health and safety policies.

Cooperatives

We believe farmer cooperatives and rural electric and telephone cooperatives provide essential benefits to farmers and the rural Americans they serve, and we support exclusive jurisdiction of USDA in the effective administration of the Capper-Volstead Act.

We Republicans pledge ourselves to work with farmers, ranchers, and our friends and neighbors to make America great again.

THE NATION

Though a relatively young nation among those of western civilization, we are possessed of one of the oldest institutions of government extant. Steeped in the Judeo-Christian ethic and in Anglo-Saxon theories of law and right, our legal and political institutions have evolved over many generations to form a stable system that serves free men and women well. It governs a people of multifarious heritage dispersed across a great continent of marked geographical contrasts. It presides over a diverse economy that in its collective whole is the largest, most powerful, and most resilient in the world. In the two centuries of its life, though it has from time to time been sorely tested by constitutional, economic, and social crises, it has stood and not been found wanting. Its timeless strength, coupled with and reinforced by the faith and good will, the wisdom and confidence of the people from whom it derives its powers, has preserved us as a nation of enormous vitality.

The intent of the Founders, embraced and reflected by succeeding generations of Americans, was that the central government should perform only those functions which are necessary concomitants of nationality, preserve order, and do for people only those things which they cannot do for themselves. The durability of our system lies in its flexibility and its accommodation to diversity and changing circumstance. It is notable as much for what it permits as for what it proscribes. Government must ever be the servant of the nation, not its master.

BIG GOVERNMENT

Under the guise of providing for the common good, Democratic Party domination of the body politic over the last 47 years has produced a central government of vastly expanded size, scope, and rigidity. Confidence in government, especially big government, has been the chief casualty of too many promises made and broken, too many commitments unkept. It is time for change — time to de-emphasize big bureaucracies — time to shift the focus of national politics from expanding government's power to that of restoring the strength of smaller communities such as the family, the neighborhood, and the workplace.

Government's power to take and tax, to regulate and require, has already reached extravagant proportions. As government's power continues to grow, the

"consent of the governed" will diminish. Republicans support an end to the growth of the federal government and pledge to return the decision-making process to the smaller communities of society.

The emergence of policies and programs which will revitalize the free enterprise system and reverse the trend toward regulation is essential. To sustain the implementation of such policy, it is necessary to raise the public awareness and understanding that our free enterprise system is the source of all income, government and private, and raise the individual's awareness of his or her vested interest in its growth and vitality.

The Republican Party believes that it is important to develop a growing constituency which recognizes its direct relationship to the health and success of free enterprise, and realizes the negative impact of excessive regulation. Education and involvement in the system are the best means to accomplish this. To this end, we will actively pursue new and expanding opportunities for all Americans to become more directly involved in our free enterprise system.

GOVERNMENT REORGANIZATION

The Republican Party reaffirms its belief in the decentralization of the federal government and in the traditional American principle that the best government is the one closest to the people. There, it is less costly, more accountable, and more responsive to people's needs. Against the prevailing trend toward increased centralization of government under the Democrats, Republicans succeeded in the 1970's in initiating large scale revenue sharing and block grant programs to disperse the power of the federal government and share it with the states and localities.

Our states and localities have the talent, wisdom, and determination to respond to the variety of demands made upon them. Bloc grants and revenue sharing provide local governments with the means and the flexibility to solve their own problems in ways most appropriate for each locale. Unlike categorical grants, they do not lock states and localities into priorities and needs perceived by Washington. They are also more efficient because block grants and revenue sharing relieve both local government and the federal government from the costly and complicated process of program application, implementation, and review associated with the categorical grant system.

We pledge to continue and redouble our efforts to return power to the state and local governments. The regionalization of government encouraged by federal policies diminishes the responsiveness of state and local governments and impairs the power of the people to control their destiny.

While Republican efforts have been focused on sharing revenue and the power that goes with it, the Carter Administration has been preoccupied with the reorganization and consolidation of central authority. As a result, we have the Departments of Energy and Education, for example, but no more oil and gas, or learning, to show for it.

When we mistakenly rely on government to solve all our problems we ignore the abilities of people to solve their own problems. We pledge to renew the dispersion of power from the federal government to the states and localities. But this will not be enough. We pledge to extend the process so that power can be transferred as well to non-governmental institutions.

GOVERNMENT REFORM

We favor the establishment of a commission of distinguished citizens to recommend ways of reorganizing and reducing the size and scope of the Executive Branch. Federal departments, agencies, and bureaus should be consolidated where possible to end waste and improve the delivery of essential services. Republicans pledge to eliminate bureaucratic red tape and reduce government paperwork. Agencies should be made to justify every official form and filing requirement. Where possible, we favor deregulation, especially in the energy, transportation, and communications industries. We believe that the marketplace, rather than the bureaucrats, should regulate management decisions.

The unremitting delegation of authority to the rule-makers by successive Democratic Congresses and the abuse of that authority has led to our current crisis of overregulation. For that reason, we support use of the Congressional veto, sunset laws, and strict budgetary control of the bureaucracies as a means of eliminating unnecessary spending and regulations. Agencies should be required to review existing regulations and eliminate those that are outmoded, duplicative, or contradictory. They must conduct cost-benefit analyses of major proposed regulations to determine their impact on the economy, on public health and safety, on state and local government, and on competition. We recommend legislation which would eliminate the present presumption of validity in favor of federal regulations. We also support legislation to require the federal government to provide restitution to those who have been wrongfully injured by agency actions. We oppose the use of tax monies by any federal agency to pay the expenses of intervenors in the rule-making process.

We recognize that there are dangers inherent in the rapid growth of the federal bureaucracy, especially the arbitrary nature of its discretionary power and the abuses of procedural safeguards. Accordingly, we pledge to work for fundamental changes in the federal Administrative Procedures Act in order to give citizens the same constitutional protections before a government agency that they have in a courtroom. Among these reforms are requirements that agencies publish in the Federal Register all rules and statements of policy before they are adopted, that a person be guaranteed written notice and the opportunity to submit facts and arguments in any adjudicatory proceeding, that an agency decision be consistent with prior decisions unless otherwise provided by law, and that a person may seek judicial review without first exhausting his or her administrative remedies. At the same time we urge the Congress to

strengthen its oversight to ensure that the agencies comply with the deadlines, report filing, and other requirements mandated by law.

We propose to repeal federal restrictions and rewrite federal standards which hinder minorities from finding employment, starting their own businesses, gaining valuable work experience, or enjoying the fruits of their own labors.

Because there are too many federal employees in comparison to private sector employees, there should be no further increase in the number of civilian federal employees if that would increase the ratio of federal employees to private sector employees over the present ratio.

ELECTION REFORM

The Republican Party has consistently encouraged full participation in our electoral processes and is disturbed by the steady decline in voter participation in the United States in recent years. We believe that the increased voter turnout during the past year in Republican campaigns is due to dissatisfaction with Democratic officials and their failure to heed popular demands to cut taxes, restrain spending, curb inflation, and drastically reduce regulation.

Republicans support public policies that will promote electoral participation without compromising ballot-box security. We strongly oppose national postcard voter registration schemes because they are an open invitation to fraud.

Republicans support public policies that encourage political activity by individual citizens. We support the repeal of those restrictive campaign spending limitations that tend to create obstacles to local grassroots participation in federal elections. We also oppose the proposed financing of Congressional campaigns with taxpayers' dollars as an effort by the Democratic Party to protect its incumbent Members of Congress with a tax subsidy. We prefer the present system of having the states and party rules determine the presidential nominating process to the concept of a uniform national primary which would only add to the already high costs of, and excessive federal intrusion into, presidential campaigns.

We support the critical roles of competitive political parties in the recruitment of candidates, the conduct of campaigns, and the development of broad-based public policy responsive to the people. We urge Congress and state legislatures to frame their regulations of campaign finance, their nominating systems, and other election laws to strengthen rather than weaken parties.

ARTS AND HUMANITIES

Recent Republican Administrations led the way in bringing together private support and governmental encouragement to effect a tremendous expansion of artistic and scholarly endeavor. The Carter Administration has crudely

politicized these programs, lowering their standards of excellence and increasing federal control over them.

The Republican Party will restore the sound economy which is absolutely necessary for the arts and humanities to flourish. We will restore, as well, the integrity of federal programs in this area. Most important, to ensure the continued primacy of private funding for the arts, we reiterate our support of broader tax incentives for contributions to charitable and cultural organizations.

TRANSPORTATION

America's transportation system must be designed to meet the requirements of the people, not to dictate what those requirements should be. Essential to any industrialized country is a transportation system which provides efficient and reliable service for both the movement of people and freight, urban and rural, domestic and foreign. Our nation has one of the finest transportation systems in the world but there is a danger that it will be unable to meet the future needs of a growing America.

Present levels of public and private investment will not preserve the existing system. For example, highways are deteriorating twice as fast as they are being rebuilt and inadequate rehabilitation will soon cost users more in reduced service levels than the cost of adequate rehabilitation.

The demand for transportation will grow dramatically in the next two decades with people-miles travelled increasing by over 50 percent and freight ton-miles more than doubling.

Government overregulation is inhibiting the return on investment necessary to attract capital for future growth and jobs creation.

A maze of federal agencies, Congressional committees, and conflicting policies is driving up costs and retarding innovation.

A lackluster energy policy, impeding production of oil, coal, and other forms of energy is endangering transportation's ability to keep up with demand.

Consequently, the role of government in transportation must be redefined. The forces of the free market must be brought to bear to promote competition, reduce costs, and improve the return on investment to stimulate capital formation in the private sector. The role of government must change from one of overbearing regulation to one of providing incentives for technological and innovative developments, while assuring through anti-trust enforcement that neither predatory competitive pricing nor price gouging of captive customers will occur.

Increased emphasis must be placed on the importance of having a well-balanced national transportation system where highways, passenger vehicles, buses, trucks, pipelines, and rail, water, and air transportation each provides those services which it does best, while offering the widest range of reasonable choices for both passenger and freight movement. A sound transportation

system is a prerequisite for the vision of America that Republicans embrace — a prosperous, growing nation where dreams can still come true.

ENERGY

Energy is the lifeblood of our economy. Without adequate energy supplies now and in the future, the jobs of American men and women, the security of their lives, and their ability to provide for their families will be threatened and their standard of living will be lowered. Every American is painfully aware that our national energy situation has deteriorated badly over the past four years of Democratic control. Gasoline prices have more than doubled. Our oil import bill has risen 96 percent. Our energy supplies have become increasingly vulnerable because U.S. oil production outside of Alaska is now 23 percent below 1973 levels. The threat of sudden shortages, curtailments, and gas lines has become a recurring reality.

This steady deterioration has not only compounded our economic problems of inflation, recession, and dollar weakness, but even more importantly, it has infected our confidence as a nation. Energy shortages, spiralling costs, and increasing insecurity are beginning to darken our basic hopes and expectations for the future.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has very accurately focused on the effects that a no-growth energy policy will have on the opportunities of America's black people and other minorities. The NAACP said that "a pessimistic attitude toward energy supplies for the future . . . cannot satisfy the fundamental requirement of a society of expanding economic opportunity."

In commenting on the Carter energy proposals, the Association said, "We cannot accept the notion that our people are best served by a policy based upon the inevitability of energy shortage and the need for government to allocate an ever diminishing supply among competing interests . . . (The plan) reflects the absence of a black perspective in its development."

Three and one-half years ago, President Carter declared energy the "moral equivalent of war" and sent Congress 109 recommendations for action, including the creation of a new Department of Energy. Since then, the federal budget for government's energy bureaucracy has grown to about $10 billion per year and more than 20,000 pages of new energy regulations and guidelines have been issued. But these have not fostered the production of a single extra unit of energy.

The Democratic Congress has joined in the stampede, taking action on 304 energy bills since 1977. As a result, the federal bureaucracy is busy from coast to coast allocating gasoline, setting building temperatures, printing rationing coupons, and readying standby plans to ban weekend boating, close factories, and pass out "no drive day" stickers to American motorists — all the time saying, "we must make do with less." Never before in the history of American

government has so much been done at such great expense with such dismal results.

Republicans believe this disappointing cycle of shrinking energy prospects and expanding government regulation and meddling is wholly unnecessary. We believe that the proven American values of individual enterprise can solve our energy problems. This optimism stands in stark contrast to the grim predictions of the Democrats who have controlled Congress for the last 25 years.

They seem to believe not only that we are a nation without resources, but also that we have lost our resourcefulness. Republicans believe in the common sense of the American people rather than a complex web of government controls and interventions that threaten America's ability to grow. We are committed to an alternative strategy of aggressively boosting the nation's energy supplies; stimulating new energy technology and more efficient energy use; restoring maximum feasible choice and freedom in the marketplace for energy consumers and producers alike; and eliminating energy shortages and disruptions, which are a roadblock to renewed national economic growth, rising living standards, and a reawakening of the hopes and dreams of the American people for a better and more abundant future.

We believe the United States must proceed on a steady and orderly path toward energy self-sufficiency. But in the interim, our pressing need for insurance against supply disruption should not be made hostage to the whims of foreign governments, as is presently the case under the Carter Administration. We believe it is necessary to resume rapid filling of strategic oil reserves to planned levels of 500 million barrels in the short-term and ultimately to the one billion barrel level and to ensure that non-contiguous areas of the United States have their fair share of emergency oil reserves stored within their respective boundaries, as authorized by the Energy Policy and Conservation Act of 1975.

In order to increase domestic production of energy, Republicans advocate the decontrol of the price at the well head of oil and gas. We believe that the so-called windfall profits tax (which is unrelated to profit) should be repealed as it applies to small volume royalty owners, new oil, stripper wells, tertiary-recovery, and heavy crude oil, and that the phase-out of the tax on old oil should be accelerated. This tax legislation should be amended to include a plowback provision. We will seek decontrol of prices on all oil products and an end to government authority to allocate petroleum supplies except in national emergency. We also believe that market restrictions on the use of natural gas should be eliminated.

Coal, our most abundant energy resource, can bridge the gap between our other present energy sources and the renewable energy sources of the future. The coal industry has been virtually ignored by the Carter Administration and the Democratic Congress. In 1977, President Carter promised to double coal production by 1985. Instead, because of obstructionist actions of the Administration, coal production has increased by only 11 pecent to date and future

prospects are dim. Today, thousands of coal miners are out of work and without hope for the future.

Republicans support a comprehensive program of regulatory reform, improved incentives, and revision of cumbersome and overly stringent Clean Air Act regulations. This program will speed conversion of utility, industrial, and large commercial oil-burning boilers to coal to the greatest extent feasible, thus substantially cutting our dependence on foreign oil. This program must begin immediately on a priority basis and be completed at the earliest date possible.

To effectively utilize this vast resource, our coal transportation systems must be upgraded and the government controls on them relaxed. Government regulations regarding the mining and use of coal must be simplified. We will propose a policy which will assure that governmental restraints, other than necessary and reasonable environmental controls, do not prevent the use of coal. We also reaffirm that mined lands must be returned to beneficial use and that states, in accordance with past Congressional mandate, have the primary responsibility to implement rules concerning the mining of coal which are adapted to the states' unique characteristics.

Coal, gas, and nuclear fission offer the best intermediate solutions to America's energy needs. We support accelerated use of nuclear energy through technologies that have been proven efficient and safe. The safe operation, as well as design, of nuclear generating plants will have our highest priority to assure the continued availability of this important energy source. The design and operation of these plants can be guaranteed in less than the 10 to 12 year lead time now required to license and build them. We believe that the licensing process can and should be streamlined through consolidation of the present process and the use of standardized reactor designs.

The Three Mile Island incident suggests the need for certain reforms, such as in the area of operator training, but illustrates that properly designed and operated nuclear plants do not endanger public health or safety. We further encourage the research, development, and demonstration of the breeder reactor with its potential for safely contributing to our nation's future energy supplies.

Nuclear power development requires sound plans for nuclear waste disposal and storage and reprocessing of spent fuel. Technical solutions to these problems exist, and decisive federal action to choose and implement solutions is essential. The Democratic-controlled Congress and Administration have failed to address the spent fuel problem. A Republican Congress and Administration will immediately begin to implement plans for regional away-from-reactor storage of spent fuel with the goal of implementation of a program no later than 1984.

Republicans are committed to the rapid development of permanent storage facilities for nuclear wastes. Since waste disposal is a national responsibility, no state should bear an unacceptable share of this responsibility.

Republicans will also move toward reprocessing of spent fuel.

Republicans will continue to support the development of new technologies to develop liquid, gaseous, and solid hydrocarbons which can be derived from coal, oil shale, and tar sands. The decontrol of oil and gas prices will eliminate any necessity for government support for a synthetic fuel industry except possibly for limited demonstration projects. Clean air, water, waste disposal, mine reclamation, and leasing rules must be made rational and final to accelerate private investment.

Gasohol is an important, immediately available source of energy that is helping to extend our petroleum reserves. We encourage development of a domestic gasohol industry.

We also believe the government must continue supporting productive research to speed the development of renewable energy technologies, including solar energy, geothermal, wind, nuclear fusion, alcohol synthesis, and biomass, to provide the next generation of energy sources.

Conservation clearly plays a vital role in the consideration and formulation of national energy policy. Republicans reject, however, the position of the Democrats which is to conserve through government fiat. Republicans understand that free markets based on the collective priorities and judgments of individual consumers will efficiently allocate the energy supplies to their most highly valued uses. We also believe that the role of government is best performed by structuring creative cost-effective incentives to achieve energy efficiency and conservation.

We reject unequivocally punitive gasoline and other energy taxes designed to artificially suppress energy consumption.

Much inefficient energy use results from government subsidization of imported oil and holding the price of natural gas substantially below its market value. When the price of energy is held artificially low, there is no incentive for conservation. This kind of energy consumption stems not from the excesses of the public, but the foolish policy distortions of government. Every BTU of genuine energy "waste" in our economy would rapidly disappear if we immediately and completely dismantled all remaining energy price controls and subsidies.

A Republican policy of decontrol, development of our domestic energy resources, and incentives for new supply and conservation technologies will substantially reduce our dependence on imported oil. We reject the Carter Administration's incessant excuse that the high price of imported oil and OPEC are the primary cause of inflation and recession at home and a weak dollar and declining balance of payments abroad. The fastest way to bring international oil prices under control is to stop printing so recklessly the dollars in which those prices are denominated. Fully 60 percent of the world oil price increase since 1973 represents the depreciation of our dollars rather than an increase in the real price of oil.

Virtually all major environmental legislation in the past decade reflected a bipartisan concern over the need to maintain a clean and healthful environment. While the new environmental policies have resulted in improving air quality, cleaner waters, and more careful analysis of toxic chemicals, the price paid has far exceeded the direct and necessary cost of designing and installing new control technology. In the energy area, the increased complexity of regulations, together with continual changes in the standards imposed, have brought about tremendous delays in the planning and construction of new facilities ranging from electric power plants to oil refineries, pipelines, and synthetic fuel plants.

Republicans believe that an effective balance between energy and environmental goals can be achieved. We can ensure that government requirements are firmly grounded on the best scientific evidence available, that they are enforced evenhandedly and predictably, and that the process of their development and enforcement has finality.

Republicans condemn the Democrats' withdrawal of a massive amount of the most promising federal lands from prospective energy development, including the rich potential of our Outer Continental Shelf. It has been estimated that by the end of the 1980's resources from government-controlled acreage could yield over two million barrels of oil per day and four trillion cubic feet of gas per year, the equivalent of nearly all of our imports from OPEC countries. It is clear that restrictive leasing policies have driven us further to depend on OPEC by severely impairing the exploration for, and development of, domestic oil, gas, and coal resources, thereby aggravating our balance of trade deficit and making our country less secure. Republicans will move toward making available all suitable federal lands for multiple use purposes including exploration and production of energy resources.

Republicans believe that in order to address our energy problem we must maximize our domestic energy production capability. In the short term, therefore, the nation must move forward on all fronts simultaneously, including oil and gas, coal, and nuclear. In the longer term, renewable resources must be brought significantly on line to replace conventional sources. Finally, in conjunction with this all-out production initiative, we must strive to maximize conservation and the efficient use of energy.

The return to the traditions that gave vitality and strength to this nation is urgent.

The free world — indeed western civilization — needs a strong United States. That strength requires a prospering economy. That economy will be secure with a vigorous domestic energy industry. That vigor can only be achieved in an atmosphere of freedom — one that encourages individual initiatives and personal resourcefulness.

ENVIRONMENT

The Republican Party reaffirms its long-standing commitment to the conservation and wise management of America's renewable natural resources.

We believe that a healthy environment is essential to the present and future well-being of our people, and to sustainable national growth.

The nature of environmental pollution is such that a government role is necessary to ensure its control and the proper protection of public health. Much progress has been made in achieving the goals of clean air, clean water, and control of toxic wastes. At the same time, we believe that it is imperative that environmental laws and regulations be reviewed and, where necessary, reformed to ensure that the benefits achieved justify the costs imposed. Too often, current regulations are so rigid and narrow that even individual innovations that improve the environment cannot be implemented. We believe, in particular, that regulatory procedures must be reformed to expedite decisionmaking. Endless delay harms both the environment and the economy.

We strongly affirm that environmental protection must not become a cover for a "no-growth" policy and a shrinking economy. Our economy can continue to grow in an acceptable environment.

We believe that agricultural policy should give emphasis to the stewardship of the nation's soil and water resources. The permanent loss of productive farmland is a growing problem and we encourage states and local communities to adopt policies that help maintain and protect productive agricultural land as a national asset.

IMMIGRATION AND REFUGEE POLICY

Residence in the United States is one of the most precious and valued of conditions. The traditional hospitality of the American people has been severely tested by recent events, but it remains the strongest in the world. Republicans are proud that our people have opened their arms and hearts to strangers from abroad and we favor an immigration and refugee policy which is consistent with this tradition. We believe that to the fullest extent possible those immigrants should be admitted who will make a positive contribution to America and who are willing to accept the fundamental American values and way of life. At the same time, United States immigration and refugee policy must reflect the interests of our national security and economic well-being. Immigration into this country must not be determined solely by foreign governments or even by the millions of people around the world who wish to come to America. The federal government has a duty to adopt immigration laws and follow enforcement procedures which will fairly and effectively implement the immigration policy desired by the American people.

The immediate adoption of this policy is essential to an orderly approach to the great problem of oppressed people seeking entry, so that the deserving can be accepted in America without adding to their hardships.

The refugee problem is an international problem and every effort should be made to coordinate plans for absorbing refugee populations with regional

bodies, such as the Organization of American States and the Association of South East Asian Nations, on a global basis.

THE JUDICIARY

Under Mr. Carter, many appointments to federal judgeships have been particularly disappointing. By his partisan nominations, he has violated his explicit campaign promise of 1976 and has blatantly disregarded the public interest. We pledge to reverse that deplorable trend, through the appointment of women and men who respect and reflect the values of the American people, and whose judicial philosophy is characterized by the highest regard for protecting the rights of law-abiding citizens, and is consistent with the belief in the decentralization of the federal government and efforts to return decision-making power to state and local elected officials.

We will work for the appointment of judges at all levels of the judiciary who respect traditional family values and the sanctity of innocent human life.

TAXES AND GOVERNMENT SPENDING

Elsewhere in this platform, we have pledged for the sake of individual freedom and economic growth to cut personal income tax rates for all. Republicans believe that these tax rate reductions should be complemented by firm limitations on the growth of federal spending as provided by the Roth-Kemp Bill. The Republican Party, therefore, pledges to place limits on federal spending as a percent of the Gross National Product. It is now over 21 percent. We pledge to reduce it. If federal spending is reduced as tax cuts are phased in, there will be sufficient budget surpluses to fund the tax cuts, and allow for reasonable growth in necessary program spending.

By increasing economic growth, tax rate reduction will reduce the need for government spending on unemployment, welfare, and public jobs programs. However, the Republican Party will also halt excessive government spending by eliminating waste, fraud, and duplication.

We believe that the Congressional budget process has failed to control federal spending. Indeed, because of its big spending bias, the budget process has actually contributed to higher levels of social spending, has prevented necessary growth in defense spending, and has been used to frustrate every Republican attempt to lower tax rates to promote economic growth.

The immediate burden of reducing federal spending rests on the shoulders of the President and the Congress. We believe a Republican President and a Republican Congress can balance the budget and reduce spending through legislative actions, eliminating the necessity for a Constitutional amendment to compel it. However, if necessary, the Republican Party will seek to adopt a Constitutional amendment to limit federal spending and balance the budget, except in time of national emergency as determined by a two-thirds vote of Congress.

GOVERNMENT LENDING

Not only has the Democratic Congress failed to control spending, but in the last 10 years federal credit assistance programs have soared out of control.

Many federal loan guarantees and related credit programs are off-budget. As a result, no one knows the nature and extent of our obligations or the effect such practices have on our economy. The best estimate is that outstanding federal credit is now close to $600 billion.

Runaway government lending can be just as dangerous as runaway federal spending.

The Republican Party will establish a workable federal credit policy that will bring order to the reckless lending practices of the past.

INFLATION

We consider inflation and its impact on jobs to be the greatest domestic threat facing our nation today. Mr. Carter must go! For what he has done to the dollar; for what he has done to the life savings of millions of Americans; for what he has done to retirees seeking a secure old age; for what he has done to young families aspiring to a home, an education for their children, and a rising living standard, Mr. Carter must not have another four years in office.

In his three and one-half years in office, Mr. Carter has presented and supported policies which carried inflation from 4.8 percent in 1976 to a peak of 18 percent during 1980.

He has fostered a 50 percent increase in federal spending, an increase of more than $200 billion, boosting spending in an era of scarce resources, and driving up prices.

He has through both inaction and deliberate policy permitted or forced tax increases of more than 70 percent, more than $250 billion, directly increasing the cost of living and the costs of hiring and producing. This has crippled living standards, productivity, and our ability to compete in the world. It has led to reduced output, scarcity, and higher prices.

He has imposed burdensome regulations and controls on production which have reduced the availability of domestic goods and energy resources, increased our dependence on imports, particularly in the energy area, driven down the value of the dollar, and driven up prices.

He has permitted continuing federal budget deficits and increased federal borrowing, forcing higher interest rates and inflationary money creation, increasing prices.

The inflation policies of the Carter Administration have been inconsistent, counterproductive, and tragically inept. Mr. Carter has blamed everyone from OPEC to the American people themselves for this crisis of inflation — everyone,

that is, but his own Administration and its policies which have been the true cause of inflation.

Inflation is too much money chasing too few goods. Much can be done to increase the growth of real output. But ultimately price stability requires a non-inflationary rate of growth of the money supply in line with the real growth of the economy. If the supply of dollars rapidly outstrips the quantity of goods, year in, year out, inflation is inevitable.

Ultimately, inflation is a decline in the value of the dollar, the monetary standard, in terms of the goods it can buy. Until the decade of the 1970's, monetary policy was automatically linked to the overriding objective of maintaining a stable dollar value. The severing of the dollar's link with real commodities in the 1960's and 1970's, in order to pursue economic goals other than dollar stability, has unleashed hyper-inflationary forces at home and monetary disorder abroad, without bringing any of the desired economic benefits. One of the most urgent tasks in the period ahead will be the restoration of a dependable monetary standard — that is, an end to inflation.

Lower tax rates, less spending, and a balanced budget are the keys to maintaining real growth and full employment as we end inflation by putting our monetary policy back on track. Monetary and fiscal policy must each play its part if we are to achieve our joint goals of full employment and price stability.

Unfortunately, Mr. Carter and the Democratic Congress seek to derail our nation's money creation policies by taking away the independence of the Federal Reserve Board. The same people who have so massively expanded government spending should not be allowed politically to dominate our monetary policy. The independence of the Federal Reserve System must be preserved.

The Republican Party believes inflation can be controlled only by fiscal and monetary restraint, combined with sharp reductions in the tax and regulatory disincentives for savings, investment, and productivity. Therefore, the Republican Party opposes the imposition of wage and price controls and credit controls.

Controls will not stop inflation, as past experience has shown. Wage and price controls will only result in shortages, inequities, black markets, and ultimately higher prices. We reject this short-sighted and misguided approach.

PEACE AND FREEDOM

PROLOGUE

At the start of the 1980's, the United States faces the most serious challenge to its survival in the two centuries of its existence. Our ability to meet this challenge demands a foreign policy firmly rooted in principle. Our eco-

nomic and social welfare in the 1980's may depend as much on our foreign and defense policy as it does on domestic policy. The Republican Party reasserts that it is the solemn purpose of our foreign policy to secure the people and free institutions of our nation against every peril; to hearten and fortify the love of freedom everywhere in the world; and to achieve a secure environment in the world in which freedom, democracy, and justice may flourish.

For three and one-half years, the Carter Administration has been without a coherent strategic concept to guide foreign policy, oblivious to the scope and magnitude of the threat posed to our security, and devoid of competence to provide leadership and direction to the free world. The Administration's conduct of foreign policy has undermined our friends abroad, and led our most dangerous adversaries to miscalculate the willingness of the American people to resist aggression. Republicans support a policy of peace through strength; weakness provokes aggression.

For three and one-half years the Carter Administration has given us a foreign policy not of constancy and credibility, but of chaos, confusion, and failure. It has produced an image of our country as a vacillating and reactive nation, unable to define its place in the world, the goals it seeks, or the means to pursue them. Despite the Administration's rhetoric, the most flagrant offenders of human rights, including the Soviet Union, Vietnam, and Cuba, have been the beneficiaries of Administration good will, while nations friendly to the United States have suffered the loss of U.S. commercial access and economic and military assistance.

The threat to the United States and its allies is not only a military one. We face a threat from international terrorism. Our access to energy and raw material resources is challenged by civil unrest, Soviet-sponsored subversion, and economic combinations in restraint of free trade. Our first line of defense, our network of friendly nations and alliances, has been undermined by the inept conduct of foreign affairs.

American policy since World War II has rested upon the pillars of collective security, military and technological superiority, and economic strength, and upon the perception by our adversaries that the United States possesses the will to use its power where necessary to protect its freedom. These tenets have enabled a commonwealth of free and independent nations to enjoy the benefits and confidence that come from expanding economic interchange in peace and bilateral and multilateral support in time of war. The entire structure of peace was guaranteed by American and allied military power sufficient to deter conflict, or to prevail in conflict if deterrence should fail.

The Administration's neglect of America's defense posture in the face of overwhelming evidence of a threatening military buildup is without parallel since the 1930's. The scope and magnitude of the growth of Soviet military power threatens American interest at every level, from the nuclear threat to our survival, to our ability to protect the lives and property of American citizens abroad.

Despite clear danger signals indicating that Soviet nuclear power would overtake that of the United States by the early 1980's, threatening the survival of the United States and making possible, for the first time in post-war history, political coercion and defeat, the Administration *reduced* the size and capability of our nuclear forces.

Despite clear danger signals indicating that the Soviet Union was using Cuban, East German, and now Nicaraguan, as well as its own, military forces to extend its power to Africa, Asia, and the Western Hemisphere, the Administration often undermined the very governments under attack. As a result, a clear and present danger threatens the energy and raw material lifelines of the Western world.

Despite clear danger signals indicating that the Soviet Union was augmenting its military threat to the nations of Western Europe, American defense programs such as the enhanced radiation warhead and cruise missiles, which could have offset that buildup, were cancelled or delayed — to the dismay of allies who depend upon American military power for their security.

The evidence of the Soviet threat to American security has never been more stark and unambiguous, nor has any President ever been more oblivious to this threat and its potential consequences.

The entire Western world faces complex and multi-dimensional threats to its access to energy and raw material resources. The growth of Soviet military power poses a direct threat to the petroleum resources of the Persian Gulf now that its military forces deployed in Afghanistan are less than 300 miles from the Straits of Hormuz, through which half the free world's energy supplies flow.

Soviet efforts to gain bases in areas astride the major sea lanes of the world have been successful due to their use of military power, either directly or indirectly or through Cuban and other Soviet bloc forces. Since the Carter Administration took office in 1977, the Soviets or their clients have taken over Afghanistan, Cambodia, Ethiopia, and South Yemen, and have solidified their grasp on a host of other nations in the developing world. The Soviet noose is now being drawn around southern Africa, the West's most abundant single source of critical raw materials.

The failure of the United States to respond to direct threats to its security has left American citizens vulnerable to terrorist assaults as well. American diplomatic personnel have been subject to seizure and assault by terrorists throughout the world without drawing a meaningful Administration response.

No failure of the Administration has been so catastrophic as its failure of leadership. Mired in incompetence, bereft of strategic vision and purpose, the President's failure to shoulder the burden of leadership in the Western alliance has placed America in danger without parallel since December 7, 1941. The United States cannot abdicate that role without inducing a diplomatic and eventually a military catastrophe.

Republicans realize that if the challenges of the 1980's are not met, we will continue to lose the respect of the world, our honor, and in the end, our freedom. Republicans pledge to meet these challenges with confidence and strength. We pledge to restore to the United States and its people a government with conviction in our cause, a government that will restore to our great nation its self-respect, its self-confidence, and its national pride.

NATIONAL SECURITY

DEFENSE BUDGET TRENDS

In the late 1960's, the Republicans returned to the White House, inheriting a war in Southeast Asia. Because of this war, they also inherited a Fiscal Year (FY) 1968 defense budget which, if calculated in constant 1981 dollars to account for inflation, had risen to over $194 billion from $148 billion in FY 1961, the last Eisenhower year. By the beginning of the second Nixon Administration, U.S. forces were totally disengaged from Southeast Asia. The FY 1974 defense budget had dropped back to $139 billion, and the country had reaped its desired "peace dividend" of an over $50 billion reduction in annual defense spending. During this period, between 1969 and 1973, the Democrats who controlled Congress, led by Senators Mondale and Muskie, cut almost $45 billion from Nixon defense requests. Until 1975, Congress continued to ignore long-range defense needs, and made severe cuts in Republican defense proposals. The Ford Administration, however, succeeded in reversing this trend. From a low point of $134 billion in FY 1975, the FY 1976 defense budget rose, in response to President Ford's request, to $139 billion; and in FY 1977 it rose again to $147 billion.

Despite the growing sentiment for a stronger defense, candidate Carter ran on a promise of massive cuts in U.S. defense spending, one promise he has kept. In his first three years in the White House, Mr. Carter reduced defense spending by over $38 billion from President Ford's last Five Year Defense Plan. Now, in his last year in office, faced with the total collapse of his foreign policy, and with his policy advisers and their assumptions disgraced, he has finally proposed an increase beyond the rate of inflation in defense spending. But this growth in 1981 will be less than one percent.

We deplore Mr. Carter's personal attempts to rewrite history on defense budgets. His tough speeches before military audiences cannot hide his continuing opposition to Congressional defense increases. The four chiefs of the armed services have each characterized the Carter defense program as "inadequate" to meet the military threat posed to the United States. We associate ourselves with the characterization by Democratic Congressional leaders of the President's behavior on defense as "hypocritical." We would go further; it is disgraceful.

Mr. Carter cut back, cancelled, or delayed every strategic initiative proposed by President Ford. He cancelled production of the Minuteman missile and the B-1 bomber. He delayed all cruise missiles, the MX missile, the Trident

submarine and the Trident II missile. He did this while the Soviet Union deployed the Backfire bomber and designed two additional bombers equal in capability to the B-1, and while it deployed four new large ICBM's and developed four others.

Mr. Carter postponed production and deployment of enhanced radiation (neutron) warheads while the Soviet Union deployed the SS-20 mobile missile and the Backfire bomber against Western Europe. He cut President Ford's proposed shipbuilding plan in half. He vetoed a nuclear aircraft carrier. He did this while the Soviet Union pursued an aggressive shipbuilding program capable of giving them worldwide naval supremacy in the 1980's unless current trends are reversed immediately. Mr. Carter opposed efforts to correct the terribly inadequate pay rates for our military peronnel and stood by as the alarming exodus of trained and skilled personnel from the services quickened. At the same time, the Soviet Union increased its military manpower to a level of 4.8 million, more than double that of the United States'.

Recovery from the Carter Administration's neglect will require effort, but Americans know that effort is the unavoidable precondition to peace and economic prosperity. The Soviet Union is now devoting over $50 billion more to defense annually than the United States, achieving military superiority as a result. We have depleted our capital and must now devote the resources essential to catching up. The Secretary of Defense has stated that even if we were to maintain a constant increase in our spending of five percent in real terms, it would require 40 years for us to catch up.

Republicans commit themselves to an immediate increase in defense spending to be applied judiciously to critically needed programs. We will build toward a sustained defense expenditure sufficient to close the gap with the Soviets, and ultimately reach the position of military superiority that the American people demand.

DEFENSE STRATEGY

More is required than reversing our military decline alone. We have seen in recent years how an Administration, possessed of dwindling but still substantial strength, has stood paralyzed in the face of an inexorable march of Soviet or Soviet-sponsored aggression. To be effective in preserving our interests, we must pursue a comprehensive military strategy which guides both the design and employment of our forces. Such a strategy must proceed from a sober analysis of the diverse threats before us.

Republicans approve and endorse a national strategy of peace through strength as set forth in House Concurrent Resolution 306. We urge speedy approval of this legislation by both the U.S. House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate as a means of making clear to the world that the United States has not forgotten that the price of peace is eternal vigilance against tyranny.

Therefore we commend to all Americans the text of House Concurrent Resolution 306, which reads as follows:

The foreign policy of the United States should reflect a national strategy of peace through strength. The general principles and goals of this strategy would be:

- to inspire, focus, and unite the national will and determination to achieve peace and freedom;
- to achieve overall military and technological superiority over the Soviet Union;
- to create a strategic and civil defense which would protect the American people against nuclear war at least as well as the Soviet population is protected;
- to accept no arms control agreement which in any way jeopardizes the security of the United States or its allies, or which locks the United States into a position of military inferiority;
- to reestablish effective security and intelligence capabilities;
- to pursue positive non-military means to roll back the growth of communism;
- to help our allies and other non-Communist countries defend themselves against Communist aggression; and
- to maintain a strong economy and protect our overseas sources of energy and other vital raw materials.

Our strategy must encompass the levels of force required to deter each level of foreseeable attack and to prevail in conflict in the event deterrence fails. The detailed analysis that must form the intellectual basis for elaboration of such a strategy will be the first priority of a Republican Administration. It must be based upon the following principles.

NUCLEAR FORCES

Nuclear weapons are the ultimate military guarantor of American security and that of our allies. Yet since 1977, the United States has moved from essential equivalence to inferiority in strategic nuclear forces with the Soviet Union. This decline has resulted from Mr. Carter's cancellation or delay of strategic initiatives like the B-1 bomber, the MX missile, and the Trident II submarine missile programs and from his decisions to close the Minuteman production line and forego production of enhanced radiation weapons.

As the disparity between American and Soviet strategic nuclear forces grows over the next three years, most U.S. land-based missiles, heavy bombers, and submarines in port will become vulnerable to a Soviet first-strike. Such a

situation invites diplomatic blackmail and coercion of the United States by the Soviet Union during the coming decade.

An administration that can defend its interest only by threatening the mass extermination of civilians, as Mr. Carter implied in 1979, dooms itself to strategic, and eventually geo-political, paralysis. Such a strategy is simply not credible and, therefore is ineffectual. Yet the declining survivability of the U.S. ICBM force in the early 1980's will make this condition unavoidable unless prompt measures are taken. Our objective must be to assure the survivability of U.S. forces possessing an unquestioned, prompt, hard-target counterforce capability sufficient to disarm Soviet military targets in a second-strike. We reject the mutual-assured-destruction (MAD) strategy of the Carter Administration which limits the President during crises to a Hobson's choice between mass mutual suicide and surrender. We propose, instead, a credible strategy which will deter a Soviet attack by the clear capability of our forces to survive and ultimately to destroy Soviet military targets.

In order to counter the problem of ICBM vulnerability, we will propose a number of initiatives to provide the necessary survivability of the ICBM force in as timely and effective a manner as possible. In addition, we will proceed with:

- the earliest possible deployment of the MX missile in a prudent survivable configuration;
- accelerated development and deployment of a new manned strategic penetrating bomber that will exploit the $5.5 billion already invested in the B-1, while employing the most advanced technology available;
- deployment of an air defense system comprised of dedicated modern interceptor aircraft and early warning support systems;
- acceleration of development and deployment of strategic cruise missiles deployed on aircraft, on land, and on ships and submarines.
- modernization of the military command and control system to assure the responsiveness of U.S. strategic nuclear forces to presidential command in peace or war; and
- vigorous research and development of an effective anti-ballistic missile system, such as is already at hand in the Soviet Union, as well as more modern ABM technologies.

For more than 20 years, commencing in the mid-1950's, the United States has maintained tactical nuclear weapons in Europe for the purpose of assuring against deep penetrations into the West by the Soviet forces. Since 1977, however, the Administration has allowed our former superiority to erode to the point where we now face a more than three-to-one disadvantage.

A Republican Administration will strive for early modernization of our theater nuclear forces so that a seamless web of deterrence can be maintained against all levels of attack, and our credibility with our European allies is restored. In consultation with them we will proceed with deployments in

Europe of medium-range cruise missiles, ballistic missiles, enhanced radiation warheads, and the modernization of nuclear artillery.

CONVENTIONAL FORCES

The greatest single result of our loss of nuclear parity has been the manifest increase in the willingness of the Soviet Union to take risks at the conventional level. Emboldened by the Carter Administration's failure to challenge their use of surrogate Cuban forces in Africa and the later Soviet presence in Angola, Ethiopia, and South Yemen, the Soviets, for the first time in post-war history, employed their own army units outside of the Soviet bloc in a brutal invasion of Afghanistan. The invasion presents chilling evidence of the mounting threat and raises fundamental questions with respect to United States strategy.

We believe it is not feasible at this time, and in the long term would be unworkable, to deploy massive U.S. ground forces to such areas as the Persian Gulf on a permanent basis as we do in Europe and elsewhere. A more effective strategy must be built on the dual pillars of maintaining a limited full-time presence in the area as a credible interdiction force, combined with the clear capability to reinforce this presence rapidly with the forces necessary to prevail in battle. In addition, the strategy must envision military action elsewhere at points of Soviet vulnerability — an expression of the classic doctrine of global maneuver.

The forces essential to the support of such a strategy must include a much-improved Navy, the force most suitable for maintaining U.S. presence in threatened areas and protecting sea lines of communication. In addition, we will require a substantial improvement in the air and sea mobility forces and improved access to regional installations. A Republican Administration will propose their substantial improvement, to include the establishment of a permanent fleet in the Indian Ocean. We will also improve contingency planning for the use and expansion of our commercial maritime fleet and a new rational approach to emergency use of our civil aircraft fleet.

The budget cuts imposed by Mr. Carter on the Army and his restoration of the supremacy of systems analysis in the Pentagon have resulted in slowdowns, deferrals, and cost increases in nine vitally needed Army procurement programs in armor, firepower, air defense, and helicopters. These critical and long-delayed modernization programs must be restored to economical production rates and must be speeded into the field. Of equal importance is the need to bring our stocks of ammunition, spare parts, and supplies — now at woefully inadequate levels — to a standard that will enable us to sustain our forces in conflict.

In addition to the strategic programs needed for our Air Force, we pledge to restore tactical aircraft development and procurement to economical levels and to speed the achievement of 26 modernized wings of aircraft able to conduct

missions at night, in all weather conditions, and against the most sophisticated adversary.

We pledge to increase substantially our intra- and inter-theater airlift capability and to increase our aerial tanker fleet through procurement and speedy modernization.

Of all of the services, the Navy and Marines have suffered most from Mr. Carter's cuts. Their share of the defense budget has shrunk from 40 to 33 percent during the Carter Administration. Mr. Carter slashed President Ford's 157 ship, five-year construction program to 83. He has slowed the Trident submarine and requested only one attack submarine each year in spite of a Soviet three-to-one advantage. He vetoed the Fiscal Year 1979 Defense Authorization Bill because it included an aircraft carrier which a year later Congress forced him to accept. For the fourth straight year he has requested fewer than half of the 325 aircraft needed annually to stay even with peacetime attrition and modernization requirements. He has requested fewer than one-third of the amphibious ships needed just to keep the current level of capability for the Marines, and he has opposed Marine tactical aircraft and helicopter modernization.

The current Chief of Naval Operations has testified that, "We are trying to meet a three ocean requirement with a one-and-a-half ocean Navy." Republicans pledge to reverse Mr. Carter's dismantling of U.S. naval and Marine forces. We will restore our fleet to 600 ships at a rate equal to or exceeding that planned by President Ford. We will build more aircraft carriers, submarines, and amphibious ships. We will restore naval and Marine aircraft procurement to economical rates enabling rapid modernization of the current forces, and expansion to meet the requirements of additional aircraft carriers.

DEFENSE MANPOWER AND THE DRAFT

The Republican Party is not prepared to accept a peacetime draft at this time. Under Mr. Carter, the all-volunteer force has not been given a fair chance to succeed. The unconscionable mismanagement and neglect of personnel policy by the Carter Administration has made a shambles of the all-volunteer force concept.

Perhaps the most compelling vulnerability of our forces results from the dramatic exodus of the core of highly skilled men and women who form the backbone of our military strength. This loss is the direct result of neglect by the Commander-in-Chief.

The sustained malign neglect of our military manpower is nothing short of a national scandal. This Administration's active assault on military benefits and military retirement has been accompanied by an enforced pay-cap set at half the inflation rate. The average military family has lost between 14 percent and 25 percent in purchasing power over the past seven years. Officers and skilled enlisted personnel are leaving in droves, and 250,000 of our servicemen qualify

for public assistance. Many of our career people earn less than the minimum wage. The services are currently short 70,000 senior enlisted personnel. This scandal is the direct result of Mr. Carter's willful downgrading of the military and inept mismanagement of personnel policy. As a top priority, the Republican Party pledges to end this national disgrace.

We pledge to restore a national attitude of pride and gratitude for the service of our men and women in the armed forces. We will act immediately to correct the great inequities in pay and benefits of career military personnel. Specifically, we support immediate action to:

- provide for an increase in military pay targeted in particular toward the career grades now experiencing the greatest attrition;
- increase enlistment and reenlistment bonuses;
- improve continuation bonuses for aviators;
- increase per diem travel allowances;
- increase the allowance for moving mobile homes;
- provide family separation allowances for junior personnel; and
- expand benefit entitlement under the CHAMPUS program.

A Republican Administration will index military pay and allowances to protect military personnel from absorbing the burden of inflation. We pledge that the profession of arms will be restored to its rightful place as a preeminent expression of patriotism in America.

In order to attract recruits of high ability, a Republican Administration will act to reintroduce G.I. Bill benefits for those completing two years active service. We will press for enactment of legislation denying federal funds to any educational institution that impedes access of military recruiters to their students. We regard as a serious loss the decision of many of our finest institutions of higher learning to discontinue their military officer training programs. The leadership of our armed forces must include the best trained minds in our nation. Republicans call upon our colleges and universities to shoulder their responsibilities in the defense of freedom. We will investigate legislative inducements toward this end. We will not consider a peacetime draft unless a well-managed, Congressionally-funded, full-scale effort to improve the all-volunteer force does not meet expectations.

RESERVE FORCES

The armed forces of the U.S. are today critically dependent upon our nation's Reserve components for both combat arms and combat support. The Army Reserve and National Guard provide one-third of the Army's combat divisions, 80 percent of its independent combat brigades, one-half of its artillery battalions, and one-third of its special forces groups. The Navy Reserve provides 90 percent of the Navy's ocean mine sweeping and two-thirds of its mobile

construction battalions. The Air Force Reserve and Air National Guard provide all of our strategic interceptors, 60 percent of our tactical airlift, and one-third of our tactical fighters. Reserve and National Guard units may be mobilized for even the smallest of conflicts and many such units today are expected to deploy immediately with the active duty units they support.

Today, however, the reserves are ill-equipped, underpaid, and undermanned by several hundred thousand personnel. Proper equipment, realistic, challenging training, and greater full-time support must be made available. We must ensure that all Americans take note of the proud and vital role played by the Reserve and National Guard components of the Armed Forces of the United States.

READINESS AND INDUSTRIAL PREPAREDNESS

History records that readiness for war is the surest means of preventing it. Lack of preparedness is the most dangerously provocative course we can take. Yet funding requests for sufficient fuel, spare parts, ammunition, and supplies for U.S. war reserves have been cut each year for the past four years from the minimum quantities the armed services have stated they need. This has left the U.S. Armed Forces at their lowest state of preparedness since 1950, seriously compromising their ability to sustain a military conflict.

Crippling shortages of spare parts, fuel, and ammunition compromise the ability of the armed forces to sustain a major military conflict. Some critical types of ammunition could not support combat operations for more than a week although we are committed to holding a 90-day inventory of major ammunition types. In addition, critical facilities such as airfields, ammunition depots, maintenance installations, and living quarters for our troops are in serious disrepair. The backlog of deferred maintenance and the underfunded purchase of vital combat consumables is so vast that years of effort will be required to rebuild U.S. forces to the required level of readiness.

The problem of maintaining the day-to-day combat readiness of the U.S. Armed Forces is compounded by the reduced ability of American industry to respond to wartime contingencies. Reduced acquisition of equipment for the modernization of the armed forces and the Carter Administration's failure to maintain combat readiness have eroded the incentive of American industry to maintain capacity adequate to potential defense requirements.

Republicans pledge to make the combat readiness of U.S. Armed Forces and the preparedness of the industrial base a top priority.

RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

Research and Development (R & D) provides a critical means by which our nation can cope with threats to our security. In the past, the United States' qualitative and technological superiority provided a foundation for our military

superiority. Yet we are now on the verge of losing this advantage to the Soviet Union because of Mr. Carter's opposition to real increases in the R & D effort. Delays imposed on the R & D process now allow seven to ten years or more to elapse between the time when a new weapon system is proposed and when it becomes available.

The Soviet Union now invests nearly twice as much in military research and development as does the United States. This disparity in effort threatens American technological superiority in the mid-1980's and could result in Soviet breakthroughs in advanced weapon systems.

Republicans pledge to revitalize America's military research and development efforts, from basic research through the deployment of weapons and support systems, to assure that our vital security needs will be met for the balance of the century. We will seek increased funding to guarantee American superiority in this critical area and to enable us to deal with possible breakthroughs in anti-missile defense, anti-satellite killers, directed energy systems, and the military and civilian exploitation of space.

America's technological advantage has always depended upon its interaction with our civilian science and technology sector. The economic policy of the Carter Administration has severely encumbered private research and development efforts, thereby depriving both our civil and military sectors of the fruits of scientific innovation.

Underfunding of beneficial government-sponsored research efforts in basic and applied scientific research has disrupted the benefits of years of effective effort. In particular, America's preeminence in the exploration of space is threatened by the failure of the Carter Administration to fund fully the Space Shuttle program (with its acknowledged benefits for both the civil and military applications) as well as advanced exploration programs. Republicans pledge to support a vigorous space research program.

MANAGEMENT AND ORGANIZATION

The Republican Party pledges to reform the defense programming and budgeting management system established by the Carter Administration. The ill-informed, capricious intrusions of the Office of Management and Budget and the Department of Defense Office of Program Analysis and Evaluation have brought defense planning full circle to the worst faults of the McNamara years. Orderly planning by the military services has become impossible. Waste, inefficiency, and paralysis have been the hallmarks of Carter Administration defense planning and budgeting. This has resulted in huge cost overruns and in protracted delays in placing advanced systems in the field.

NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE

At a time of increasing danger, the U.S. intelligence community has lost much of its ability to supply the President, senior U.S. officials, and the

Congress with accurate and timely analyses concerning fundamental threats to our nation's security. Morale and public confidence have been eroded and American citizens and friendly foreign intelligence services have become increasingly reluctant to cooperate with U.S. agencies. As a result of such problems, the U.S. intelligence community has incorrectly assessed critical foreign developments, as in Iran, and has, above all, underestimated the size and purpose of the Soviet Union's military efforts.

We believe that a strong national consensus has emerged on the need to make our intelligence community a reliable and productive instrument of national policy once again. In pursuing its objectives, the Soviet Union and its surrogates operate by a far different set of rules than does the United States. We do not favor countering their efforts by mirroring their tactics. However, the United States requires a realistic assessment of the threats it faces, and it must have the best intelligence capability in the world. Republicans pledge this for the United States.

A Republican Administration will seek to improve U.S. intelligence capabilities for technical and clandestine collection, cogent analysis, coordinated counterintelligence, and covert action.

We will reestablish the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, abolished by the Carter Administration, as a permanent non-partisan body of distinguished Americans to perform a constant audit of national intelligence research and performance. We will propose methods of providing alternative intelligence estimates in order to improve the quality of the estimates by constructive competition.

Republicans will undertake an urgent effort to rebuild the intelligence agencies, and to give full support to their knowledgeable and dedicated staffs. We will propose legislation to enable intelligence officers and their agents to operate safely and efficiently abroad.

We will support legislation to invoke criminal sanctions against anyone who discloses the identities of U.S. intelligence officers abroad or who makes unauthorized disclosures of U.S. intelligence sources and methods.

We will support amendments to the Freedom of Information Act and the Privacy Act to permit meaningful background checks on individuals being considered for sensitive positions and to reduce costly and capricious requests to the intelligence agencies.

We will provide our government with the capability to help influence international events vital to our national security interest, a capability which only the United States among the major powers has denied itself.

A Republican Administration will seek adequate safeguards to ensure that past abuses will not recur, but we will seek the repeal of ill-considered restrictions sponsored by Democrats, which have debilitated U.S. intelligence capabilities while easing the intelligence collection and subversion efforts of our adversaries.

TERRORISM

In the decade of the seventies, all civilized nations were shaken by a wave of widespread, international terrorist attacks. Time and again, nations and individuals have been subjected to extortion and murder at the hands of extremists who reject the rule of law, civil order, and the sanctity of individual human rights. Terrorism has been elevated to the level of overt national policy as authorities in Iran, encouraged by the Soviet Union, have held 53 Americans captive for more than eight months. Comprehensive support of international terrorist organizations has been a central, though generally covert, element of Soviet foreign policy.

Republicans believe that this tragic history contains lessons that must serve as the basis for a determined international effort to end this era of terrorism. We believe that certain principles have emerged from incidents in which states have defeated terrorist attacks, and we believe the United States should take the lead in a multilateral drive to eliminate the terrorist threat. A first requirement is the establishment of a military capability to deal promptly and effectively with any terrorist acts. We cannot afford, as in the abortive Iranian rescue mission, to allow months to pass while we prepare responses.

The United States must provide the leadership to forge an international consensus that firmness and refusal to concede are ultimately the only effective deterrents to terrorism. The United States should take the lead in combating international terrorism. We must recognize and be prepared to deal with the reality of expanded Soviet sponsorship of international terrorist movements. Development of an effective anti-terrorist military capability and establishment of a Congressional and Executive capability to oversee our internal security efforts will no longer be neglected.

THE ROLE OF ARMS CONTROL IN DEFENSE POLICY

The Republican approach to arms control has been markedly different from that of the Democratic Party. It has been based on three fundamental premises:

- first, before arms control negotiations may be undertaken, the security of the United States must be assured by the funding and deployment of strong military forces sufficient to deter conflict at any level or to prevail in battle should aggression occur;
- second, negotiations must by conducted on the basis of strict reciprocity of benefits — unilateral restraint by the U.S. has failed to bring reductions by the Soviet Union; and
- third, arms control negotiations, once entered, represent an important political and military undertaking that cannot be divorced from the broader political and military behavior of the parties.

A Republican Administration will pursue arms control solely on the principles outlined above.

During the past three and one-half years, the Carter Administration's policy has been diametrically opposed to these principles. First, by its willful cancellation or delay of essential strategic military programs such as the B-1, the MX missile, and the Trident submarine, it has seriously damaged the credibility and effectiveness of the U.S. deterrent force. Second, by not insisting upon corresponding concessions from the Soviet Union it has, in effect, practiced unilateral disarmament and removed any incentives for the Soviets to negotiate for what they could obviously achieve by waiting. The Republican Party rejects the fundamentally flawed SALT II treaty negotiated by the Carter Administration.

The Republican Party deplores the attempts of the Carter Administration to cover up Soviet non-compliance with arms control agreements including the now overwhelming evidence of blatant Soviet violation of the Biological Warfare Convention by secret production of biological agents at Sverdlovsk.

In our platform four years ago, we stated that, "The growth of civilian nuclear technology and the rising demand for nuclear power as an alternative to increasingly costly fossil fuel resources, combine to require our recognition of the potential dangers associated with such development." We called for the formation of new multilateral arrangements to control the export of sensitive nuclear technologies. Unfortunately, the Carter Administration has failed to provide the leadership and creative diplomacy essential to forging effective international safeguards and cooperation in this vital area. In particular we oppose and deplore the pending delivery to India of nuclear material which can be directed to the manufacture of weapons.

The Republican Party reaffirms its commitment to the early establishment of effective multilateral arrangements for the safe management and monitoring of all transfers and uses of nuclear materials in the international market.

FOREIGN POLICY

U.S. – SOVIET RELATIONS

The premier challenge facing the United States, its allies, and the entire globe is to check the Soviet Union's global ambitions. This challenge must be met, for the present danger is greater than ever before in the 200-year history of the United States. The Soviet Union is still accelerating its drive for military superiority and is intensifying its military pressure and its ideological combat against the industrial democracies and the vulnerable developing nations of the world.

Republicans believe that the United States can only negotiate with the Soviet Union from a position of unquestioned principle and unquestioned strength. Unlike Mr. Carter, we see nothing "inordinate" in our nation's historic judgment about the goals, tactics, and dangers of Soviet communism. Unlike the Carter Administration, we are not surprised by the brutal Soviet

invasion of Afghanistan or by other Soviet violations of major international agreements regulating international behavior, human rights, and the use of military force. And, unlike the Carter Administration, we will not base our policies toward the Soviet Union on naive expectations, unilateral concessions, futile rhetoric, and insignificant maneuvers.

As the Soviet Union continues in its expansionist course, the potential for dangerous confrontations has increased. Republicans will strive to resolve critical issues through peaceful negotiations, but we recognize that negotiations conducted from a position of military weakness can result only in further damage to American interests.

A Republican Administration will continue to seek to negotiate arms reductions in Soviet strategic weapons, in Soviet bloc force levels in Central Europe, and in other areas that may be amenable to reductions or limitations. We will pursue hard bargaining for equitable, verifiable, and enforceable agreements. We will accept no agreement for the sake of having an agreement, and will accept no agreements that do not fundamentally enhance our national security.

Republicans oppose the transfer of high technology to the Soviet Union and its Eastern European satellites, such as has been done in the past, permitting development of sophisticated military hardware which threatens the United States and our allies. The Carter Administration has encouraged the most extensive raid on American technology by the Soviet bloc since World War II. The Soviet Union has gained invaluable scientific expertise in electronics, computer sciences, manufacturing techniques, mining, transportation, aviation, agriculture, and a host of other disciplines. This has contributed to the ability of the Soviet Union to divert investment and manpower from their civilian economy to their armed forces. The fruits of Soviet access to American technology will improve the performance of the Soviet military establishment for years to come. The matter is compounded by the practice of subsidized financing of much of the Soviet bloc's acquisition of American technology through U.S. financial institutions.

Republicans pledge to stop the flow of technology to the Soviet Union that could contribute, directly or indirectly, to the growth of their military power. This objective will be pursued by a Republican Administration with our allies and other friendly nations as well. We will ensure that the Soviet Union fully understands that it will be expected to fulfill all of the commercial and diplomatic obligations it has undertaken in its international agreements.

We oppose Mr. Carter's singling out of the American farmer to bear the brunt of his failed foreign policy by imposition of a partial and incompetently managed grain embargo. Because of his failure to obtain cooperation from other grain exporting countries, the embargo has been a travesty and a substitute for policy. We call for the immediate lifting of this embargo.

We reaffirm our commitment to press the Soviet Union to implement the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights and the Helsinki Agreements which guarantee rights such as the free interchange of information and the right to emigrate. A Republican Administration will press the Soviet Union to end its harassment and imprisonment of those who speak in opposition to official policy, who seek to worship according to their religious beliefs, or who represent diverse ethnic minorities and nationalities.

Republicans deplore growing anti-semitism in the Soviet Union and the mistreatment of "refuseniks" by Soviet authorities. The decline in exit visas to Soviet Jews and others seeking religious freedom and the promulgation of ever more rigorous conditions inhibiting their emigration is a fundamental affront to human rights and the U.N. Charter. Republicans will make the subject of emigration from the Soviet Union a central issue in Soviet-American relations. Human rights in the Soviet Union will not be ignored as it has been during the Carter Administration. As a party to the Helsinki Conference Final Act, a Republican Administration will insist on full Soviet compliance with the humanitarian provisions of the agreement.

Republicans pledge our continued support for the people of Cuba and the captive nations of Central and Eastern Europe in their hope to achieve self-determination. We stand firmly for the independence of Yugoslavia. We support self-determination and genuine independence for new captive nations of Africa and Latin America threatened by the growing domination of Soviet power.

A Republican Administration will end the sustained Carter policy of misleading the American people about Soviet policies and behavior. We will spare no efforts to publicize to the world the fundamental differences in the two systems and will strengthen such means as the International Communications Agency, the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, and Radio Liberty actively to articulate U.S. values and policies, and to highlight the weaknesses of totalitarianism.

We pledge to end the Carter cover-up of Soviet violations of SALT I and II, to end the cover-up of Soviet violation of the Biological Warfare Convention, and to end the cover-up of Soviet use of gas and chemical weapons in Afghanistan and elsewhere.

NATO AND WESTERN EUROPE

Since its inception three decades ago, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization has expressed the collective will of free nations to resist totalitarian aggression. As a cornerstone of the Western Alliance, NATO has stood on the firm foundations of American strategic strength, joint Allied defense efforts, and cooperative diplomacy based on shared interest and close consultations. The Republican party recognizes that NATO serves the vital interest of the entire Western world and over the years we have continued to give the Alliance our undiminished and bipartisan support.

Republicans deplore the current drifts toward neutralism in Western Europe. We recognize that NATO and our Western Allies today face the greatest array of threats in their history, both from within and from without. Through its inept policies, the Carter Administration has substantially contributed to the evident erosion of Alliance security and confidence in the U.S. A Republican Administration, as one of its highest priorities and in close concert with our NATO partners, will therefore ensure that the United States leads a concerted effort to rebuild a strong, confident Alliance fully prepared to meet the threats and the challenges of the 1980's.

The chief external threat to NATO is that of developing Soviet military superiority. In a period of supposed "detente," the NATO nations have too often cut back or delayed essential defense programs and too often placed excessive hopes in arms control negotiations, while the Soviet-dominated Warsaw Pact has been transformed into the world's most powerful offensive military force.

Three-and-half years of Carter Administration policies have resulted in an increased threat to vital Alliance security interests. Mr. Carter's unilateral cancellations, reductions, and long delays in the B-1, Trident, MX, cruise-missile, and ship-building programs have increased the vulnerability of the U.S. strategic triad and have contributed to a developing strategic imbalance which undermines the foundation of Western deterrent and defense capabilities. His fundamentally flawed SALT II treaty would have codified Western inferiority. His reversals on the development and deployment of the "enhanced radiation" or neutron weapon, his treatment of future theater nuclear force modernization negotiations, and his manner of dealing with terrorist actions directed against Americans abroad, further undermined Alliance solidarity and security.

These Carter Administration inconsistencies have caused disunity in the Alliance. We have seen confusion in the fields of trade, fiscal, and energy policies. The lack of close coordination regarding Iran, the Middle East, Afghanistan, the Olympic boycott, nuclear proliferation, East–West trade, human rights, North–South issues, and a host of other international issues affecting Alliance interests, has reinforced Allied concerns. Republicans are concerned that these Carter Administration actions have increased Allied temptation to conduct independent diplomacy and to seek accommodation in the face of pressure from the Soviet Union. In this regard, we categorically reject unilateral moratoria on the deployment by the U.S. and NATO of theater nuclear weapons. Further, Republicans will oppose arms control agreements that interfere with the transfer of military technology to our allies.

In pledging renewed United States leadership, cooperation, and consultation, Republicans assert their expectation that each of the allies will bear a fair share of the common defense effort and that they will work closely together in support of common Alliance goals. Defense budgets, weapons acquisition, force readiness, and diplomatic coordination need to be substantially increased and

improved. Within Europe as well as in areas beyond Europe which affect the shared vital interests of the Alliance, we will seek to increase our cooperative efforts, including increased planning for joint actions to meet common threats.

The Republican Party recognizes the vital importance of countries defending the regions of NATO. We will search for an early resolution of problems that currently inhibit the effective participation of all the nations of NATO's southern region and we call for the integration of Spain into the North Atlantic Alliance.

MIDDLE EAST, PERSIAN GULF

In the past three years, the nations of the Middle East and Persian Gulf have suffered an unprecedented level of political, economic, and military turmoil. The Soviet Union has been prompt in turning these sources of instability to its advantage and is now in an excellent position to exploit the chaos in Iran and to foment similar upheavals in other countries in the region. Today, the countries of the Middle East and Persian Gulf are encircled as never before by Soviet advisers and troops based in the Horn of Africa, South Yemen, and Afghanistan. Moreover, the Soviets have close political and military ties with other states in the region.

The Soviet goal is clear — to use subversion and the threat of military intervention to establish a controlling influence over the region's resource-rich states, and thereby to gain decisive political and economic leverage over Western and Third World nations vulnerable to economic coercion. The first signs of Soviet success in this undertaking are already evidenced in the recent proposal by European countries to associate the Palestinian Liberation Organization in the West Bank autonomy talks.

Republicans believe that the restoration of order and stability to the region must be premised upon an understanding of the interrelationship between Soviet and radical Palestinian goals, the fundamental requirements of stable economic development and marketing of the area's resources, and the growing ferment among Islamic radical groups. Republicans believe that a wise and credible United States policy must make clear that our foremost concern is for the long-term peaceful development of all states in the region, not purely a self-serving exploitation of its resources. Our goal is to bring a just and lasting peace to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

With respect to an ultimate peace settlement, Republicans reject any call for involvement of the PLO as not in keeping with the long-term interests of either Israel or the Palestinian Arabs. The imputation of legitimacy to organizations not yet willing to acknowledge the fundamental right to existence of the State of Israel is wrong. Repeated indications, even when subsequently denied, of the Carter Administration's involvement with the PLO has done serious harm to the credibility of U.S. policy in the Middle East and has encouraged the PLO's position of intransigence. We believe the establishment of a Palestinian State on the West Bank would be destabilizing and harmful to the peace process.

Our long and short-term policies for the area must be developed in consultation with our NATO allies, Israel, Egypt, and other friends in the area, and we will spare no effort in seeking their consultation throughout the policy process, not merely demand their acquiescence to our plans.

The sovereignty, security, and integrity of the State of Israel is a moral imperative and serves the strategic interests of the United States. Republicans reaffirm our fundamental and enduring commitment to this principle. We will continue to honor our nation's commitment through political, economic, diplomatic, and military aid. We fully recognize the strategic importance of Israel and the deterrent role of its armed forces in the Middle East and East–West military equations.

Republicans recognize that a just and durable peace for all nations of the region is the best guarantee of continued stability and is vital to deterring further Soviet inroads. Peace between Israel and its neighbors requires direct negotiations among the states involved. Accordingly, a Republican Administration will encourage the peace process now in progress between Egypt and Israel, will seek to broaden it, and will welcome those Arab nations willing to live in peace with Israel. We are encouraged by the support given to the Middle East peace process by Sudan and Oman and the progress brought about by the strong and effective leadership of their governments.

We applaud the vision and courage of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and we pledge to build our relationship with Egypt in cultural affairs, economic development, and military cooperation.

Republicans recognize that the Carter Administration's vacillations have left friend and foe alike unsure as to United States' policies. While reemphasizing our commitment to Israel, a Republican Administration will pursue close ties and friendship with moderate Arab states. We will initiate the economic and military framework for assuring long-term stability in the internal development of regional states and an orderly marketplace for the area's resources. We will make clear that any reimposition of an oil embargo would be viewed as a hostile act. We will oppose discriminatory practices, including boycotts, and we will discourage arms sales which contribute to regional instability.

Republicans believe that Jerusalem should remain an undivided city with continued free and unimpeded access to all holy places by people of all faiths.

THE AMERICAS

Latin America is an area of primary interest for the United States. Yet, the Carter Administration's policies have encouraged a precipitous decline in United States relations with virtually every country in the region. The nations of South and Central America have been battered by the Carter Administration's economic and diplomatic sanctions linked to its undifferentiated charges of human rights violations.

In the Caribbean and Central America, the Carter Administration stands by while Castro's totalitarian Cuba, financed, directed, and supplied by the Soviet Union, aggressively trains, arms, and supports forces of warfare and revolution throughout the Western hemisphere. Yet the Carter Administration has steadily denied these threats and in many cases has actively worked to undermine governments and parties opposed to the expansion of Soviet power. This must end.

We deplore the Marxist Sandinista takeover of Nicaragua and the Marxist attempts to destabilize El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras. We do not support United States assistance to any Marxist government in this hemisphere and we oppose the Carter Administration aid program for the government of Nicaragua. However, we will support the efforts of the Nicaraguan people to establish a free and independent government.

Republicans deplore the dangerous and incomprehensible Carter Administration policies toward Cuba. The Administration has done nothing about the Soviet combat brigade stationed there, or about the transfer of new Soviet offensive weapons to Cuba in the form of modern MIG aircraft and submarines. It has done nothing about the Soviet pilots flying air defense missions in Cuba or about the extensive improvements to Soviet military bases, particularly the submarine facilities in Cienfuegos, and the expanded Soviet intelligence facilities near Havana.

Republicans recognize the importance of our relations within this hemisphere and pledge a strong new United States policy in the Americas. We will stand firm with countries seeking to develop their societies while combating the subversion and violence exported by Cuba and Moscow. We will return to the fundamental principle of treating a friend as a friend and self-proclaimed enemies as enemies, without apology. We will make it clear to the Soviet Union and Cuba that their subversion and their build-up of offensive military forces is unacceptable.

Republicans recognize the special importance of Puerto Rico and the United States Virgin Islands in the defense of freedom in the Caribbean. We believe that Puerto Rico's admission to the Union would demonstrate our common purpose in the face of growing Soviet and Cuban pressure in that area.

Republicans recognize the fundamental importance of Mexico and restoration of good working relations with that country will be of highest priority. A new Republican Administration will immediately begin high-level, comprehensive negotiations, seeking solutions to common problems on the basis of mutual interest and recognizing that each country has unique contributions to make in resolving practical problems.

Republicans pledge to reestablish close and cooperative relations with the nations of Central and South America and repair the diplomatic damage done by the Carter Administration. We pledge understanding and assistance in the efforts of these nations, and their neighbors, to deal seriously with serious domestic problems.

We pledge to ensure that the Panama Canal remains open, secure, and free of hostile control.

The reservations and understandings to the Panama Canal treaties, including those assuring the United States of primary responsibility of protecting and defending the Canal, are an integral part of those treaties and we will hold Panama to strict interpretation of the language of the treaties, clearly established by the legislative history of Senate adoption of amendments, reservations, and understandings at the time of Senate approval of the treaties.

We would remind the American taxpayers that President Carter gave repeated assurances that the Panama Canal treaties would not cost the American taxpayers "one thin dime" and we emphasize the fact that implementing the Panama Canal treaties will cost them $4.2 billion.

We will work closely with Canada as our most important trading partner in the hemisphere. We will foster the deep affinity that exists between our two nations and our policies will be based on mutual understanding and complete equality.

We will seek a North American Accord designed to foster close cooperation and mutual benefit between the United States, Canada, and Mexico.

A new Republican Administration will, in close cooperation with its neighbors, seek to work together to build prosperity and to strengthen common efforts to combat externally produced revolution and violence.

ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

The United States is and must remain a Pacific power. It is our vital interest to maintain U.S. guaranteed stability in the area. Republicans recognize the dangerous shifts in power that have accelerated under the current Democratic Administration. The balance on the Korean peninsula has shifted dangerously toward the North. Soviet naval forces in Asia and the Pacific have steadily increased and are now at least equal to U.S. naval forces there. Unilateral cancellation by the United States of the mutual defense pact with Taiwan and the abrupt announcement of withdrawal of U.S. ground forces from Korea, have led countries throughout the region to question the value of alliance with the United States.

A new Republican Administration will restore a strong American role in Asia and the Pacific. We will make it clear that any military action which threatens the independence of America's allies and friends will bring a response sufficient to make its cost prohibitive to potential adversaries.

Japan will continue to be a pillar of American policy in Asia. Republicans recognize the mutual interests and special relationships that exist between the two countries in their commitment to democracy and in trade, defense, and cultural matters. A new Republican Administration will work closely with the Japanese government to resolve outstanding trade and energy problems on an

equitable basis. We strongly support a substantially increased Japanese national defense effort and reaffirm that our long-range objectives of military security and a balancing of the expanded Soviet military presence in the region are of mutual interest.

Republicans recognize the unique danger presented to our ally, South Korea. We will encourage continued efforts to expand political participation and individual liberties within the country, but will recognize the special problems brought on by subversion and potential aggression from the North. We will maintain American ground and air forces in South Korea, and will not reduce our presence further. Our treaty commitments to South Korea will be restated in unequivocal terms and we will reestablish the process of close consultations between our governments.

We reaffirm our special and historic relationships with the Philippines, Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand, New Zealand, and Australia. Republicans will recognize the long friendship with these countries and will cultivate and strengthen our diplomatic and trade relationships.

We deplore the brutal acts of Communist Vietnam against the people of Cambodia and Laos. We recognize that the suffering of refugees from these ravaged countries represents a major moral challenge to the world and one of the great human tragedies of modern times. A Republican Administration will work actively to bring relief to these suffering people, especially those who have sought refuge in Thailand. We value the special contribution the people of Thailand have made to the refugees by opening their borders and saving hundreds of thousands of them from death, and we pledge to provide full economic aid and military materiel to assist Thailand in repelling Vietnamese aggression.

We believe that no expanded relations with Communist Vietnam should be pursued while it continues its course of brutal expansionism and genocide. We pledge that a Republican Administration will press for full accounting of Americans still listed as missing in action.

Recognizing the growing importance of the People's Republic of China in world affairs. Republicans — who took the historic initiative in opening the lines of communication with that nation — will continue the process of building a working relationship with the PRC. Growing contacts between the United States and the People's Republic of China reflect the interests of both nations, as well as some common perceptions of recent changes in the global military balance. We will not ignore the profound differences in our respective philosophies, governmental institutions, policies, and concepts of individual liberty.

We will strive for the creation of conditions that will foster the peaceful elaboration of our relationship with the People's Republic of China. We will exercise due caution and prudence with respect to our own vital interests, especially in the field of expanding trade, including the transfer of sophisticated

technology with potential offensive military applications. The relationship between the two countries must be based on mutual respect and reciprocity, with due regard for the need to maintain peace and stability in Asia.

At the same time, we deplore the Carter Administration's treatment of Taiwan, our long-time ally and friend. We pledge that our concern for the safety and security of the 17 million people of Taiwan will be constant. We would regard any attempt to alter Taiwan's status by force as a threat to peace in the region. We declare that the Republican Administration, in strengthening relations with Taiwan, will create conditions leading to the expansion of trade, and will give priority consideration to Taiwan's defense requirements.

AFRICA

The Republican Party supports the principle and process of self-determination in Africa. We reaffirm our commitment to this principle and pledge our strong opposition to the effort of the Soviet Union and its militant allies to subvert this process. Soviet bases, tens of thousands of Cuban troops, and Soviet-bloc subversion are unacceptable.

We recognize that much is at stake in Africa and that the United States and the industrial West have vital interests there — economically, strategically, and politically. Working closely with our allies, a Republican Administration will seek to assist the countries of Africa with our presence, our markets, our know-how, and our investment. We will work to create a climate of economic and political development and confidence. We will encourage and assist business to play a major role in support of regional industrial development programs, mineral complexes, and agricultural self-sufficiency.

Republicans believe that African nations, if given a choice, will reject the Marxist, totalitarian model being forcibly imposed by the Soviet Union and its surrogates including Cuban and Nicaraguan troops as well as East German secret police. We believe that they know the Communist powers have relatively little to offer them and that, for the most part, the African peoples are convinced that the West is central to world stability and economic growth on which their own fortunes ultimately depend.

A Republican Administration will adhere to policies that reflect the complex origins of African conflicts, demonstrate that we know what U.S. interests are, and back those interests in meaningful ways. We will recognize the important role of economic and military assistance programs and will devote major resources to assisting African development and stability when such aid is given on a bilateral basis and contributes directly to American interests on the continent.

In Southern Africa, American policies must be guided by commonsense and by our own humanitarian principles. Republicans believe that our history has meaning for Africa in demonstrating that a multiracial society with guarantees of individual rights is possible and can work. We must remain open and

helpful to all parties, whether in the new Zimbabwe, in Namibia, or in the Republic of South Africa. A Republican Administration will not endorse situations or constitutions, in whatever society, which are racist in purpose or in effect. It will not expect miracles, but will press for genuine progress in achieving goals consistent with American ideals.

FOREIGN ASSISTANCE AND REGIONAL SECURITY

The United States has included foreign assistance and regional security as a major element of its foreign policy for four decades. Properly administered and focused, foreign assistance can be an effective means of promoting United States foreign policy objectives, and serve to enhance American security by assisting friendly nations to become stronger and more capable of defending themselves and their regions against foreign subversion and attack.

The threat posed to individual Third World nations is beyond the means of any one of them to counter alone. A Republican Administration will seek to strengthen and assist regional security arrangements among nations prepared to assume the burden of their defense.

No longer should American foreign assistance programs seek to force acceptance of American governmental forms. The principal consideration should be whether or not extending assistance to a nation or group of nations will advance America's interests and objectives. The single-minded attempt to force acceptance of U.S. values and standards of democracy has undermined several friendly nations, and has made possible the advance of Soviet interests in Asia, the Middle East, Africa, and in the Western Hemisphere in the past four years.

American foreign economic assistance is not a charitable venture; charity is most effectively carried out by private entities. Only by private economic development by the people of the nations involved has poverty ever been overcome. U.S. foreign economic assistance should have a catalytic effect on indigenous economic development, and should only by extended when it is consistent with America's foreign policy interest. America's foreign assistance programs should be a vehicle for exporting the American idea.

A Republican Administration will emphasize bilateral assistance programs whenever possible. Bilateral programs provide the best assurance that aid programs will be fully accountable to the American taxpayer, and wholly consistent with our foreign policy interests.

The effort of the Carter Administration to diminish the role of American military assistance and foreign military sales in our foreign policy has had several negative effects:

— it has resulted in the export of many thousands of American jobs as the Soviet Union, Britain, and France have taken sales prohibited to American manufacturers;

— it has reduced the ability of friendly nations to defend their independence against Soviet-sponsored subversion, resulting in several cases in abject takeovers by overtly pro-Soviet regimes; and

— it has weakened the fabric of the U.S. alliance structure by making the U.S. appear to be an unreliable ally, a trend which can only lead to the undesirable attempt by nations fearful of their security to seek to acquire their own nuclear weapons.

Decisions to provide military assistance should be made on the basis of U.S. foreign policy objectives. Such assistance to any nation need not imply complete approval of a regime's domestic policy. Republicans pledge to strengthen America's presence abroad by well-constructed programs of military assistance to promote national and regional security.

The manipulation of foreign arms sales has been one of the most seriously abused policy initiatives of the Carter Administration. The establishment of arbitrary ceilings on foreign sales, and the complex procedural and policy guidelines governing such sales have impeded the support of U.S. foreign policy objectives abroad. Friendly and allied nations alike have had to turn elsewhere for arms. This has stimulated the growth of a new arms industry in developing nations. Republicans pledge to reform and rebuild U.S. military assistance and foreign arms sales policies so that they will serve American interests in promoting regional security arrangements and the individual defense needs of friendly nations.

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC POLICY

INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND ECONOMIC POLICY

The American economy has an abundance of human and material resources, but nevertheless, it is part of a larger global economy. Our domestic prosperity and international competitiveness depend upon our participation in the international economy. Moreover, our security interests are in part determined by international economic factors. Yet the Carter Administration has largely ignored the role of international economics in relations between the United States and friendly nations throughout the world. The Administration has conducted its international economic policy at cross-purposes with other dimensions of its foreign policy, resulting in strains within the Western alliance and a general decline in the domestic prosperity. Under a Republican Administration, our international economic policy will be harmonized with our foreign defense policies to leave no doubt as to the strategy and purpose of American policy.

The economic policy of the Carter Administration has led to the most serious decline in the value of the dollar in history. The ability of Americans to purchase goods and services or to invest abroad has been diminished by Carter Administration policies devaluing the dollar. Republicans will conduct interna-

tional economic policy in a manner that will stabilize the value of the dollar at home and abroad.

The Republican Party believes the United States must adopt an aggressive export policy. For too long, our trade policy has been geared toward helping our foreign trading partners. Now, we have to put the United States back on the world export map. We helped pull other countries out of the post-World War II economic chaos; it is time to remedy our own crisis. Trade, especially exporting, must be high on our list of national priorities. The Republicans will put it there and will promote trade to ensure the long-term health of the U.S. economy.

Exports can play a key role in strengthening the U.S. economy, creating jobs and improving our standard of living. A $15 billion increase in exports can increase employment by 1,000,000, the Gross National Product by $37 billion per year, and private investment by $4 billion per year. Nevertheless, the Carter Administration has placed exporting at the bottom of its priority list. The present Administration's trade policies lack coordination, cohesiveness, and true commitment to improving our export performance. Rather than helping to create strong exporters in the United States and thereby create more jobs for Americans, the Carter Administration's trade policies have discouraged traders. At best, the Administration has adopted a passive approach to trade, merely reacting to changing world economies, rather than actively seeking to promote a global structure that best addresses America's needs. As a result, we lag seriously behind our foreign competitors in trade performance and economic strength. Export promotion will be a central objective of international economic policy in a Republican Administration.

A Republican Administration will emphasize a policy of free trade, but will expect our trading partners to do so as well. The failure of the Carter Administration energetically to pursue negotiations designed to improve the access of American exports to foreign markets has contributed, in part, to protectionist sentiment.

Domestic problems — over-burdensome government regulations, excessive taxation, inflationary monetary policy, and an unstable economy — have contributed to the protectionist sentiments as well. We realize that protectionist legislation has engendered retaliation by America's trading partners in the past resulting in "beggar thy neighbor" policies that had such disastrous consequences in the 1930's.

Republicans are committed to protect American jobs and American workers first and foremost. The Republican Party believes in free trade, and we will insist that our trade policy be based on the principles of reciprocity and equity. We oppose subsidies, tariff and non-tariff barriers that unfairly restrict access of American products to foreign markets. We will not stand idly by as the jobs of millions of Americans in domestic industries, such as automobiles, textiles, steel, and electronics are jeopardized and lost. We pledge to strengthen trade agreements and to change the Carter economic policies that have undermined the capability of American agriculture and industry to compete abroad.

Republicans believe that this nation's international trade balance can be improved through the elimination of disincentives for exporters. Statutory and regulatory requirements that inhibit exports should be reviewed and, where practical, eliminated. We further recognize that government can play a role in promoting international trade by establishing incentives for exports, especially those for small and medium size business. We pledge also to work with our trading partners to eliminate subsidies to exports and dumping.

The ability of the United States to compete in foreign markets is hampered by the excessive taxation of Americans working abroad who contribute to our domestic well-being by promoting international trade. Increased exports to our trading partners result in jobs and a rising standard of living at home. Carter Administration policy has the effect of discouraging the presence of American businessmen abroad due to the unfairly high level of taxation levied against them. A Republican Administration will support legislation designed to eliminate this inequity so that American citizens can fully participate in international commerce without fear of discriminatory taxation.

Our nation must have a strong, competitive, and efficient merchant marine to meet the needs of our international commerce and our national security. We must arrest the significant decline of recent years in the ability of American-flag shipping to compete effectively for the carriage of world commerce. A Republican Administration will revitalize our merchant marine through a responsive and sustained policy. We will encourage the development and maintenance of an American-flag ocean transportation system, staffed with trained American personnel and capable of carrying a substantial portion of our international trade in a competitive and efficient manner. We will promote the development and support of a domestic shipbuilding and ship-repair mobilization base adequate to both the commercial and the national security requirements of the United States.

THE SECURITY OF ENERGY AND RAW MATERIALS ACCESS

The security of America's foreign sources of energy and raw material supply can no longer be ignored. The United States imports 50 percent of its domestic petroleum requirements, and depends upon foreign sources for 22 of the 74 non-fuel raw materials essential to a modern industrial economy. Nine of the most critical raw materials are almost entirely (i.e., more than 90 percent) located abroad. In contrast, the Soviet Union imports only two critical minerals at a level in excess of 50 percent of domestic consumption.

Reducing reliance on uncertain foreign sources and assuring access to foreign energy and raw materials require the harmonization of economic policy with our defense and foreign policy. Domestic economy and regulatory policy must be adjusted to remove impediments to greater development of our own energy and raw materials resources. Democratic policies for federal land management, taxation, monetary policy, and economic regulation have served to increase America's dependence on foreign sources of energy and raw materials.

Republicans pledge to work to eliminate domestic disincentives to the exploitation of these resources.

Multilateral negotiations have thus far insufficiently focused attention on U. S. long term security requirements. A pertinent example of this phenomenon is the Law of the Sea Conference, where negotiations have served to inhibit U. S. exploration of the seabed for its abundant mineral resources. Too much concern has been lavished on nations unable to carry out seabed mining, with insufficient attention paid to gaining early American access to it. A Republican Administration will conduct multilateral negotiations in a manner that reflects America's abilities and long-term interest in access to raw material and energy resources.

Resource access will assume an important place in defense and economic planning under a Republican Administration. Since America's allies are, in most cases, more dependent than the U. S. on foreign sources of energy and raw materials, they too have a vital interest in the defense of their access to these critical resources. Republicans pledge to promote allied defense cooperation to assure protection from military threats to overseas resources.

THE HONORABLE JAMES H. QUILLEN
MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM TENNESSEE AND
PARLIAMENTARIAN OF THE CONVENTION

MR. QUILLEN. — The Chair now recognizes the Honorable Margaret Heckler from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts for the purpose of making an introduction.

I see Tennessee over there. Hello, Tennessee. (Applause.)

REMARKS OF THE HONORABLE MARGARET M. HECKLER
MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM
THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS

MRS. HECKLER. — Mr. Chairman, fellow Delegates, ladies and gentlemen: It has been said that the test of tolerance comes when we are in the majority, but the test of courage comes when we are in the minority. The man who will serve once again as Permanent Chairman of our Convention has courageously led the Republican minority in the House of Representatives for nearly seven years. But I have known John Rhodes for the 14 years in which I have served in Congress, and I have found him to be an articulate spokesman, an able leader, and an understanding colleague. Intelligence and integrity, imagination and insight characterize John Rhodes. We have been heavily outnumbered during these years, but under the leadership of John Rhodes, we have never been outfought.

While the majority has splintered over internal differences, to the detriment of sound national policy, the hallmark of John Rhodes as our leader has

been his uncanny ability to bring together for the common good all of us in the House who call ourselves Republicans.

He has so unified us that we House Republicans have become a cohesive force on Capitol Hill, with an impact on national legislation far beyond our numbers.

John Rhodes knows how much we need a Republican majority in Congress to give this Nation the new direction it must have after 26 straight years of one-party control.

Twenty-eight years ago John Rhodes was the first Republican elected to serve in the Congress from the State of Arizona. As a freshman member, he was just learning the ropes and that was the last time that we had a Republican Congress. Now he is ready to lead the next Republican Congress, the first one in a quarter century.

Ladies and gentlemen, it gives me great pleasure to introduce and present to you the Representative from the First District of Arizona, the House Republican Leader of this Congress, and the Speaker of the House in the next Congress, the Honorable John J. Rhodes. (Applause.)

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE JOHN J. RHODES MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM ARIZONA MINORITY LEADER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN OF THE 1980 REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Fellow Delegates to the Republican Convention, to preside over this Convention is one of the greatest honors in my life, for I believe along with you and millions of other Americans that the Convention of Republicans gathered together in the automobile capital of America signifies a new start and a new impetus because in January 1981, the United States Government will take off like a big bird, at the moment when Ronald Reagan of California takes the oath of office as the next President of the United States. (Applause and cheers.)

Four years ago, in New York City, the Democrats nominated their candidate for the Presidency. He promised his party — and much more importantly, he promised the American people — "the kind of government they deserve." Now hear this: "the kind of government they deserve." What a low opinion of Americans he must have. (Applause.)

Do the American people really deserve the kind of government Jimmy Carter has given them? (Chorus of noes.)

Do the American people really deserve four years of governmental ineptitude, compounded by utter incompetence? (Chorus of noes.)

Well, I don't believe it. The Republican Party obviously doesn't believe it for a minute. And Ronald Reagan certainly doesn't believe it. (Applause.)

THE HONORABLE JOHN J. RHODES of Arizona
Permanent Chairman of the Convention

We don't believe that Americans deserve the kind of government they have had for four painful years. But most important of all, millions of Americans will tell you what they think when they go to the polls next November 4th, and you aren't going to like what they are going to tell you, Mr. Carter. (Applause.).

A great Democrat once said, "Let's look at the record." We as Republicans should repeat that refrain every day. So, let's look at the record.

To begin with, when Gerald Ford was President of the United States, the free world knew who its leader was. He acted like a leader. He was a leader.

Second, Jimmy Carter came into office when inflation had been driven down to 4.8 percent a year, largely by Jerry Ford's courageous vetoes. (Applause.)

This President of promises and the Democrat spenders in Congress have managed to produce an inflation rate of nearly 20 percent a year.

Jimmy Carter came into office telling the American people he would reduce unemployment to 4 percent a year.

This President of promises and the Democrat spenders have produced 7,200,000 Americans out of work.

Unemployment threatens to approach 10 percent by the end of 1980. What kind of record is that to offer the American people?

We have seen a President unable to establish a steady course in any course of action which he enters. He has offered energy conservation on Tuesday, energy taxes on Thursday, and higher gasoline prices every day of the week.

Let's face it. Mr. Carter is simply the unbelievable President. He has demonstrated a lack of will on the international scene. And for that, more than anything else, he must be called to account.

This Administration conducts high policy by pretense and by posture. Mr. Carter is the President who said it was unacceptable for Soviet combat brigades to stay in Cuba. They are still there. But Jimmy Carter has changed his mind. The unacceptable has become acceptable. But the American people haven't changed their minds. Russian combat troops in Cuba are still unacceptable, Mr. President. (Applause.)

While 52 Americans are imprisoned thousands of miles from home, in violent contravention of international law, Mr. Carter flounders. This President has conducted affairs of state and responded to human tragedy by the political calendar, with primary election dates boldly marked in red. Who will forget the Tuesday morning of the Wisconsin primary when the President, using the White House as his forum, promised us an end of the hostage crisis? And then who will forget the morning after the Wisconsin primary when this promise was utterly ignored?

Who will forget all the other days in the spring and summer when Mr. Carter told us he couldn't come out of the Rose Garden? Remember the press

conference he held after the tragedy in the Iranian desert when eight valiant Americans died while trying to rescue their fellow citizens. That press conference removed any doubt about Mr. Carter's understanding of the Presidency. He had the nerve to tell the American people that the Iranian crisis had suddenly now become manageable, so he was going to leave the Rose Garden and take to the campaign trail.

Is it any wonder that our international stature has declined so badly these past four years that our interests abroad are violated with such contempt?

Mr. Carter's judgment on the status of the Iranian crisis came on the 165th day of the imprisonment of 52 Americans in Tehran. Today, July 15th, we observe the 255th day of that imprisonment.

I understand that some Democrats have been upset because Walter Cronkite has ended every evening's newscast by saying, "And that's the way it is on the 255th day of the imprisonment of 52 Americans in Iran." Mr. President, all Americans are saying, "That's the way it is." Fifty-two hostages are still in Iran. We haven't forgotten. (Applause.)

Well, let me ask you, how can Mr. Carter lead the Nation when he can't even lead the Democratic Party?

What kind of government can we expect when a veteran Democratic Senator calls his own President a hypocrite, and then proves it? This President first opposed badly-needed pay increases for servicemen. But the Congress insisted on meeting those vital defense needs anyway, so as to improve the quality of our armed services.

Then what did the President do? He flew to a naval base and he promised the sailors there that he would give them the very same pay raise he had just fought a few days before.

When this Democratic Senator called his President a hypocrite, he expressed the frustration and anger of many who have watched American strength fade under the Carter Administration.

You know, I feel truly sorry for my Democratic colleagues in the Congress of the United States — or I would if they didn't deserve exactly what they got, which they do. The Democratic Congress in 1980 is offering the same old tired formula that they offered in the 1930's. They haven't had a new idea since the 1930's.

It is true that the American people can no longer afford Mr. Carter in the White House. But it is even more true that they can no longer afford Democrats controlling the Congress of the United States. (Applause.)

Today's inflation is the sum of past mistakes. We are carrying the burden of over $800 billion in debt racked up during 25 years of reckless spending by Democrat-controlled Congresses. It costs the taxpayer more than a billion dollars ever week just to keep this debt afloat.

Through good times and bad, Government has spent everything it has taken and borrowed billions more. Our dollar today is worth only 36 cents compared to its value 25 years ago. For the first time in a quarter of a century this Party, the Republican Party, has a very good chance to take control of both Houses of Congress so that the Government will help energize the capabilities of the most productive economy in the world, instead of hamstringing it, as has been the case.

A Republican Congress and President will see to it that risks are rewarded, that our citizens may once again realistically aspire to better and richer lives, that the vigor and effectiveness of our defense will once again cause others to look to the United States as a source of strength and hope. (Applause.)

The next President of the United States, Ronald Reagan, is a man who has demonstrated his capacity to lead the people in the direction we must take to survive as a great Nation. (Applause.)

We all, every one of us, pledge to support him in this great endeavor.

Now, I have served in the House of Representatives for 27 years. I have had the honor to be Republican Leader in the House ever since Gerald Ford became Vice President. I believe with all my heart that we are on the way to a Republican sweep in November. (Applause and cheers.)

I want more than anything else to see Ronald Reagan sworn into office next January 20th. (Applause and cheers.)

But as he said, "Don't send me up there alone. I need the support of a Republican Congress to get the job done." The way you want to do it, he will need a Republican Congress. And we Republicans must also go to the grass roots and convince the people that the majority party in the Congress of the United States must be the Republican Party working with a Republican President. (Applause.)

We must get them to realize that the only way to accomplish this is simply to defeat Democrats and elect Republicans. (Applause.)

It is that simple: Defeat Democrats and elect Republicans.

I will do my best to make that happen, and I know that each of you will commit yourselves to the same mission.

Now I would like to close these remarks on a personal note. I have a dream of my own, next January, and this is it: When the next State of the Union address is delivered, and when Ronald Reagan stands at the door of the House of Representatives, before he walks down the aisle to the rostrum, I would like to be the person to whom the Doorkeeper of the House addresses these words in ringing tones: "Mr. Speaker, the President of the United States." (Applause and cheers.)

Thank you, ladies and gentlemen. I appreciate your attention.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The Chair now recognizes the former Republican National Chairman, one of the great ladies of our Party, Mary Louise Smith, for the purpose of addressing the Convention.

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE MARY LOUISE SMITH FORMER CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

MARY LOUISE SMITH. — Thank you very much.

Mr. Chairman, fellow Delegates, ladies and gentlemen: We have now adopted a platform. Tonight, and throughout the period of this great Convention here in the city of Detroit, our Republican Party is being subjected to intense scrutiny. Our differences of opinion have become common knowledge. But the important message to remember is this: A political Party whose members agree on everything would quickly lose its energy, its imagination, the vitality that brings new ideas and expanded efforts. A party that expects or allows this to happen will eventually die of either attrition or sheer boredom. (Applause.)

As in a family, disagreements within a political party and the reconciliation of those disagreements can create a more closely-knit group and make all the participants stronger and more respectful of each other. And so it should be with the Republican Party.

A key to our Republican strength is our ability to accommodate a wide range of viewpoints, a broad spectrum of voter interests, and to reconcile the differences between those viewpoints and interests within the boundaries and within the framework of our traditional principles and commitments.

Internal differences and disagreements there will always be. We can live with those. But be certain that no one ever unified a party or a nation by fragmenting its basic structure.

The key to the future of the Republican Party, and indeed, to the future of our great Nation, does not lie in the creation of a third party, or a fourth party, or a fifth party, or in the encouragement of special interest factions isolated from the mainstream of the two-party system. A successful future lies in our ability to mantain a strong, unified, disciplined and cohesive posture that transcends the differences that we are sure to encounter along the way.

Thinking back to our Nation's beginning more than 200 years ago, our Constitution was not the product of unanimity. If our Founding Fathers had waited for a total meeting of the minds on every single article, that magnificent document itself would still be in the drafting stage. It was the sharing of basic principles and common goals that overcame differences and accommodated variations of thought.

The positive aspects of such an approach made possible a reconciliation of ideas by individuals of good faith whose origins and personalities may have been

THE HONORABLE MARY LOUISE SMITH of Iowa
Former Chairman of the Republican National Committee

diverse, but who held a single purpose uppermost in their minds. And so must it be with our Party — different viewpoints, divergent opinions, but ultimately unified in a commitment to further our mutual interests through the election of Ronald Reagan.

And I will add to that, election of Republicans at every level.

Oddly enough, the words of a popular song come to my mind, "We Are Family" — a Republican family, a growing family, distinguished by its ability and its willingness to reach out to all the men and women of America who share our concerns and then join forces in a common cause.

Thank you. (Applause.)

PRESENTATION TO ROBERT S. CARTER VICE CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE ON ARRANGEMENTS AND CONVENTION MANAGER

MARY LOUISE SMITH. — And now, ladies and gentlemen, another assignment. There are no medals for service above and beyond the call of duty in the Republican Party. We have no formal distinguished service award to offer to an individual whose energy, whose skill and dedication have made the 1980 Republican National Convention the dramatic and historic event that we are witnessing here in Detroit this year.

What we do offer, however, is a symbol of our appreciation for such achievement, a gesture of recognition for the outstanding qualities that represent what is most valuable to our Party.

This presentation which I am about to make has special meaning for me because it is another opportunity to express my appreciation to a person here at my side who so ably served with me as Co-Chairman of the Republican National Committee.

And now, this special Testimonial Convention Badge we present this evening to the Vice Chairman of the Arrangements Committee and 1980 Republican National Convention Manager, Bob Carter. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — I would like to express my personal gratitude to the Delegates, the Alternates and our guests for the order which you have maintained tonight. I do note that the aisles are becoming a little more clogged than they ought to be. I am not going to ask the Sergeant at Arms to clear the aisles, but I would appreciate it if the Delegates would take their seats and if those who must be in the hall, and who are entitled to be, would keep the aisles from being clogged so that people who must move around the hall may do so and so that the noise will be at a minimum. We are going to have some very fine speakers here tonight, and I know you want to hear them, and the Chair will do its very best to make sure that every person in this hall has a chance to hear every word which is spoken by these very fine people who will be introduced.

And now I want to recognize the distinguished former Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, the Honorable Carla Hills, for the purpose of an introduction.

REMARKS BY THE HONORABLE CARLA HILLS FORMER SECRETARY OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

CARLA HILLS. — Delegates, my friends, the question of where Republicans stand on women's rights has stolen headlines at the 1980 Republican National Convention. Let the message go forth loud and clear from this hall that the Republican Party, Ronald Reagan, and the Republican leadership unequivocally support women's rights. (Applause and cheers.)

And in our Party's leadership, no one is more sensitively attuned to the concerns of women than Betty Green Heitman, our energetic, talented and capable President of the National Federation of Republican Women.

Now in her second term of office, Betty cheers and motivates 200,000 Republican women activists in 2,700 federated clubs located in every state of our Union.

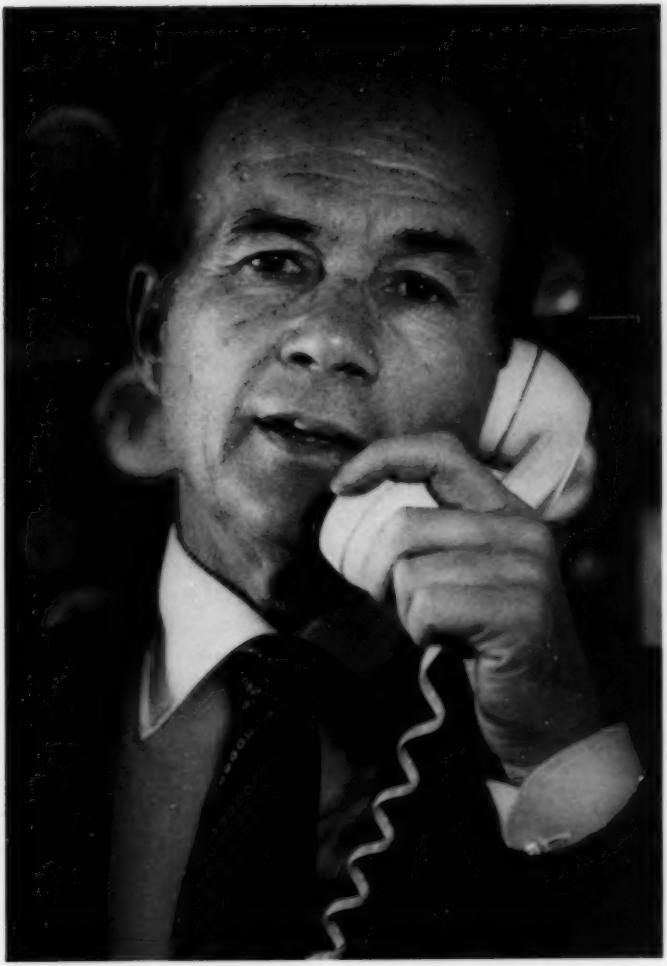
The Federation is a grass roots organization whose members tirelessly volunteer to elect Republicans in local, state and Federal elections all across our land. Already their contribution to the 1980 campaign has topped seven million volunteer hours.

During Betty's administration, the Federation has enlarged its membership, become financially independent, recruited, trained and supported women for elective office and has focused effectively on the issues that concern all voters.

Under her leadership the Federation has spoken out on women's issues, child care, equality of treatment under our Social Security system, and equal employment opportunity. As it affirms and reaffirms its position on these very important issues, the Federation has also taken positions on a broad range of issues that affect both men and women — taxation, defense, our inflation, jobs, and government intrusion.

With this solid, multi-issue approach, Betty has played a major role in pulling down victory afer victory for Republicans in grass roots campaigns. Born in Arkansas, residing in Louisiana, and working in every state, Betty belongs to all of us, and we are so happy to have her.

It is my great pleasure to present to the Republican National Convention of 1980 the enormously capable and talented President of the National Federation of Republican Women, Betty Green Heitman. (Applause.)



ROBERT S. CARTER of the District of Columbia
Vice Chairman of the Committee on Arrangements
and Convention Manager

ADDRESS BY BETTY HEITMAN, PRESIDENT NATIONAL FEDERATION OF REPUBLICAN WOMEN

BETTY HEITMAN. — Thank you very much.

We, the women of the United States, are being conned. We are the victims of a massive hoax. The Democrats have convinced us that they are the champions of equal rights for women, but nothing could be further from the truth. (Applause.)

The truth is, the Republican Party started the women's movement, the Democrats have merely destroyed it. Yes, you heard me. The Republican Party started the drive for equal rights way back in 1896. Our National Convention included the first formal rights-for-women plank.

And in 1916 we became the first major party to endorse Federal women's suffrage. In fact, it was the Republican women and the Republican States who pushed for and won for women the right to vote. (Applause.)

It was before this party's convention in 1948 that a woman first took this podium to place in nomination the name of a presidential candidate. And it was a Republican President who sent out the historic directive ordering Federal agencies to hire women.

On that same day in 1971 the President appointed the first women's recruiter to work in the White House. The real success story of a century of Republican leadership for women was the breakthrough achieved by the combination of that presidential directive and that White House recruiter. Together they broke barriers against women in government, not only in visible appointments, but in every level of hiring.

Women became ambassadors, admirals and generals. Women went into positions where they have never been before and the number of women in junior and mid-level government jobs tripled, and today women continue to be hired. That is the momentum created ten years ago by that Republican administration.

But the Republican achievements for women were not fought on the face of the No. 1 issue facing women today: inflation caused by the Democratic Congress. As this country literally plunges into a deepening recession, women in particular have fewer opportunities. More than half of us now work. Some of us work because we want to, but more and more of us are working to support our families in this race with inflation, and this becomes even more difficult when you consider that a woman's paycheck averages 60 cents to every dollar that a man earns and then, after a tough battle to get a decent job, as a woman you may be the first laid off.

Today more than a third of the women who head households are at the poverty level. How are these women surviving double-digit inflation? How are our older women surviving at all?

These women, if they are lucky, may have an income of $6,000 a year. If you are a black woman, it may be as little as $2,000 a year. What women need is

not only a stronger economy, but a Congress that is attuned to our problems. The social security system must be corrected to eliminate remaining biases against women. A major inequity also exists in other tax laws.

The so-called marriage tax still punishes the married couple who both work, and inheritance taxes still tax income already taxed. And the Congress, which the Democrats have controlled for most of this century, has not resolved any of these problems.

All we have seen the Democratic Party do is use their majority party power in Congress to take credit for inventing equal rights. But what do they really mean by "equal rights"? There is a real difference in how the Democratic Party and the Republican Party interpret these two words.

The Democrats believe in equal entitlement and they diligently apply that philosophy to every social problem in this country; apply it, we might add, with your tax dollars. Republicans believe not in equal entitlement, but in equal opportunity. (Applause.)

That is what Governor Reagan perceived more than a decade ago in California as he systematically went about removing barriers to women's advancement by opening up opportunities.

Governor Reagan supported equal rights and opportunities for women long before it was fashionable, much of the legislation he took and signed into law is considered landmark. In other words, he took the first important steps to redress inequities without being pressured and without waiting for a social revolution.

The list includes establishing credit rights and improving community property rights for women, prohibiting sex discrimination in employment, real property insurance and business transactions, passing enlightened legislation for rape victims, increasing the development and improvement of child care centers all across the State and much, much more.

Officially Governor Reagan sees women as Republicans have always seen them, not as one of the Democrats' special interest groups, but as the mainstay of our society, the force that holds it together and deserving, as are all human beings, the opportunity to fashion our own lives.

It is only under this philosophy that women can truly function as whole human beings. That is why the National Federation of Republican Women is the largest women's political organization in this country. (Applause.)

We are an organization of women that has for over 40 years worked hard for that Republican philosophy and our Republican candidates. Several weeks ago a newspaper columnist observed that when the 1980 campaign is over, history will record that it was the Republican women who made the difference.

Thank you. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Thank you, Betty Heitman.

I have the privilege of introducing a good friend and former colleague in the House of Representatives. In 1976 this distinguished American was elected Pennsylvania's junior Senator, overcoming an 800,000 vote Democratic registration edge, and still walking off with a 250,000 vote victory.

In 1979 his Republican Senate colleagues chose our next speaker for the Leadership of all 1980 Senate campaigns by voting him chairman of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee. He is the youngest chairman in the committee's history.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is a pleasure and an honor to introduce to you the Chairman of the Republican Senatorial Committee and one of the bright young leaders of our party, Senator John Heinz of Pennsylvania.

REPORT ON THE 1980 REPUBLICAN SENATORIAL CAMPAIGN BY THE HONORABLE JOHN HEINZ, UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM PENNSYLVANIA AND CHAIRMAN, NATIONAL REPUBLICAN SENATORIAL COMMITTEE

SENATOR HEINZ. — Mr. Chairman, thank you so very much for that introduction.

Fellow Delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I am here tonight to tell you that the Republican Party is going to be the majority party in the Senate of the United States. (Applause.)

Because after four years of vascillation and indecision from Jimmy Carter and his congressional Democrats, the American people are ready for — indeed, they are desperate for — the kind of experienced, confident, competent leadership the Republican Party is ready to offer.

And we are going to offer it not only in the White House, but in the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States as well.

Ladies and gentlemen, the people I talk to across this country are terribly concerned about the way things have changed. They are concerned — in fact, they are frightened — that the past four years have put this country on the wrong track.

Until just a few years ago Americans had good reason for the hope and confidence they felt about their futures. All of us can remember when inflation wasn't a problem, when the average American could afford a home and when the phrase "sound as a dollar" meant something both at home and abroad.

But for too many years now, the big spending Democrats in Congress have sent deficits and inflation and taxes skyrocketing.

Now, many people blame our inflation, our unemployment, our lack of respect abroad on Jimmy Carter alone, but we must remind the American people that without a Democratic-controlled Congress calling the shots on Capitol Hill, it would have been impossible, even for Jimmy Carter, to bring us

13 percent inflation and 8 percent unemployment, or as we heard President Ford say last night, a record misery index of an incredible 24 percent. (Applause.)

We must remind the American people that no President has ever collected a penny in taxes that the Congress didn't approve. And that no President has ever spent a dime that Congress didn't first appropriate. No President can lower taxes unless a majority of the Congress votes for a tax cut, and I don't have to remind you that less than a month ago the Democratic majority in the United States Senate voted down the Republican plan that would have cut every American's tax bill by 10 percent this year.

Well, this year we Republicans have a chance to control the Congress, and to start getting this great country on the right track.

Ladies and gentlemen, we are going to give this country the real leadership it wants and needs and we are going to do it by evicting the Democratic majority in Congress this year. (Applause.)

I think the American people are sick and tired of politicians who oppose needed weapons systems for five and a half years and then decide to support them only after falling behind their Republican challengers in the public opinion polls. I think the American people are sick and tired of politicians who use their committee chairmanships to place their own political survival ahead of this country's national interest. (Applause.)

I think the American people are sick and tired of politicians who consistently oppose tax cuts until they can design an election eve package that they can then try and take full credit for.

And I think the American people are sick and tired of politicians who complain about the decline of the American dollar and the erosion of the savings of millions of senior citizens and then irresponsibly vote for more and more government and more programs.

For the serious damage they have done to America's position, both at home and abroad, the Democratic majority in Congress must go.

That, ladies and gentlemen, is the message that we must take and we will take to the people in this campaign and as the campaign unfolds, we will undoubtedly be subjected to the spectacle of Democratic imcumbents campaigning on what they have done for their States while trying to camouflage what they have been doing to our country.

But this year we have it in our power to retire not only Jimmy Carter, but also the congressional Democrats who provide the props for his flailing, inept administration.

Let me give you some specifics, speaking from my role as Chairman of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee. This Democratic Senate has raised taxes to the highest levels since World War II, so just think about what it will mean for America when the Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee is a

Republican. This Democratic Senate is spending at the highest levels in the history of the Nation, so think what it will mean for the future of America when the Chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee is a Republican.

This Democratic Senate has allowed the Soviet Union to surpass us and capture the strategic momentum that threatens our security in the 1980's. So just think what it will mean for the future of America, ladies and gentlemen, when the chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee is a Republican.

Just think of what it will mean for America when the leadership of the Congress is Republican. We will reverse the last four years of drift and decline. We will make the right decisions to assure America's security and prosperity not just for the next four years, but for the next generation. (Applause.)

Under Jimmy Carter and the Democratic Congress the present is being hopelessly mishandled. That is why we need Ronald Reagan in the White House and a Republican Senate, too. (Applause and cheers.)

Theodore Roosevelt, that great Republican President, once wrote that we need leaders of inspired idealism, leaders to whom are granted great visions to dream greatly and who strive to make their dreams come true, who can kindle the people with the fire of their own burning souls.

Ladies and gentlemen, the Republican Party today has these leaders, candidates who will lead us into the decade of the 1980's with that vision, that fire, that idealism. Let us work together to make this country's leadership meaningful once again and let's start by giving the new Reagan administration the best sendoff it could possibly have, a Republican United States Senate. (Applause.)

And now I have the pleasant task of introducing some of our candidates, but before I introduce our 1980 Senate incumbents and challengers that are here with us in Detroit, let me give you a very brief report on the activities of the Senatorial Campaign Committee. The 1980 Senatorial Elections Campaign Committee will supply more than $7 million in direct and indirect support to our candidates. That is more than two and one-half times the amount we have raised in any previous Senate election. And this goal could not possibly have been reached without the generous support of our 350,000 contributors across the United States. That number is three times what we had two years ago.

So on behalf of my 40 Republican Senate colleagues and on behalf of all our party's candidates that we are going to elect this November, I want to thank each and every one of our committee supporters for their very generous help. We are deeply grateful. (Applause.)

In addition to the campaign funds, and for the first time, the Senatorial Committee is providing computerized information which is able to print out every vote by every Senate Democrat, so our candidates can wage hard-hitting attacks on the voting records of the incumbent Democrats.

But important as fundraising and research are, I believe our greatest success has been to encourage an outstanding group of candidates to run for the United States Senate. In 1980, for the first time since 1954, we have the chance

to become the Senate's majority party. The Democrats currently hold 59 seats, we hold 41. This year there will be — there are 24 — Democratic seats up and if we can beat just ten of those incumbent Democrats, we will take control of the Senate. (Applause.)

In my remarks I mentioned Teddy Roosevelt's conception of great leadership, the leaders of inspired idealism who can make dreams come true. I am convinced our group of candidates are those leaders and many of them are here tonight.

First, I would like to introduce to you our Republican senators who are running for re-election. Barry Goldwater will be on the program later tonight, so let me start with Bob Dole of Kansas.

Next Jake Garn of Utah.

Jake Javits of New York.

Charles McC. Mathias of Maryland.

(Each name was greeted with applause.)

And now I would like you to meet our challengers who are here tonight. They are an outstanding group of candidates who reflect the strength, the ideals and the diversity of this country. Our group includes two farmers, a pharmacist, a newspaper publisher, a prosecutor, a trial attorney, a college professor and two small businessmen.

First, the man who will beat Alan Cranston in California, Tax Crusader Paul Gann.

The man who will beat George McGovern in South Dakota, Congressman Jim Abdnor.

The man who will beat Fritz Hollings in South Carolina, Attorney Marshall Mays.

The man who will beat John Culver in Iowa, Congressman Chuck Grassley.

The man who will beat John Glenn in Ohio, and he looks to me like a younger, taller version of Jerry Ford, Jim Betts of Ohio.

The man who will beat Herman Talmadge of Georgia, small businessman Mack Mattingly.

The man who will win Adlai Stevenson's seat in Illinois, Lieutenant Governor Dave O'Neil.

The man who will continue Senator Schweiker's fine tradition of leadership in the State of Pennsylvania, former District Attorney Arlen Specter.

And the man who will beat Robert Morgan in North Carolina, College Professor John East.

(Each candidate was greeted with applause.)

SENATOR HEINZ. — Ladies and gentlemen, this is the greatest group of Republican candidates ever in the history of the Republican Party. (Applause and cheers.)

And we have a late entry: Steve Symms of Idaho, who is going to defeat Frank Church. (Applause and cheers.)

SENATOR HEINZ. — Ladies and gentlemen, one very brief final word. These candidates need and they deserve your help, and America needs and deserves their leadership.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Ladies and gentlemen, the 1980 Republican National Convention welcomes Mrs. Ronald Reagan, America's next First Lady. (Mrs. Reagan's appearance created a five-minute interval of cheers and applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Folks, it is only the beginning. The Chair now recognizes the Honorable Richard Snelling, the Governor of Vermont and chairman of the Republican Governors Association, for the purpose of addressing the convention. (Applause.)

THE REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS
BY THE HONORABLE RICHARD A. SNELLING
CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS ASSOCIATION
AND GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF VERMONT

GOVERNOR SNELLING. — Mr. Chairman, First Lady Nancy, ladies and gentlemen, greetings from the cool green mountains of Vermont.

We have come here to embark on a mission so great, so worthy and so important to mankind, that if we believe we have come only to nominate a candidate for the presidency of the United States, we may not see clearly or see securely the great opportunity which is ours.

We will nominate Ron Reagan here, and we will elect him President in November. (Applause.)

But neither of these is by itself our mission. Our mission, which we must make the mission of all Americans, is to restore the republic which now stands in mortal danger. I am not ashamed to say that I love my country nor to confess that often these days I tremble and weep at the circumstances which confront my United States, my land of the free, my home of the brave.

I cannot much longer endure the sight of the American flag burning in the alleyways of Iran, or the knowledge that my countrymen remain imprisoned there, hostages of both the Ayatollah and of America's lost credibility as a defender of its own. It is a cause of deep pain that Russia's armies move freely against defenseless free men and women in Afghanistan, undaunted by our own country's threat that we will in reprisal refuse to play summer games in Moscow.

What galls us all is that the Russians' plan has been prophesied and advertised for half a century. Their adventures may find us unprepared, but they do not find us unwarned.

But there is more. This magnificent creative creature of democracy, the United States of America, suffers even more at her own hands than she suffers from the deeds of others. The mighty industrial engine which built the standard of living which the entire world uses as its yardstick of progress now grows dilapidated. Our streets and homes and shops are filled with the products of foreign industries, while our friends and neighbors are unemployed.

We are being out-free-enterprised, out-modernized, out-engineered, out-capitalized and out-marketed by half the world. There is no way to speak of inflation which speaks clearly of its consequences to the people or to the fabric of society.

You cannot discard with percentage points or digits, even double-digits, what happens to the souls of the elderly who find themselves impoverished despite a lifetime of systematic planning and saving, or what happens to the hopes of working men and women who find every raise wiped out by inflation and then find their capacity to meet the needs of their own families by the fruits of their own labors further ravaged by taxation, pegged to inflation rather than to real income.

In such times we must answer to our ancestors because they placed in our hands a marvelously unique society full of promise for ourselves and all mankind. We cannot nominate or elect without accepting the burden of that perspective.

We have been too busy for perspective for a long time now, perhaps half a century. But now we must remember that this republic for which we are determined to make a stand was designed by men and women who came to these shores in search not of riches, but of freedom.

On every hand these days you hear people crying out that America is in danger of exhausting her resources — but neither the Pilgrims nor any of the waves of immigrants who made the journey to these shores in the intervening years came here attracted by resources. They came here to plant in this soil their values, believing that in the climate of freedom those values would root and flourish.

This nation did not start with abundance of energy, it did not commence with the advantages of huge capital, it did not proceed protected by armies or navies superior in size or hardware. This United States sprang from simple values consistently applied, belief in God, in family, in neighbors, in hard work, in risk and in opportunity.

Belief in opportunity for growth, for independence, for fulfillment of personal potential. The belief which spawned the most successful society in all history was belief in opportunity, not guarantee of success. And because this nation was created under God, it was created with a belief in the fundamental

dignity of man and an understanding that God's creatures do not, must not grovel at the feet of government, but that government must instead be the servant of man proceeding only by and with the consent of the governed.

This nation was conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal and what our forefathers demanded for themselves by way of opportunity, they realized that they must make available to all without regard to race, creed, color or sex. And this nation did prosper as none other ever before.

It became strong and wealthy, it attracted freedom-loving people from every part of the world and the energy, the work, the thrift, the willingness to risk and to pursue opportunity created capital, undreamed of by any prior society.

We know our system works, but somehow or other the very people who benefited most from this system lost track of what it was that distinguished it. People began to believe that these blessings were ours by right rather than to be earned. It seems to me that we have progressively turned our backs on the values and beliefs which were at the same time the foundation of the country and the cause of a century and a half of her growth and security.

I do not deny that the New Deal was born out of frustration, but would you deny that the notion that government is more responsible than individuals for social and economic opportunity has become now an ugly and deadly cancer threatening the life of this system?

It is not enough to campaign against another term for Jimmy Carter. Carter must be replaced. But our campaign must be for Ronald Reagan because he has demonstrated he can build a mighty new union of American voters who know the right direction for America. (Applause.)

It is true that the Carter Administration stands indicted by the American public as the greatest failure in the history of the presidency and that judgment comes without partisanship from citizens who call themselves Democrats and Independents as well as Republicans. But do not forget the Carter Administration's great ally in failure, the Democratic Congress, because while the Carter Administration has practiced failure for only four years, the Democratic majority in Congress has been dictating the policies of this nation for nearly 50 years.

This convention must go beyond nominating Ronald Reagan. It must lead a movement to restore what is right and good in America. This convention must commit all who are here, and millions who are not, to making 1980 a turning point in history, the end of fifty years of eroding American values and the beginning of a rebirth of a nation which is strong and healthy and secure, because its citizens demand of the nation and of themselves adherence to values and principles which make us worthy of the blessings of the Almighty.

If I am right that our nation stands in peril, you and I have a duty to send out from this political convention a call which rises far above party, which

speaks to every American of his love for country and his duty to restore her luster and leadership in the world.

Ronald Reagan will lead us well, but he will need us all. We are not going to save this nation just by electing a president. We are not going to balance budgets, bolster defenses, straighten the currency, promote thrift, industry and independence without the actions of a Congress responding to a public demand that we establish priorities and accept discipline.

I don't believe the statisticians who tell us that President Reagan would most likely have to work with a Democratic Congress. Every member of the House of Representatives will face the same electorate which will choose the same President in the same voting booth at the same time. We must take the time to elect a Republican Congress.

And whether we succeed in curing big Federal government, we must make sure we don't replace it with big state governments. The goal is to make more room for individuals.

Our forefathers insisted that opportunity be available for all and that the strength of our system give protection to the weak and the afflicted and the unfortunate. As we systematically squeeze out the excess of government spending and return more responsibilities to the governments which are closest to the people, we must be sure that we do so with compassion, for if reduced government benefits any portion of our society at the expense of the truly needy, we will not have made any progress at all. Because the United States of America is a republic, its citizens can examine simultaneously the record of the Carter Federal Administration and the records of the fifty individual states.

And where they examine the governments of the States, they can contrast the records of nineteen Republican Governors against all the rest. We must be sure the public does compare the stewardship of Republican and Democratic chief executives because that comparison demonstrates not only that Republicans can make smaller governments work better, but proves that America will be better served by returning power and responsibilities to the units of government which are closest to the people.

Ladies and gentlemen, a little more than a year ago, the man who now is President of the United States and exercises the power and carries the hopes of this democracy told the American people and the world that this nation suffers from a malaise of spirit. I beg you to see this election and these times as an opportunity, enormously greater than that which rightfully belongs to any party or to any candidate alone.

This election is our opportunity to reject the notion of a democracy which is sick and to pronounce to all the world that we will accept the challenges of freedom and of democracy to build on the values and beliefs upon which this country was founded a new, stronger, more worthy United States of America.

Thank you. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.— Thank you, Governor Snelling.

The Chair is pleased now to recognize a distinguished American, the former Commissioner of the Federal Communications Commission, the Executive Director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Honorable Benjamin L. Hooks. (Applause.)

REMARKS BY THE HONORABLE BENJAMIN L. HOOKS, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

MR. HOOKS. — Thank you.

Mr. Chairman and Delegates, Alternates and guests, I am honored and delighted that I have been extended this opportunity to address the 32nd Republican National Convention. It is significant to note that this year's convention is being held in the State of Michigan. As most of you know, the first Republican Convention was held in Jackson, Michigan in 1854. (Applause.)

Six years later this infant Republican Party nominated Abraham Lincoln, who became the 16th President of the United States of America. (Applause.)

Today, 126 years later, many of the problems in transferring blacks from chattel status to first-class citizenship still exist. It is also significant that you have chosen to come to Detroit, which in many ways is symptomatic of both the possibilities and the problems that plague the American urban community today.

I come today not in a partisan position for I intend to present this same position paper to the Black Delegates and Alternates at the Democratic Convention, as well as to the entire Democratic National Convention when they convene in August in New York City.

I represent an organization that does not engage in partisan politics, but we have traditionally acted as a catalyst to move this nation forward.

America stands at a crossroads in its history. We must decide as a nation if we ought to become prisoners of our past or possessors of an enlightened and progressive future.

The task before us is a difficult one, indeed. In the words of one of the first Black Republicans, Frederick Douglas, "Unless there is struggle, there will be no progress."

No one who has even a vague understanding of American history can alter the fact that America today is a vastly improved society than it was in 1854. No one in his right mind can refute the statement that Blacks have come a long way as a people in the last 126 years.

We must not, however, allow ourselves to be lulled into a sense of false security or be placated by the progress we have achieved, for today in this

America, the richest nation on the face of the earth, fully one-fourth of its Black citizens live below the poverty level.

We are delegated to substandard housing, unequal representation in the professions, over-represented among our prison population and under-represented in the halls of government.

We in the NAACP do not accept the fact that these circumstances are just coincidental. Rather, we believe that, and history attests to the fact, as a result of systematic discrimination and the legitimacy of the institution of slavery, Blacks have been relegated to second-class citizenship.

We believe that the greatest dilemma facing America today is how to irradicate in the best manner possible racism, sexism and poverty in our society, and to afford to those who have been historically denied it, equal access to opportunity.

If we are to meet these challenges, it is incumbent upon the major political parties, those formed, or those about to be formed, and all institutions of America, to address forthrightly these problems.

As you meet here in this great National Convention, we will remind you that among the many adverse conditions facing Black Americans are these: In 1980 one-third of all Black Americans live in substandard housing, Black unemployment is twice as high as white unemployment, the Black median family income is 56 percent of that of white families, Black youth unemployment is officially 38 percent, but in many urban cities it is as high as 40 to 60 percent.

Blacks are 11 percent of the population, yet represent less than two percent of the lawyers, doctors and dentists, and less than one percent of the engineers. We are disproportionately the victims of police brutality and increasingly the victims of violence from hate groups like the Ku Klux Klan and the American Nazi Party.

Our urban centers are decaying, yet it is hard to visualize life in America without decent cities. The high rate of infant mortality continues to deny Black children an equal start in life, and Black businesses are deprived of equal access to homes, equity, capital and procurement opportunities in all levels of government and private industry.

But we have come not simply to recite problems, but we have come to offer what we believe are positive solutions. We invite your careful consideration for even though we may disagree on some issues, we ought to be able to disagree without being disagreeable.

We, therefore, suggest the following as an agenda for the '80s: full employment, priority should and must be given to economic policies that create jobs and commit this nation to a policy and practice of full employment. There must be vigorous commitment to achieve the goals and objectives of the Equal Opportunity Employment law of 1964. This will require vigorous enforcement

of that Act by the appropriate Federal, State and local agencies to assure adequate Black representation in all levels of employment.

In addition, the disastrously high level of youth unemployment must be reduced. Therefore, we urge your support for legislation that provides tax incentives to the private sector for recruiting and training disadvantaged Black youth so that they eventually will be able to compete in the American work force.

For this large number of unemployed Black youth, in the words of Mr. Jones, chairman of General Electric, constitutes a ticking time bomb that would threaten to destroy the whole of our nation. We need each and every one of you to relentlessly pursue a policy of equality, integrated education for all Americans in public schools and to promote the concept of accountability on the part of school personnel. This includes adequate funds.

There is no question but that the energy crisis is real. There is no question also that the responsibility on the part of the political leadership in Congress regarding a comprehensive energy program has been inadequate and unimpressive.

We, therefore, urge a pricing plan for the conservation of energy that produces equity for the poor and we support the immediate implementation of a food stamp program.

We also urge support for programs to increase aid for clean, safe, efficient, low-cost public transportation in the inner-city and policies of urban revitalization which include the development of racially and economically integrated housing.

As a civil rights organization, we may differ with many of you on the issues of abortion, capital punishment and the Equal Rights amendment. The common thread which goes throughout our concerns for each of these issues, is in part, because of uneven treatment on the basis of race, sex or poverty.

We urge you to reexamine your positions, to make sure that the American values of equality of opportunity are guaranteed on these issues of such vital concern. For instance, on the issue of abortion, whatever your personal position might be, we at the NAACP believe that many rights and options which are awarded and available to the rich must be available to the poor.

We urge full support of a health insurance plan which covers all Americans with a comprehensive range of benefits.

As political leaders of this nation, if you are serious about eliminating all forms of racial discrimination in housing, you must support policies and programs that will provide an adequate, affordable supply of housing, particularly for the lower and moderate income families. It is time for the U. S. Senate to pass the 1980 Fair Housing Act as adopted by the United States House of Representatives. We note that several Republican members of the House

Judiciary Committee provided real leadership in securing the passage in the House of the 1980 Fair Housing Act.

We have the involvement of American capital in South Africa which supports the continued exploitation of the Black majority. We, therefore, submit that American investment should not be used to support the beliefs of apartheid. We urge this party to forthrightly demand of South Africa that if their policies directly or indirectly support apartheid, they will be denied American aid.

The appointments to the United States Supreme Court and the Federal Judiciary must continue to include more Blacks, Hispanic-Americans and women. We call for a Supreme Court that will be faithful to the majesty of the Constitution in spite of the squeeze of the racial history of America.

While we have increased the number of Black elected officials over the past ten years, of the more than 4,000 Black elected officials less than 10 percent are Republicans. We call upon this party to vigorously seek out and support Black Republicans for public office. (Applause.)

At virtually every stage of the criminal justice system there are racial disparities, gross inequities and patterned injustice. In the final analysis, crime will be controlled by the expansion of equal opportunity, the proper hiring and training and deployment of law enforcement officers that respect the rights of all persons who are arrested.

We are concerned and disagree with the recent decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Mobile, Alabama case, and we favor legislative changes permissible under the Supreme Court decision that will eliminate that discriminatory effect, and we urge enforcement and ratification of the District of Columbia voter representation amendment.

Finally, the key provision of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 would expire in 1982 unless extended. It is essential to pass legislation providing for such an extension in order to complete the job of full enfranchisement commenced by the passage of the 1965 Act.

We urgently ask your support of such legislation. As a Black growing up in a rigidly segregated society, I have felt the sting of overt, blatant prejudice and segregation, but like the overwhelming majority of Black Americans, I remain loyal to the American dream. (Applause.)

Throughout our long and tortured history, we, as Black folks, have been sustained by the faith that one day America would truly be the land of complete and equal opportunity for all. We remain committed to that goal. Black folks through slavery, through second-class citizenship, through separate but unequal, through the dark and difficult days have remained true to the goals of America.

We remain faithfully committed to those ideals today. I learned a song many years ago. It speaks of the glory and grandeur that is America. I close with that song tonight.

"O beautiful, for spacious skies
For amber waves of grain,
For purple mountain majesties
Above the fruited plain.
America. America. God shed his grace on thee."

And now let us from this time and this place united in heart and head and hand, Black and white, Jew and Gentile, rich and poor, learned and unlearned, male and female, Catholic, Protestant, believers, nonbelievers, and other-believers, let us move out and "crown thy good with brotherhood" and sisterhood from "sea to shining sea."

Peace and freedom. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Thank you, Mr. Hooks, for one of the most important addresses we will hear.

The Chair now recognizes the Deputy Mayor of the great City of San Diego and the next Congressman from the 41st District of California, the Honorable Bill Lowery.

INTRODUCTION OF THE HONORABLE JOHN W. WARNER UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM VIRGINIA BY THE HONORABLE WILLIAM LOWERY DEPUTY MAYOR OF THE CITY OF SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA

MR. LOWERY. — Thank you, Congressman Rhodes.

I am proud to be here, not only to stand with the future Speaker of the House of Representatives, but to stand at the podium where on Thursday night you are going to hear from the next President of the United States, Ronald Reagan. (Applause and cheers.)

I am particularly proud because our future President is a fellow Californian. In addition, I am happy to represent the nation's ninth largest city and perhaps most beautiful city, my home, San Diego, California.

This introduction is particularly appropriate since the person I am to introduce served our country in the United States Navy in San Diego. Senator John Warner is one of our nation's most articulate and effective advocates of a strong national defense. This is not surprising, for John Warner knows firsthand the importance of our defense capabilities. He has given ten years of his life to military service.

Not only did John Warner serve his nation as Secretary of the Navy, but he is the only Secretary in the 200-year history of the Navy Department to serve in both of the services he headed. He dropped out of high school in 1944 to volunteer for the United States Navy as a seaman.

Later he served in Korea as an officer in the United States Marine Corps.

Senator Warner, while in the Department of the Navy, served as Defense Department delegate to the Law of the Sea Conferences in Geneva and he co-chaired the United States delegation to the UNESCO Conference in Paris in 1972. As head of our delegation, John Warner personally negotiated an agreement on safety at sea with the senior Soviet defense staff in Moscow and signed the historic Incidents at Sea document on behalf of the United States.

When our nation observed her 200-year anniversary, John Warner was asked to head the Bicentennial Celebration. I am sure we all remember that magnificent occasion and we would all like to feel that kind of pride in our nation and lift in our spirits once again.

In my own city of San Diego, California the United States Navy plays such a key role in our community that we see the larger problem of national security from the view of the great challenge facing the Navy today. San Diego is the largest operational naval base in the free world.

The Carter Administration has severely curtailed the Navy shipbuilding program. According to the Chief of Naval Operations, Thomas Hayward, we are outnumbered by the Soviet Navy three to one, and we are falling farther behind faster as the Soviets continue to build up both the quantity and quality of their naval forces.

Our Armed Services are committed to doing the job, but we are not giving them the resources. It is a disgrace that a sailor moving $25 million planes around the deck of a $2 billion carrier has to resort to food stamps to feed his kids and then not see those children for as long as nine months at a time when deployed at sea.

The Carter Administration and the Democrat-controlled Congress refuse to face the issue. We have simply got to provide reasonable and equitable compensation to recruit and retain the competent military manpower we need.

We in San Diego, in California — all Americans, in fact — support spending what it takes to keep our country so strong that no other nation dare challenge us. The free world demands a clearly defined American foreign policy.

Governor Reagan, the Republican Party and Senator John Warner are committed to that goal. And now I am very honored and pleased to present to you the co-chairman of Governor Reagan's Foreign Policy Advisory Committee, Senator John Warner.

Senator Warner. (Applause.)

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE JOHN W. WARNER UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM THE COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA

SENATOR WARNER. — Thank you. Thank you, Bill.

Mr. Chairman, Mrs. Reagan, fellow Republicans, we meet tonight in freedom; freedom hard-won at Yorktown, Lexington; freedom hard preserved in

the Argonne, in the Philippines, at Inchon, on Normandy Beach, freedom precious to mankind's dreams, yet so precarious, so precious, it could be wrested from us.

Tonight I wish I could speak words, words of comfort and assurance. But I cannot, for tonight our freedom is in jeopardy and the clear responsibility lies squarely with the man who has misdirected our foreign policy, our defense policy, James Earl Carter. (Applause and cheers.)

In history nations have lost freedom when their policies for defense and foreign relations lurched back and forth or took twists and unpredictable turns, like those of Jimmy Carter.

Staying free demands the stable, credible, dependable leadership Americans have known from other Presidents. One of those Presidents, Dwight Eisenhower, said, "Until war is eliminated from international relations, unpreparedness for it is well nigh as criminal as war itself."

My father feared and hated war. He was a frontline surgeon in World War I, and he came away from the trenches with a loathing for killing. In the 1930's he took me to the shores of Virginia and showed me the big coastal guns that protected the East Coast and he said, "Son, those guns protect our nation. I pray you will never have to go to war."

With great pride I have served my country in three wars as a sailor, as a marine, as Secretary of the Navy. The threat of war is still with us, and today we are not well prepared because Jimmy Carter has spent nearly four years in the White House viewing the world through rose-tinted glasses. He sees the world as he would like it to be, not as the world is.

Imagine a President who says the Russian invasion of Afghanistan taught him more about Soviet intentions in two weeks than three years of negotiating on SALT II. The hard-eyed men in the Kremlin have taken Jimmy Carter's measure and they believe it to be America's measure.

As they grow more powerful, they perceive America's strength as ebbing day by day under Jimmy Carter's policies of rhetoric and symbolism instead of substance and action. And the Soviets move out into the world where they once feared to venture.

Now the Soviets are not alone. In this perception produced by Jimmy Carter, they see Jimmy Carter's unpredictability and his inconsistency have embarrassed and embittered many nations who would be America's friends tonight. Europe's leaders understand the Soviet threat and are beginning to question America's ability and even America's will to respond. They feel left with little choice but to explore their own independent accommodation with the Kremlin.

And the Third World tilts with the shifting balance of power.

Where does America stand tonight? How long will freedom's flag fly in the world if America lowers freedom's shield?

This year the people are telling candidates what the issues are. "Jimmy Carter," they are saying, "it is in the national interest of the United States to maintain sound foreign policy, credible because it is backed by a strong national defense. Why, Jimmy Carter, have you let us down?"

They are saying, "Jimmy Carter, if America is truly for peace in the world, why have you permitted America to weaken, making war more possible? Why, Jimmy Carter have you let us down?"

Our Constitution requires our government to provide for the common defense of the American people. For two centuries Presidents have obeyed that command.

Now with the coming of modern warfare our defense is in the hands of the allies protecting America and the free world on a far-flung perimeter. Gone are the coastal guns. Gone forever is Fortress America.

America for all the breadth and length of our great land is an island nation bounded by two great oceans. More and more of what we need for daily living and national defense comes from across those oceans.

America's national interests in the 1980's rest with policies that recognize our growing interdependence with other countries, orderly partnerships for trade as well as for national defense. Take away our imports, half our oil, our manganese, our cobalt, our chromium, our platinum and America will wither. Shut off the world's sealanes and we can say goodbye to the abundant life of which we are so proud. We can say goodbye to freedom also.

The Kremlin, on the other hand, sits atop a land mass that maintains nearly all the raw materials the Soviets need, and they are right alongside their principal allies. Yes, bordering Mother Russia, easily accessible by land routes, the Soviet Union has no pressing economic or defense need for the sealanes of the world.

Why then are the Soviets bending steel, night and day, building a navy capable of operating in force in any ocean, producing offensive weaponry capable of worldwide adventure? The answers seem obvious.

If the Soviets can sever the sealanes so vital to America, and if they can strip us of our allies and turn the Third World against us, and if they can cut us off from our raw materials and our oil, then the Soviet Union could bring us to our knees without firing a single shot at Island America. (Applause.)

If this is not to happen, our nation must become once again now a strong America, a capable, predictable America, a dependable America. If we are to have a foreign policy that protects our national interest, we must respond now to the most serious military threat since World War II.

If we are to preserve our freedom, we must begin now to restore our nation's military strength to a position second to none in the world. (Applause and cheers.)

But what has happened? Jimmy Carter canceled the B-1 bomber, scrubbed the neutron bomb, delayed the cruise missile and cut back Navy shipbuilding. Our defense strength has eroded so dangerously we face a Soviet threat of awesome scope and power. The Soviet Union has strategic nuclear forces that are or will soon be superior to those of the United States.

The Soviets have achieved an obvious advantage in tactical nuclear weapons. Their lead in land-based conventional forces is unquestioned, and they are rapidly drawing even with our naval forces.

Why? Except for conquest. Why? Except to bring down Island America.

In history wars have been fought for land, religion, silver, gold, food, idealogy, even love. Today a war over oil is possible.

Americans, ours is a mission to prevent the eruption of war for any reason, to preserve freedom by preventing war. Republicans, ours is a party committed to maintaining a world at peace. But can we reach our goal? Only if we heed the words, and we will reach those goals if we follow the words of a great Virginian, George Washington, who said, "If we desire to secure peace, it must be known that we are ready at all times for war."

America's policy must have clear objectives: A strategic nuclear deterrent second to none, a naval force that can guarantee the freedom of the sealanes, a rapid deployment force competent to deal quickly and effectively with terrorism, fair and balanced arms control that enhances our national security and world peace, and, above all, men and women in uniform who are well trained, well equipped and well paid.

The hallmark of America's policy must be total commitment. When General Washington led his troops across the Delaware on a cold Christmas night, they were outnumbered and they were outgunned. But they had something the British lacked. They had the will to win. And their victory changed the course of history.

Freedom is at stake in this election, and this year we have the will to win.

And with the support of the American people and Governor Reagan in the White House, we will win. We will change the course of history.

Thank you. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Thank you very much, Senator Warner.

Ladies and gentleman, we are about to have a double treat. What is better than one Goldwater? Two Goldwaters. (Applause and cheers.)

I am going, first, to introduce one of the bright, shining lights of the House of Representatives. One reason he is so good is because he was born in Arizona, but he now represents the great State of California in the House of Representatives. And I introduce him for the purpose of introducing another person who certainly requires no introduction. (Applause and cheers.)

Barry Goldwater, Jr.

INTRODUCTION OF THE HONORABLE BARRY M. GOLDWATER UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM ARIZONA, BY THE HONORABLE BARRY M. GOLDWATER, JR. MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM CALIFORNIA

MR. GOLDWATER. — Mr. Chairman, members and Delegates, John, let me correct the record.

The Goldwaters originated in California and I was born in California. Somehow we got astray. They went off east to Arizona. But we are very proud of them.

Four years ago in Kansas City I had the honor to introduce my father to the Republican Convention. I enjoyed it so much that I thought I would do it again.

Four years ago was a supreme moment for a very proud son. The senior Senator from Arizona has come a long way from that November in 1964. Sixteen years later principles that he stood for are being trumpeted by politicians everywhere. (Applause and cheers.)

Balance the budget, stop strangling people with taxes, deal with our embassies from strength and not from weakness, fight for a national standard of ethics and values and bring back the true meaning of the words "the American dream."

A prophet in his own time? You're damn right.

Almost everything that he advocated and predicted in 1964 has come to pass. As one of America's premier statesmen, the man from Arizona stood in the trenches, often alone, never giving one inch of ground in the defense of freedom. And once again, as the Republican Party stands on the threshold of victory, Barry Goldwater is ready again to give his all to elect his friend, Ronald Reagan, as President of the United States. (Applause and cheers.)

Barry Goldwater, grandson of Polish immigrants who fled tyranny 130 years ago, steeped in the rugged traditions of the Wild West. Barry Goldwater was taught values, ethics and universal truths by his mother, one of the most remarkable women to have ever lived.

Barry Goldwater defending his country in its hour of need, statesman, senator, Air Force general, author, explorer and lecturer, and yet all through this he found time for his family, to teach his kids right from wrong and be a partner with my mother in one of the greatest loves ever.

Yes, I have no problem praising my father and I don't think you do either. Praise him for devoting a lifetime to decency and to truth. We can praise him even though some skeptics are skeptical, doubters doubt, critics are critical, for in our hearts we know he was right. (Applause and cheers.)

It is, therefore, with a great deal of love, honor and respect that I present to you my father, one of the nation's great leaders, Senator Goldwater. (Applause, cheers and standing ovation.)

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE BARRY M. GOLDWATER UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM ARIZONA AND REPUBLICAN NOMINEE FOR PRESIDENT IN 1964

SENATOR GOLDWATER. — Thank you. Thank you, folks. Sientese. Sientese usted. (Crowd yelling, "We want Barry".)

Thank you. Thank you. Thank you, folks. I think I will accept your nomination. (Laughter, applause and cheers.)

Okay. First of all, I don't want to surprise my oldest son too much, but this is his birthday and I wanted to wish him a very happy 42nd birthday and to tell him that all of this jazz about life doesn't start at 40, that's all it is. And it gets better as it goes on.

Barry, I thank you very much from the bottom of my heart. And I would just like to take a moment, because I know your mother is watching this, to say thank you to her for making you possible. (Applause.)

If you get tired of seeing me come to these conventions on crutches, believe me . . . (Noes from the crowd.)

Now should I throw it or just keep it here?

If you get tired of seeing me on crutches, believe me, I get tired of being on them. But if you had to work around Washington, D.C., I think you would probably wind up on crutches. In fact, I know some people back there that should be using crutches under their brains. (Applause and cheers.)

My fellow Americans, I thank you for this great honor. And I am particularly proud to be here with my fellow Arizonans and be able to stand with them when we ratify the name of our next President, Ronald Reagan. (Applause and cheers.)

Now let me suggest that these few moments that we will have together might be spent in a recital of the tragic miscalculations of the President and his administration, those economic decisions which have given us the highest rate of inflation in our history,those foreign policy decisions which have cost us the respect of our enemies and destroyed the confidence of our friends throughout the world, and those military decisions which have reduced us to the rank of a second-rate power.

You know, all my years of dedication to the problems of national defense compel me at this time to call history as my witness that weakness leads to war.

My friends, if this country had been adequately armed back in the 1930's, there never would have been a World War II.

If we had had leadership worthy of the name, Viet Nam wouldn't have lasted more than a few days. (Applause and cheers.)

And let me suggest to you that if our country had been adequately armed and prepared and — another big "if" — if our leaders had displayed the guts and

the courage America is noted for, no country in this world would ever have taken hostages from us. (Applause and cheers.)

Yes, my friends, we might spend our time together criticizing, but in my humble opinion we can serve a much, much greater purpose. We are gathered here as Americans and as representatives of the Republican Party. We are united by our commitment to the basic truths proclaimed in that living document, the Declaration of Independence.

And let me suggest that we are here tonight most importantly to reaffirm our faith in those truths. We believe in freedom. We believe in liberty without license. We believe that because all men share equally in the love of almighty God, every man — every man — must be equal before the law.

We believe the citizen is sovereign, not people who gather in some hidden room in the White House.

We believe that all legitimate government rests upon the informed consent of the governed.

Now we have not abandoned nor deserted these basic beliefs, and yet this beloved country of ours stands in great peril. Our fellow countrymen are distraught, confused, alarmed and uncertain. Fear and distress abound. And our one task is to set before this nation a course which can correct the errors of the past and lead us forward.

Now to all of you assembled here tonight and to those watching these proceedings on television or listening to the radio, it is my solemn belief that we must order a dramatic change in the direction this country is headed. There must be a change from distrust of our government to confidence in it.

There must be a change from weakness, from uncertainty and weakness, to strength and trust. There must be a change from fear to faith. And we must turn our backs, ladies and gentlemen, on the false promises of something for nothing and perpetual care and eternal bliss offered by the advocates of those who support a super-Federal state.

My friends, we must penetrate the deception — and I use that word kindly — of those who have distorted and misrepresented our Constitution as an excuse for endless tinkering with our society and reaffirm our understanding of the Constitution as the document which guarantees individual freedom and demands individual responsibility.

Ladies and gentlemen, we believe in the Republican philosophy of government. Honesty, isn't that a word that we hear too little of? Honesty!

When the President of our country stands on the decks of an aircraft carrier just returned from combat and promises increased pay, and that night says he would veto it, we don't have to put up with that. And we can change it soon. (Applause.)

We believe in fiscal responsibility, full value return for each dollar taken in taxes, and an acceptable tax burden which will not destroy individual initiative.

Ladies and gentlemen, we believe these ideas offer the best hope of the future to the American people and to the free world.

Yes, we are partisan Republicans. We gather here tonight encouraged by the primary elections, by the polls which indicate that an ever-increasing number of Americans are dissatisfied with the policies and programs of that element of the Democratic Party which has controlled, misjudged and misdirected this nation without interruption since January, 1955.

Oh, to be sure, we have had Republicans in the White House, but let me remind you, since that January of '55 the Democrats have controlled the Congress of the United States, and it is the Congress — let me repeat that — it is the Congress that runs the country and determines the spending rates and then fails to control the bureaucracy which will destroy you.

Our enemies overseas have grown stronger while we have grown weaker. In fact, I might say that the present administration has acted like a weather vane in its approach to the military budget. The American people are not hopelessly parochial in their world view. They recognize the relentless determination of the Soviet Union to conquer the world for communism.

We are not cowards. We do not subscribe to the belief it is better to be red than dead.

We will eagerly support the rebuilding of our military capabilities. We understand it is the first responsibility — and please, listen to this — it is the first responsibility of the central government to provide for the common defense.

And if there is any more reason needed for a change in November in the White House, I don't know what it is. I don't want to trust the future of my country to people who do not understand that one of the responsibilities is to defend our people wherever they are and their property and their freedom.

But we are skeptical of deceitful leaders who first propose and then abandon new strengths in our defense arsenal.

Now, the most important of these strengths is to be found in our personnel, from the lowest ranking enlisted person to the highest ranking officer, and their jobs must be made more appealing, more attractive, and more rewarding. The American people, I would remind you, are not oblivious to history. They understand the greatest guarantee of peace is to be so strong no aggressor nation will be tempted to test that strength. (Applause.)

Other nations in the free world, dismayed and confused by the aimless, inconsistent, contradictory foreign policy of the United States, have lost confidence in our leadership.

Ladies and gentlemen, we must restore that confidence. We must adopt a foreign policy of consistency and stability, built upon our willingness to use every power we have to keep the peace.

Now the American economy deserves a look. The American free enterprise system was once the model that all other countries sought to follow. The American free enterprise system produced more products and more services and distributed them more equitably to more people than any other system ever devised.

And yet we have people in Washington who want to take you into socialism, nationalism, control by the state. At this moment our system is harassed and tortured by needless and costly government regulations.

The American economic system, my friends, is in deep trouble. There is widespread unemployment. Taxes, local and State and Federal, take almost 47 cents of every dollar earned. Inflation, as you have been reminded, robs the workers' paychecks, destroys the savings of the elderly, and the major responsibility for this escalating inflation properly belongs to the Federal Government. Reckless Federal spending, deficit spending and excessive waste, unbalanced budgets, desertion of the gold standard and removing the silver from our coins, all of these actions taken together have destroyed world confidence in our dollar.

Now we have resorted to an elaborate overlapping, a conflicting system of public subsidy which does an injustice to the taxpayer by claiming an unfair share of his earnings and destroys the self-confidence and self-respect of the subsidized.

Gentlemen and ladies, the American people are wary. They are fed up. They are angry. They have seen their substance wasted, their individual freedoms diminished. They are ready for a change. They want a stronger America, they want a prosperous America and they want a better, brighter, more secure future for their children and their children's children.

They understand that the uninterrupted one-party rule of the United States has held its people hostage by the concept of a superior government wielding unlimited powers to coerce, direct and govern their lives.

They want a change from a welfare state to one in which the employable work.

Ladies and gentlemen, keep one thing in mind: The only reason we are here, the only reason there is a United States, the only reason that our ancestors like my old Polish grandfather came to this country was for freedom.

I will make this statement, that workers of America are unwilling to permit the truly needy to go hungry, but they are outraged by the massive fraud perpetrated by those who won't work. The American taxpayers will gladly support every proper governmental activity, but they are sick of the reckless extravagant waste of public funds.

Now, in our eagerness to create a heaven on earth, to protect every man from his folly, we have created a monstrous bureaucracy. However well-intentioned these efforts, they have operated to diminish the individual citizen's

responsibility for freedom, faith in government and in the future of our American institutions.

And, fellow Americans, one of the most incredible developments in American history is the manner in which this nation gave itself a self-inflicted wound. We literally burned out our eyes and cut off our ears, and I refer to what the Democrats did to practically destroy the CIA and the other elements of our national intelligence community, whose mission is to keep us informed on the many threats to our security. We require intelligence on all areas around the world. Above all, we must know what the Soviets are up to. We must know all we can about the Islamic presence.

This is about the hottest damn place I have been to all day. I love it. I am not knocking it. (A reference to the hot television lights.)

We must know the truth about the unstable countries, new nations of Africa and the turbulent Caribbean next door. And I might add, and this will make some people angry, we ought to know the truth about some who live among us, but who do not believe in our system.

It is, therefore, a matter of the highest priority that we reconstitute and rebuild a national intelligence collection capability sufficient to give us the assurance that this country will not be subjected to another Pearl Harbor.

Now we are gathered here tonight to name new leaders to carry on the Republican banner in this fall's election. We are here to offer this nation a course of action which will enlist the people's support, reasonable proposals sustained by both history and our recent experience.

We are partisan Republicans, but before we were Republicans we were Americans. (Applause.)

So let us go forth from this convention as Americans first. Let us, without rancor, without guile, without exaggeration present the truth to our fellow citizens.

Let me remind you that the Republican Party was born in a moment of great national peril, the continued existence of the republic was hanging in the balance and when men of good will and good conscience were divided. And I share with you tonight the conviction that Divine Providence gave us Abraham Lincoln. And I am persuaded that his steadfast purpose, his compassionate wisdom bound up the nation's wounds so that this house of freedom and justice might endure for Americans.

We are Americans, we are the inheritors of the most precious legacy ever bequeathed to man and I deem the perils of the present moment are no greater than the perils we have faced in the past.

I don't find the American people deficient in courage nor in their devotion to the cause of freedom. A little confused perhaps, frustrated certainly, questioning the course we have followed, yes, but eager and willing to make any

sacrifice necessary to preserve and to protect this great noble experiment in human freedom offered to the world a little more than 200 years ago.

Yes, again, let us go forth from this convention as servants of the republic, as the bearers of truth, offering common-sense remedies resting on historical understanding. Let us study the errors of the past without alleging meanness and motive. Let us seek to unite rather than to divide.

And, finally, as Republicans we must not fail in our goal of changing the course of this nation. We must hold sacred our tradition of loyalty and morality. We must guard against destructive, false criticism and apathy. We must not surrender to a feeling of helplessness.

I fully believe Divine Providence has provided us with an opportunity to save this great country of ours, and if we leave these gatherings dedicated to that purpose, our duty as Republicans will have been nobly done.

And before I leave, ladies and gentleman, let me make a plea not as a Republican, not as one who lived through probably the most decisive period that any party in the history of our country ever lived through, if we are not happy with every dot and comma in the platform adopted by this party, all right, let's live with what we got that we like.

I don't like all of it, but it is mine. Let's give the new President Reagan everything that we have in us. I can tell you there is no worse feeling than to go forth in this country as I did and try to do my best, which wasn't good enough — by the way, which I have never regretted — (applause) but to look back and realize that with a little less clipping, a little less nitpicking, a little more willingness to share, a little more willingness to get in, we cannot be a party of thousands and thousands of interpretations of morality or immorality or ethics or conservatism and middle-of-the-road or liberal. We are Republicans.

We love our republic. And our job, ladies and gentlemen, is to defend it and, let me tell you, save it because I have reached that point in my life, not a long life, but I will tell you it has been an interesting one. I have reached a point where I don't think we have much more time, for this might be the last Republican Convention and in two weeks the last Democratic Convention.

There are forces working against our country. There are selfish forces working for their own interest in this country and our country was built on the concept that freedom came from God and that it belongs to all people as long as we don't abuse the rights that have been given us.

Thank you very much. (Applause and cheers.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Is there any doubt in your minds that we just listened to one of the greatest Republicans of this century? (Applause and cheers.)

If we only could go back to 1964 and do it over again.

Ladies and gentlemen, I now recognize the Lieutenant Governor of Illinois and Illinois' next United States Senator, the Honorable Dave O'Neil, for the purpose of making an introduction

INTRODUCTION OF THE HONORABLE JOHN B. CONNALLY FORMER GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF TEXAS AND FORMER SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY BY THE HONORABLE DAVID O'NEIL LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF ILLINOIS

LT. GOVERNOR O'NEIL. — For me to be on this platform tonight is living proof that the American dream still comes true. I wish my father were alive tonight to witness this. He had to quit school in the eighth grade and go to work in the coal mines and he left me with his motto: "The harder you work, the luckier you get."

We know that we can make a difference and not to believe those people who say that we can't because America never has been and never will be a second-rate country.

He knew that if we worked hard and made the sacrifices necessary, there is absolutely nothing this country can't accomplish. Most of you know I am not a long-time politician, but even knowing that, I can guarantee you that I will reclaim the Everett Dirksen seat from Illinois for the Republican Party next fall. (Applause and cheers.)

Prior to my getting into politics, working in my pharmacy one evening my wife called and said we had a prowler. I said, "Call the sheriff. I am on my way home." Fortunately the prowler left by the time I got there and two days later the Sheriff's Department showed up.

I talked to the sheriff and he wasn't concerned, so I ran for the office, knocked on 14,000 doors, was the first Republican elected in 20 years in that county and fired the deputies myself.

So I think that it is time we don't listen to those who say that we can't make a difference. I think it is time we look them in the eye and say, "Who says we can't?" America knows things can be better and the American people know that when Ronald Reagan is in the White House, things will be better. (Applause.)

We are going to have a great Republican year. In Illinois we are going to have a grand slam, we are going to win the presidency, we are going to win the Senate seat, we are going to win the State Legislature, we are going to win it all.

It is not going to be easy. It is not going to be without hard work. But the Republicans are a team this year, and a very important part of that team is the man I am about to introduce to you this evening. He is a man that started at the very bottom rung of the ladder and worked his way to the top.

He is a man that has given great service not only to his State, but to his nation. He is a man that has worked for candidates at all levels. He is a man that

literally tells it like it is. And he is a man that tells people all over the country how important it is to elect Republicans.

He is not afraid to tell the whole world that America's future is indeed ahead of us. He is more than a dynamic speaker, he is a dynamic man. The Republican Party and the United States are fortunate that this man is willing to work for our future.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am proud to present to you John Connally. (Applause.)

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE JOHN B. CONNALLY, FORMER GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF TEXAS AND FORMER SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

MR. CONNALLY. — Thank you very much. Thank you very much. Thank you very much. Thank you.

Mr. Chairman, fellow Delegates, my good friend Dave O'Neil, and my fellow Americans, may I first tell you what a great and rare privilege it is for me to occupy this platform, to share the same platform and follow a man whom I greatly admire and for whom I have had profound respect for so many years, the distinguished Senator from Arizona and the former nominee of this party, Barry Goldwater.

It is a great privilege, I assure you. (Applause.)

What a magnificent crowd we have gathered here from every part of America, representing every segment of American society, and what a magnificent week for the Republican Party, and what an appetizing prospect we have before us.

Just let me now, first, early in my remarks, hear the voice of every Republican in this hall so that Americans all over this land will be able to hear you.

How many in this hall would like to beat Jimmy Carter this fall? (Loud cheers and applause.)

How long have we waited for this opportunity? How long have we suffered for the chance to bring new leadership to America? Too long. Too long, that is right. Too long! But not long ago others of us thought we would be the ideal for the assignment of beating Jimmy Carter. We thought we had the calling, we thought we heard the trumpet sound summoning us to this great cause.

Now we are sure there is only one man for this challenge, only one man that can carry this banner and that man is Ronald Reagan. (Cheers and applause.)

I am convinced that Ronald Reagan will be the next President of the United States. (Applause and cheers.)

I am convinced because he has touched the taproot of the American spirit, I am convinced because people are dedicated to him, people believe in him,

people trust him to tell them the truth. And as we gather here tonight, all of us who challenged Governor Reagan for this nomination are united with him. He is that kind of opponent, he is that kind of a leader.

On the other hand, our opponents are anything but united. All they offer is the same confusion, the same dissension and the same crass politics they have been giving Americans for the past long four years.

You know, it may not be necessary for us to devise any special message to the voters this fall. Maybe all we have to do is rerun the comments of his fellow Democrats.

About the administration of Jimmy Carter, listen to what they say. Listen to this, if you will, and I quote. "The Carter administration doesn't know the first thing about running the economy."

Did Phil Crane say that? No. Did George Bush say that? No. No, they didn't say it.

Who said it? A Democrat who knows this administration well, Senator Ted Kennedy said that.

And listen to this — listen to this quote: "I am deeply concerned that our foreign policy is out of control."

Did Howard Baker say that? Did Ben Fernandez say that? You know who said it. A Democrat who knows this administration well, Senator Ted Kennedy.

And here is some more: "People are wondering why we lurch from crisis to crisis."

And this: "Carter's inflation policy is a calamity."

Did Ronald Reagan or Bob Dole say those things about the Carter Administration? No. You know who said it, a Democrat, Ted Kennedy.

And one more if you please, and it is a little bit longer, but it is very much to the point: "Before the last election we were told that Americans were honest, loving, good, decent and compassionate. Now the people are blamed for every national ill and scolded as greedy, wasteful — and suffering from malaise.

"Did we change so much in these three years or is it because our present leadership does not understand that we are anxious to be on the march again?"

Did John Connally say that?

(Chorus of noes.)

I wish I had. But I have to confess the words came from the same source, a Democrat who knows this administration well, this Carter Administration well, Senator Ted Kennedy.

I won't belabor the point anymore, but suffice it to say that we agree with Senator Kennedy that we need a new President. (Cheers and applause.)

We need a Republican President. We need Ronald Reagan as President. (Cheers and applause.)

You know, during my campaign I told a good many Republicans around the country that I would gladly trade control of the White House for control of the Congress, but we don't need to trade one for the other. The White House is within our reach and we should grasp it. The control of Congress is within our reach and we must grasp it. (Applause and cheers.)

My fellow Americans, lest America forget, it has been a Democratic Congress along with a Democratic Administration that has given us the highest spending rate in the history of this nation. Lest America forget, it has been a Democratic Congress along with a Democratic Administration which brought us into deterioration of our defense capability, loss of prestige abroad and the worst threat since World War II to our own national security.

It has been a Democratic Congress and a Democratic Administration that brought us a loss of American economic competitiveness and vitality. And worst of all, lest America forget, it has been a Democratic Congress and a Democratic Administration that have given us the loss of our pride and our self-respect.

Four years ago the Democratic nominee looked Americans in the face and said, "Trust me." And, oh, what an awesome price we have paid for that trust. (Applause.)

Americans are not going to make that same mistake again. In November Americans are going to look up again, to hope again, to believe again, because Ronald Reagan and a Republican Congress can start changing things in this country.

Ronald Reagan and a Republican Congress can lead us into an exciting renaissance of America, and Governor Reagan's own words are: "We can make America great again." (Applause.)

And in so doing we can redefine the meaning and the destiny of this Republican Party of ours. For more than a century GOP has stood for "The Grand Old Party." It used to be said that the Republican Party was the party of privilege in this country and that the Democrats were the party of the people, the producers and the workers in this country.

But today I say to you in this hall, and I say to all Americans across this land, the Republican Party is today the party of the producers and the working people of this country. (Cheers and applause.)

The Democratic Party has become the party of special privilege and special interest, living off the bounty of the Federal Government. It is the Democratic Party supporters who are on the receiving end of everything from food stamps to government jobs, all paid for by hard-working American taxpayers.

That is the heart of the Democratic Party. (Applause and cheers.)

So, as we open the doors of our party to all Americans who want to share hope and pride, we can open the minds of all Americans to a new definition of GOP. We can maintain the proud tradition of the Grand Old Party, but we can also usher in a new era for the '80s when GOP stands for "growth, opportunity and progress."

G for growth,
O for opportunity,
P for progress.

GOP — growth, opportunity, progress. That is our challenge. That is our opportunity. And let me hear the voice of every Republican in this hall who wants to fulfill that destiny.

Thank you very much. (Cheers and applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Thank you, John Connally, for a great speech.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, the Chair recognizes the great Governor of the great State of Wisconsin, Lee Dreyfus, for the purpose of making an introduction.

Governor Dreyfus.

INTRODUCTION OF THE HONORABLE ANNE L. ARMSTRONG FORMER AMBASSADOR TO GREAT BRITAIN BY THE HONORABLE LEE SHERMAN DREYFUS GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF WISCONSIN

GOVERNOR DREYFUS. — Mr. Chairman, Mrs. Reagan, they've got a message for you from the pages: "Start packing now." (Applause.)

You people have all been cooped up here so long, for all I know you don't know that the Soviets have canceled the Olympics. The just found out China is entering a 15-million-man rifle team.

So let's loosen up a little.

I've got a great lady I want you to hear and a great lady that you ought to understand and listen to. I am relatively new to your party. I chose the party, the party did not choose me.

Why did I choose this party? Because historically it began in Wisconsin in 1854 and with the Democrats, suffragettes, abolitionists and unions joined together to form the great Republican Party that now exists today. They were diverse and they didn't agree, and you heard Barry Goldwater say it, you don't have to buy every single plank in that platform to put a Republican President in the White House in November.

But there is one thing that we agree on and that is, save the republic. It is the same message. And today here it is no different than it was in 1854 in Ripon.

We don't all agree on an ERA plank or a Federal judge plank or a pro-life, pro-choice issue, but we do all agree, save the republic and return Republican principles to the White House in November, and, by George, we are going to do it.

We do have a commitment to women's suffrage and that job isn't done yet, but we are going to complete it. We do have a commitment to abolition and that task is not done yet, but we say to the minority people of America, we are going to complete the abolition plank we started in 1860.

And, by George, we've got a commitment to the free enterprise system in this world and we haven't completed that task, but we are going to send a man out there in November that is going to start sending it back to that point.

So I say to us all and to this great party, let us go where history beckons. We are still a party, still committed and proud enough to be open and that is what tonight's speaker stands for in the very basis of her life, a woman who deeply believes in party and government being open to young and old, open to men and women, to people of all faiths, of all races and all walks of life.

Anne Armstrong is a woman of firsts: Elected the first co-chairperson of the Republican National Committee, the first woman to deliver a keynote address to a majority convention in this country, the first woman ambassador to Great Britain to the Court of St. James and the British press dubbed her immediately "Aunty Mame."

She was the highest ranking Cabinet-level person for two Republican administrations and she went back from ambassador to county chairman. That grass-root spirit is what is going to make this Republican Party grow, prosper and be victorious for the rest of this century. (Applause.)

And if there are a few of you who still need a stereotype for this great woman, I simply would say Anne Armstrong is sugar and steel.

I give you the Honorable Ambassador Anne Armstrong. (Applause.)

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE ANNE L. ARMSTRONG, FORMER AMBASSADOR TO GREAT BRITAIN

AMBASSADOR ARMSTRONG. — Thank you, Governor Dreyfus.

Mr. Chairman, Delegates, friends all across America, in the past 300 days American diplomats have been kidnapped overseas and our nation has been humiliated. In the past 200 days we have endured the worst inflation rates in our nation's history. In the past 100 days over a million and a half men and women in our work force have lost their jobs and still the downward spiral continues.

My friends, as President Ford told us in a memorable speech last night, we have no alternative. Jimmy Carter must go! That is why the next 100 days will be among the most important in our lives. They must be days when all of us unite as we have never before united, days when we reach out to all Americans,

blue collar, white collar, rich and poor, all Americans, to join us and our crusade, and days when we put a new spirit back into American life by putting Ronald Reagan into the White House. (Applause.)

This is the great mission we embark upon tonight in Detroit and if we stand united, we should not fail.

At another time of profound national crisis a beleaguered President told his countrymen, "The occasion is piled high with difficulties and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, we must think anew and act anew."

These are the words of Abraham Lincoln, but the vision at the heart of those words has been shared by great American Presidents throughout our history. It is a vision that has enabled leaders to rise to the occasion, to identify the essential elements of a crisis and then to act with courage and conviction.

That vision has been tragically lacking these last four years in the Carter White House.

So, now, it is necessary for all Americans to rise to the occasion. We ourselves must apply the new leadership our country so desperately needs. We must act anew, but first, as Lincoln reminded us, "We must think anew to measure the challenge we face."

For the first time in our history we confront two deadly problems simultaneously, each being capable of ending the existence of a free people. We face, on the one hand, the implacable military forces of the Soviet Union bent on world dominion, capable of pulverizing whole nations in a matter of moments.

At the same time we face an economic crisis of runaway inflation, falling productivity and rising unemployment. We have faced grave military threats before, but never at the same time have we had to deal with this kind of economic crisis. We have faced economic crisis before, but never at the same time that we faced a powerful adversary poised for the right moment to strike.

Our foreign policy and our economic policy are tightly joined. Each one shakes the other as world events and domestic affairs compete for headlines.

We need leadership that understands the economic, military and diplomatic forces that will shape international events for years to come.

After four years who can doubt that Jimmy Carter has failed as a leader?

This is his strategy, and because he is our President, it is our strategy as well.

Jimmy Carter's foreign policy failures and misconceptions are a litany of despair. Many months ago Jimmy Carter said that Russian troops in Cuba were unacceptable. They are still there today.

Many months ago Jimmy Carter said that Russian troops in Afghanistan were unacceptable. They are still there today.

And many months ago Jimmy Carter told us that the holding of American hostages in Iran was unacceptable. They are still there today.

I have come to the conclusion, my friends, that the only way to get those troops in Cuba home, to get those troops in Afghanistan home and to get our hostages home — the only way to get them home is to send Jimmy Carter home. (Applause and cheers.)

And that is what we will do in November.

Three years ago Jimmy Carter told us to get over our inordinate fear of Communism. It was only after the invasion of Afghanistan that he made an absolutely startling discovery: You can't trust the Russians.

From the brief euphoria of Camp David, Carter's policy on the Mideast has descended into ambiguity and confusion.

In an important vote in the United Nations the Carter Administration voted against Israel's interest and then the very next day said the vote was a mistake. The world was left to wonder whether the Administration was devious or just plain incompetent.

When I served as Ambassador to Great Britain and I had the opportunity to learn firsthand the attitudes of world leaders toward the United States, those were the days when America's word was its bond. Those were the days when America's dollar was sound, when America's policy was consistent, when America stood by her friends, when America commanded the respect of the world.

But today, after four years of Carter, it is a bitter joke around the world, that maybe it is safer to be an enemy of the United States than to be its friend.

This is the wasteland Carter has made of our foreign policy. Surely it is time to stop this drift on the changing currents of world events and once again become the masters of our destiny.

Surely it is time to tell friends and foes alike no longer will we allow our future to be at the mercy of events or the will of others. Surely it is time to join with our allies and tell the world that we will shape our future in our interest in our way to meet our needs.

Surely it is time to elect a President whose words at home and abroad will have clarity, consistency and courage.

What we have missed under Carter is not only coherent policy, but clear vision; not only competence, but insight; not only adequate preparation, but consistent followthrough.

Obsessed by details, surrounded by inexperienced advisors of limited vision, Jimmy Carter fails to understand our problems. Sadly, painfully the American people understand what hardship this has brought. They know that no problem can be an island unto itself. Each is a part of the whole. If one national need is ignored, all the others are affected.

We must not bow down to the special interests, but we cannot ignore the special needs. Indeed, every group's legitimate need is a national interest.

The poor's needs are a national interest, the needs of business are a national interest, the needs of families are a national interest, the need for jobs is a national interest.

It is a tradition as old as this country that each of us take care of his own. That is a great tradition. That is as it should be. But we must remember that we have something that is our own aside from our immediate specific interest.

We have a nation, the United States is our own also.

And so, we must approach our problems with a new vision that transcends labels and slogans that have divided us along party lines. Ronald Reagan has recognized something growing in our nation, a great new alliance of Americans and he sees them bound together in what he calls a community of values, a community formed from every political, economic, social, racial, regional and ethnic background, a community of Americans united by the values they share, values that reach across party lines.

Ronald Reagan has said that the values of family, of work, of neighborhood, freedom and peace link together millions of Americans who until now have thought of themselves as isolated by party label or background.

We enter a new period that demands from all of us an open and vigorous commitment to this community of values. When once again we place the family at the center of our society, we will be nurturing those values. When once again Americans are assured that the nation's leadership will help to create jobs instead of destroying them, we will be reinforcing those values.

When decisionmaking is recaptured from the Federal bureaucracy and returned to the neighborhood and the workplace, we will be living those values. And when our Armed Forces are once again strong enough to meet our nation's security needs, we will be defending those values.

And when peace and freedom again are at the center of our foreign policy, we will once again see America holding high a torch of hope for all mankind.

Yes, we must think anew and that means going beyond party labels. Yes, we must act anew and that means supporting the candidates who are willing to fight for our values.

Our allegiance must be to these values that guide and sustain us and not to the slogans and labels of another age. Our Republican Party in 1980 has an historic opportunity. With your help we can redeem our country from the ravages of poor leadership.

No other party, no other movement, no individual can bring to bear on our problems the ideas and the ideals, the energy and the commitment of our Republican Party today. (Applause.)

Theodore Roosevelt said, and I quote: "We cannot afford to blind ourselves to the actual conflict which faces us today. The issue is joined. We must fight or fail."

At this moment our nation and our heritage call out to us. Difficult as our problems are, we have the will, we have the confidence, and we have the ability to solve them.

Yes, the tasks before us are enormous. They demand the best of us. We must and will shoulder them proudly in building a better future.

As Teddy Roosevelt said, "The issue is joined." Therefore, my fellow Americans, together let us make a new beginning and in this, God willing, we shall not fail.

Thank you. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Thank you, Anne Armstrong, for a wonderful speech.

Now the Chair recognizes the Minority Leader of the Assembly of the great State of California, Honorable Carol Hallett, for the purpose of making an introduction. (Applause.)

INTRODUCTION OF THE HONORABLE JACK KEMP MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM NEW YORK BY THE HONORABLE CAROL HALLETT MINORITY LEADER OF THE CALIFORNIA ASSEMBLY

MS. HALLETT. — Thank you very much.

Thank you, ladies and gentlemen.

Mr. Chairman, Mrs. Reagan, honored guests, fellow Republicans, and Americans:

If it were not for the trading nature of professional football, the very remarkable person that I am privileged to introduce to you tonight may very well have been claimed as a member of our State's delegation, for, after all, his birthplace, education, and early career carry a California brand. But just as we all have had to share from afar his leading of the Buffalo Bills to two A.F.L. championships, so must we share with New York State the distinct pleasure of calling the Honorable Jack Kemp our very own.

Ladies and gentlemen, there is much more to hear about Jack Kemp.

(Crowd chanting "We want Kemp".)

Ladies and gentlemen, please wait so that we can do this demonstration for Jack Kemp, and not for me.

Thank you.

This is such an important evening, and it is important that you hear about this remarkable man, whom we share with New York State and so many people across the entire United States of America.

It is a conviction of Jack Kemp's and that of all Republicans that he is truly responsible for the vitality and the ability to get America back on the road to economic health beginning this next January.

A leading spokesman for our Party, Jack Kemp has worked wonders in undoing the conventional Congressional approach to equality, that you either make the rich poor or you make the poor rich.

Instead, it is Jack Kemp who has advanced the formula for the betterment of all Americans, rich and poor. And with convincing authority Jack Kemp has engineered legislation to vigorously reduce tax rates, index tax brackets, and remove counterproductive government regulations.

And it is the Kemp-Roth Bill that has become synonymous with government that makes sense for all.

Because of his tireless efforts in carrying that crusade to virtually every corner of this nation, it has come to make good sense to thousands of people from all walks of life. His message, and that of Republicans as a Party, is seen as a sound prescription for the economic and spiritual revitalization of our country, more needed now than at any time since the great depression.

Americans are awakening to the fact that our government is taxing all of the wrong things — work, growth, investment, employment, savings, and productivity. And the result is the taxing away of incentive.

In addition, government has been subsidizing all of the wrong things — not working, not saving, welfare, consumption and debt.

With that amazing and most important awakening has come the realization that a White House and a Congress controlled by Jimmy Carter and the Democratic Party has ineptly and selfishly traded the well-being of America for political gain, only to give our people ruinous inflation and unemployment.

Jack Kemp's drive and conviction is a model for ending that kind of fiscal quackery.

In fact his economic proposals have been largely adopted as the official policy of the Republican Party.

Last year Jack Kemp was concerned that the Republican Party had no specific plan for our cities to create jobs for unemployed workers, and particularly inner-city teenagers. So he devised a bill to encourage free enterprise and create private sector jobs in specially established zones in our declining cities and neighborhoods.

The concept in this bill is now, today, tonight, the centerpiece of the urban plank of our own platform. (Applause.)

In foreign affairs Jack Kemp has been an advocate of a strong national defense and a foreign policy that projects America and her values globally. He has a keen understanding of international strategic matters because, for years, he

has been active in the defense establishment, and from his seat on the Defense and Foreign Operations Subcommittees he has done that job well.

His aggressive efforts in these and other areas are a true inspiration, and in large measure, ladies and gentlemen, it will be to Jack Kemp's credit that many Republicans will win this November. (Applause.)

And winning is something that Jack Kemp understands. For those of you not familiar with his Congressional District, it is traditionally Democratic, heavily blue collar, and its largest employers are the ailing steel and auto industries. And so it takes a very uncommon Republican to win in that kind of district.

But, in his last election, Jack Kemp received 94.7 percent of the popular vote. (Applause.)

As many of you know, he has been the recipient of many honors since leaving the professional football field, showing others that lessons learned there do, indeed, translate into success in a life of service to one's country.

He is a deeply committed family man, and he and his wife, Joanne, have four children.

Ladies and gentlemen, Jack Kemp has a keen sense of what is truly needed to cure this nation's ills. And he is a key reason why our Party is going to win, and win in a big way, this November.

It is my distinct privilege to ask you tonight to join me now in acknowledging what Jack Kemp has given all Americans, all of us — a reawakening that we are all indeed a nation of winners.

Ladies and gentlemen, the Honorable Jack Kemp.

(Applause and standing ovation.)

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE JACK KEMP, MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM NEW YORK

MR. KEMP. — Thank you very, very much, ladies and gentlemen.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Jack Kemp told me to please ask you to be quiet so he can talk.

MR. KEMP. — Ladies and gentlemen, we have —

(Applause.)

Thank you. Thank you.

Thank you very much.

Ladies and gentlemen, Carol Hallett, my fellow Republicans, there is a tidal wave coming in this country, a political tidal wave, as powerful as the one that hit in 1932 when an era of Republican dominance gave way to the New Deal. But this November we are going to find millions of Americans of every

racial, cultural, and economic background surprising themselves by voting Republican in 1980. (Applause and cheers.)

For the past 25 years, the Republican Party has been the minority party in government. But it is clear here tonight that we represent the majority philosophy of the American people. (Applause and cheers.)

And in November we will convert this philosophic majority into a governing majority — in the White House, in the Congress, and across America. (Applause and cheers.)

We are going to get that majority, not just because people have grown tired of the Democratic Party, but because they see in the Republican Party a better chance to realize the American idea.

That idea has made us the freest, most prosperous and generous society on the face of the earth. But in recent years it has been threatened by an Administration which has allowed our nation to decline in every way — economically, militarily and spiritually.

But, ladies and gentlemen, the Republican Party is not going to make a political career out of criticizing what the Democratic Party stands for. We are going to make our political career out of showing the American people what we stand for. (Applause and cheers.)

As Ronald Reagan has been saying around this country of ours, this is not just a campaign to defeat Jimmy Carter or to replace Democrats with Republicans, although these things must happen. This is a crusade to expand opportunity for all our people, to make the dollar as good as gold, to revive incentives in our economy, to restore the rewards once again for labor and capital, and to rebuild a national defense and foreign policy worthy of respect.

This is the central purpose of a political party — to offer people superior ideas of government.

Our Party was founded on the irresistible idea that the Declaration of Independence applies to everyone. Mr. Lincoln inspired our Party with the conviction that the ultimate source of progress and prosperity is the equal freedom of all Americans to fulfill their hopes and dreams for a better future.

The American idea was never that everyone should be leveled to the same position in life. The real American idea is that each individual should have the same opportunity to rise as high as their efforts and their initiative and their God-given talents could carry them.

And, ladies and gentlemen, if you were born to be a mezzosoprano or a master carpenter, or even a pro football player, here in America you could make it.

America was founded on this sense of social and economic boundlessness. For the first time in history a government was established, not with the power to bestow happiness or to withdraw it, but to create a climate in which each

individual, guided by Judeo-Christian values, could pursue his or her own happiness. This idea of government was not only revolutionary, it is the only one that has ever really worked.

It has not worked flawlessly. There have always been some who have been unjustly deprived of that opportunity. But over the years more and more of our citizens have gotten their chance to participate in that dream.

But the lesson remains unchanged. No government has been able to do for people what people have been able to do for themelves when they had that opportunity.

Somewhere we got off the track. We strayed from the idea. And every single American knows it. For the first time in our history we feel our strength ebbing, our sense of national purpose waning. And after a quarter century under the Democrats, our country no longer projects a national vitality to the rest of the world.

The Soviet Union behaves as if the United States had already been eclipsed as the world's most respected leader. Even President Carter senses it. Somehow he has persuaded himself that the American people are to blame. One year ago tonight in a televised address he told us that the country is in the grip of a malaise, an economic and social crisis of confidence.

He said too many of us now tend to worship self-indulgence and consumption. He told us we demand too much of the American dream. He told us we expect too much and we are not willing to give. His solution was to impose limits on us, to shrink our opportunities for personal and national growth.

Again and again, in word and deed, Jimmy Carter has clearly stated his belief that people are the problem, and austerity is the answer.

Ladies and gentlemen, austerity is not the answer. Austerity is the problem. And the American people are not the problem. The American people are the answer. (Applause and cheers.)

Ladies and gentlemen, somehow this neo-Malthusian idea that less is more is nonsense. You can't help America's poor by making America poor. And the policies of this Administration are making the American people poorer.

Mr. Carter believes that unemployment is the answer to inflation. Well, ladies and gentlemen, if that were the case, then the Carter anti-inflation plan ought to be enjoying its finest hour. The notion that laying off workers will fight inflation doesn't make much sense to the steelworkers of Buffalo or the autoworkers of Detroit because by that definition, they have been fighting inflation for a long time.

Detroit and Buffalo, my hometown, have a lot in common. They both, as Carol Hallett said, depend heavily on steel and auto industries. They are both places where the pain of a contracting economy is felt first and most sharply. When jobs disappear, you can immediately see what a tragedy it is for the working men and women and their families.

But there is an even larger tragedy, and that is that this forced suffering is so needless.

Margaret Bush Wilson of the NAACP has told us inflation is not caused by too many American people working. She is right.

Ladies and gentlemen, only the government can cause inflation, and throughout history the single cause of inflation has been the government's debasement of its currency. And as we historically are telling the working men and women of America, and Black Americans and all Americans, through our platform, it is absolutely immoral for the United States Government to freeze the wage increase of the working people of this country at eight percent while the United States Government devalues their paychecks at twelve percent.

No, recession is not the cure for inflation any more than inflation is the cure for unemployment.

How many times must Carol Hallett and I say it? If you tax something, you get less of it. If you subsidize something, you get more of it.

And in America today we are taxing work and savings and investment and output, production and excellence, and subsidizing non-work, debt, consumption, leisure, idleness and mediocrity.

Is it any wonder we are getting less of the one and more of the latter?

We must reverse this process by restoring opportunity through economic growth once again. We can have full employment without inflation. We can have a rising standard of living. We can have a strong national defense. The American people know we can because we have done it before in America.

Ladies and gentlemen, this then is the choice before the American people in 1980.

We can have growth, expansion, hope and opportunity for our nation, our cities, our neighborhoods and our children.

In this kind of an atmosphere, we can live our lives. We can settle our differences calmly and reasonably.

Or we can have continued contraction, suffering, austerity, with all of the bitter social divisiveness that these conditions bring.

Which will it be? An era of limits, or an era of expansion? An era of despair, or one of hope?

Not long ago a reporter asked President Carter's official spokesman, Jody Powell, what a second Carter term in office would be like. Jody Powell replied, "Another term probably wouldn't be markedly different from the first."

Ladies and gentlemen, can you imagine anything more depressing? (Noes from the crowd.)

The next four years must be markedly different, not only for our welfare and our destiny, but for the world's.

Our nation's defense is the ultimate guarantor of world peace. World peace must not be held hostage by economic and military weakness.

But, ladies and gentlemen, the world is not ruled by military might. It is ruled by ideas. From the founding of this nation 204 years ago, ideas have been our chief export to the rest of the world.

In recent decades, we have been exporting the wrong idea, that somehow government was the source of prosperity. Those who took our advice, especially some of the emerging nations of the Third World, found out that it didn't work.

The reason, of course, is that progress was not achieved in this country in that way. Our country was built by individuals, through enterprise, through labor, through families and communities. It was built from the people up, not from the government down.

In the 1980's, as we rediscover this formula for our success, we must remedy the past and once again export the true American idea, not merely because of a desire or a search for allies, but because we believe in it and because it is the right thing to do. This is the difference between a positive foreign policy and the one we have now, which merely reacts to one disaster after another.

No other nation in the world faces this opportunity or this responsibility. Two years ago at Harvard, Alexander Solzhenitsyn said, "If America does not lead the free world, the free world will not have a leader."

Ladies and gentlemen, it is equally clear tonight that if the Republican Party does not lead America into the 1980's, America will not have the leadership it deserves. (Applause and cheers.)

Fellow Republicans, fellow Americans, we will provide this leadership. Here this week, here in Detroit, here in this hall, as a Republican Party united at last, with Ronald Reagan, we will begin the American Renaissance.

Thank you very much.

(Standing ovation and cries of "We want Kemp.")

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Ladies and gentlemen, there is no doubt but that Jack Kemp is still one of the smartest quarterbacks that ever lived in this country. (Applause.)

If you will be seated now, we will proceed with the rest of the program.

As Republicans usually do, we are running out of prime time. And I think that it is up to us now to proceed so that we may hear two more very important personages of the Party and of the country.

So, if you will indulge the Chair, take your seats. This Convention has two more days to go, so don't wear it all out at one time.

Ladies and gentlemen, I cannot call the next speaker until I have order. It wouldn't be fair to him if I did. And, if my watch isn't wrong, it is now 11:40 Eastern Daylight Time, and we are rapidly running out of prime time.

So, if the Delegates to my right would kindly seat yourselves, save your energy for another day, we will proceed with this Convention, and maybe you will get to bed at a decent hour. That is a promise.

Ladies and gentlemen, the Chair now recognizes, for the purpose of an introduction, one of the really great members of the United States Senate, Senator James McClure of Idaho. (Applause.)

INTRODUCTION OF THE HONORABLE HENRY A. KISSINGER FORMER SECRETARY OF STATE BY THE HONORABLE JAMES A. McCLURE UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM IDAHO

SENATOR McCLURE. — Good evening, ladies and gentlemen.

Permit for just a moment a personal privilege.

I want to call attention to my friends down in the Idaho delegation and that great big Steve Symms sign they have. (Applause.)

There has been no figure in American public life during the past generation who has been a more accomplished master of the public policy apparatus, on an international scale, than Henry Kissinger.

As Secretary of State and advisor to two presidents, he managed to harness the disparate forces of the Congress, the Executive Branch and interested foreign governments which support American foreign policy objectives — no small feat, given the host of challenges to American power during the last fifteen years.

As a scholar of international affairs, he imbues a sense of organization and purpose into American foreign and defense policy which the Carter Administration envies. But why shouldn't the Carter Administration envy any policy? They have none.

The disorganized drought of American interests all over the world, presided over by the present Administration, stands in sharp contrast to the situation four years ago when friend and foe alike doubted neither American intentions nor American power.

Alexander Solzhenitsyn described a foreign view of us well when he told a Washington audience, "You are a country of the future, a young country, a country of still untapped possibilities, a country of tremendous geographical distances, a country of tremendous breadth of spirit, a country of generosity, a country of magnanimity. But these qualities, strength, generosity, magnanimity, usually make a man and even a whole country trusting. And this already several times has done you a disservice."

In recognition of these truths, four years ago the United States was on the road to building up our defenses, both diplomatic and military, which would

have assured that no American President in the 1980's could be coerced by any foreign power.

But these plans have been scrapped by Henry Kissinger's successors, placing the nation in grave danger during the coming decade.

Important as were Henry Kissinger's accomplishments in government, I believe that history will prove still more important those reflections as a private citizen with which he fascinated the audience during his NATO speech in Brussels last year.

In a compelling review of American strategy in which Dr. Kissinger did not exempt even his own policies, he charted a new course for the remainder of this century. This speech makes sobering reading to those of us who remember the horror of the bombing of civilian Guernica in the 1930's, only to be reminded by Dr. Kissinger that the world is drifting in post-World War II toward policy which is historically amazing.

The policy to which he referred is the notion that the vulnerability of American citizens to nuclear attack somehow contributed to peace while their invulnerability contributed to the risks of war. It cannot, he said, have occurred often in history that it was considered as advantageous military doctrine to make our own country deliberately vulnerable.

One of the most difficult requests anyone in public life can be asked to fulfill is to provide an introduction for a man who literally needs no introduction.

Henry Kissinger is such a man.

No other figure in the post-war world, in the entire country, in any country, has made a greater impact on the future of this planet than he has.

As Secretary of State, as advisor to Presidents, he left his mark, in spite of the fact that the Congress, which implemented his policies, was controlled in overwhelming numbers by members of the opposition, despite the fact that there were those in his own political party who doubted the wisdom of his decisions, despite the fact that the mood of America was to retrench and go it alone rather than to accept our obligations throughout the world.

I have asked myself why this is so. How could one man leave such an impact on the world when so surrounded by detractors? Part of it must be attributed to his personality, part of it to the confidence which two Presidents placed in him. But most importantly, it is because he, more than any other figure of our time, so clearly demonstrated that America did, indeed, have a foreign policy, that in the game of international chess we recognized how all of us are affected by the smallest decision. How we reacted to events in the Far East would soon determine the course of affairs in Africa. What we agreed to with one nation would guide the actions of another.

In other words, unlike today, the United States had a foreign policy. It was a policy for the whole world. It was even-handed and it was clearly designed to

encourage the protection of free societies at the expense of those who would impose communistic flavoring on others.

Though one may not have agreed with American foreign policy in those days, no one can deny that we had one.

This Convention is evidence that Solzhenitsyn was right when he said, "New generations are growing up which are steadfast in their struggle with evil, which are not willing to accept unprincipled compromises, which prefer to lose everything, salary, conditions of existence and life itself, but are not willing to sacrifice conscience, not willing to make deals with evil."

Few men are given the opportunity to serve their fellow man in a public capacity. Fewer still rise to the role of national leader, and fewer yet achieve that position where, by the force of their intellect and the opportunities that come their way, they rewrite history and influence the lives of all persons on this earth for generations to come.

Such a man is with us now, a man who served two Republican Presidents in an extraordinary capacity. Indeed, a man who was American foreign policy for nearly a decade, The Honorable Henry Kissinger. (Standing ovation.)

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE HENRY A. KISSINGER FORMER SECRETARY OF STATE

DR. KISSINGER. — Mr. Chairman, Delegates, Mrs. Reagan, we are here to nominate the candidate of our Party, the President of our nation, and the leader of free peoples everywhere.

We are here to put an end to drift, confusion, retreat, and weakness in our foreign affairs.

We are here to offer the American people a new policy of strength and principle, of security and peace, of progress and hope.

And we are here to dedicate ourselves to the election of Ronald Reagan who will carry forward the vision of what America can be. (Applause.)

Since the second World War, three Republican Presidents have given the free world creative and courageous leadership. In 1977, that great and good man, Gerald Ford bequeathed to the Carter Administration an America that was building a sound defense, an America that had the confidence of its friends and the respect of its foes.

Today after nearly four years of confusion we have become impotent bystanders as the world lurches from crisis to crisis. The Carter Administration has managed the extraordinary feat of having at one and the same time the worst relations with our allies, the worst relations with our adversaries and the most serious upheavals in the developing world since the end of the second World War.

It is not political oratory to assert that another four years like the last four will make disaster irretrievable.

We Republicans must not claim that all crises are avoidable. We live in an age of revolution in technology, in weaponry, in human aspirations, which we must meet with a broad and humane vision. There are no quick fixes. But we can assert that these multiplying crises are the natural result of a naive philosophy which since 1977 has recoiled from our power and fled from our responsibilities.

It was time, we were told, to overcome our inordinate fear of Communism. We should not, we were told, be preoccupied with the Soviet Union or with the military balance.

A philosophy of abdication has been allied to a diplomacy of incoherence. What are foreign leaders to make of a foreign policy that first proposes to demilitarize the Indian Ocean and now seeks bases in all its corners; that offered our allies the neutron bomb and then withdrew it; that promised in 1978 to cut our defense budget, cancelled or delayed every strategic program it inherited, and now fiddles with figures to pretend an increase; that first called Iran an island of stability and then dithered while it slid into hostility; that after reducing our capabilities has expanded our commitments; that accepted a Soviet combat brigade in Cuba, stood by while Cuban troops with Soviet officers intervened in Ethiopia and then was shocked by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan 20 months after it ignored a Communist coup there; that has vacillated between threats and renunciations of force while 53 Americans, representing us, have been held captive by so-called students?

Today's chaos is no accident. The neglect of our defenses and misunderstanding of our peril, the incoherence of our purposes, has caused those who rely on us to fear our leadership. For if the trumpet gives forth an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself for battle?

Even President Carter has admitted that we now face the gravest crisis since 1945. But the Administration's response is symptomatic of what produced our peril in the first place. We hear not a call to action but explanations of what we cannot do. We are not given a vision of the future but improvised, often cynical, expedients to get us through the election. We are told endless alibis for doing nothing. The American people reject this proclamation of our paralysis. They are tired of a foreign policy that results only in retreat and the constant humiliation of the United States. They insist that we take charge of our future.

We shall earn the right to govern not so much by deploring the past but by offering a vision of what can be, by dedicating ourselves to containing Soviet expansion and also to working to improve the prospects of peace. (Applause.)

First we must rebuild our military strength. No serious student of the subject disputes that there are significant gaps between Soviet capabilities and ours.

We are falling behind in strategic power. We are far behind in conventional forces, and slipping in naval forces, to the point where we had to strip our Mediterranean and Pacific Fleets to have a task force in the Indian Ocean. Sooner or later our weakness will produce catastrophe.

There is only one test for the adequacy of our national defense. Are these critical gaps being closed? Nothing less is adequate. Nothing short of it can be accepted.

But a new military budget, however vital, is only a first step. We must address urgently difficult strategic issues which have for too long been neglected.

We need a strategic doctrine adequate to the era ahead of us, which is at best strategic parity to a growing Soviet regional threat.

We must adapt NATO deployments to new realities and emerging dangers outside the NATO area.

We must create forces on a crash basis to overcome the dangerous challenges certain to face us in the next three to four years.

Only a new administration that genuinely believes in defense will be able to master these problems. (Applause.)

The second major task is to restore and then uphold the political balance of power. In the past five years, Soviet weapons, Soviet friendship treaties, Soviet proxy troops, terrorists financed and trained by the Soviet bloc, and outright Soviet intervention have worsened almost every crisis and have tipped the scales in too many local conflicts.

The free world cannot long survive if this process is permitted to continue. The Administration's reluctance to assert our interests in the early stages of a crisis — its congenital fear of our power — encourages ever-growing challenges. Our friends are driven by their fears and our enemies tempted by their ambitions.

A new Administration will show that blackmail does not work, that our friendship has benefits and that hostility to us involves penalties.

One of our highest priorities must be to mend our ties with our friends, with almost all of whom the Administration has managed to pick a quarrel.

The Western Alliance must restore mutual confidence because it can no longer postpone adapting its defense to changing strategic conditions. It needs a spirit of cooperation because the time has come to redistribute existing burdens in the light of new threats to the security from outside of Europe.

It needs political unity to deal effectively with crises in such areas as the Middle East. It must coordinate its diplomacy to avoid being whipsawed and divided by Soviet peace offensives.

We must urgently develop a common energy policy. The most blatant demonstration of allied disarray is the semi-annual display of impotence when the leaders of the industrialized nations wait for the latest dispensation from the producers regarding increases in the price of oil. This dependence must be ended by a coherent consumer strategy. (Applause.)

But we can rally our allies to a common cause only if we have a long-range, purposeful strategy ourselves, that this new Administration will provide.

The developing world is in chaos for many reasons — not all caused by our actions. But the Administration has increased instability everywhere by currying favor with what it saw as the forces of change, which it identified with trendy Marxism — from the Sandinistas in Nicaragua to the PLO in the Middle East. The result is not more support for our principles but the opposite. We are making the world safe for anti-American radicalism. (Applause.)

We cannot abandon two-thirds of humanity to misery, feudalism and despair. Americans know that our own security and prosperity depend on a world of progress, cooperation, justice, and human dignity.

However, we must offer not self-abasement but a self-confident vision of a better world. And many urgent problems await our commitment — to relieve the crushing burden of energy costs for the poorest nations, to encourage adequate sources of private and public development capital, to guarantee our access to vital minerals and raw materials at a fair price in a global economic structure beneficial to all.

A new Administration is needed, to restore steadiness and coherence to our foreign policy. The world is in turmoil because America, the leader of free peoples, has lost its compass course. If you do not know where you are going, any road will take you there.

Our current foreign policy specializes in responding to disasters it has helped to produce.

Amazingly enough, the Carter Administration claims that it is we who are reckless because we demand a new defense policy, that we are simplistic in opposing radicalism, that we fail to understand the complexities of the contemporary world, that we are risking war.

But the American people know better. They understand that confusion, timidity, impotence and incompetence risk war. (Applause.)

They know that firmness and constancy are the best insurance for peace. (Applause.)

This then sums up the position of a new Administration as I have been given to understand it.

It will urgently and decisively rebuild our defenses.

It will restore our alliances.

It will resist vigorously and uncompromisingly Soviet expansionism. (Applause.)

It will be prepared to negotiate to push back the dangers of nuclear war to reduce arms and to establish rules of international conduct on the basis of strict reciprocity and principle.

It will extend a hand of compassion and assistance to developing countries that seek progress and human dignity and a better life for their peoples.

Thus our Party and our candidate offer renewal and hope.

We will define ourselves by our ideals, not our fears. We shall be judged not by the stridency of our rhetoric but by the nobility of our purposes. We will resist the dark forces that threaten liberty. But we will also hold out the promise of a more peaceful world and a more humane future.

As a party of individualists, we have had and continue to have our differences. As men and women of principle, we have contested them with vigor.

But the time has come to close ranks. We must unify the American people, and to do that we must unify ourselves.

We all now turn to Ronald Reagan as the trustee of all our hopes. (Applause.)

He will have the dedicated support of all of us for we know that his election is essential to the future of freedom everywhere and to the progress of America. (Applause.)

Under his leadership we will overcome the storms ahead. We will hold our heads high, and we will build that better world of peace that fulfills the dreams of mankind and the highest ideals of the American people.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Ladies and gentlemen, I have an announcement to make.

It was wisely said by a wise man that you don't save many souls after midnight.

So the announcement is, you have been patient, you have been orderly, you have been absolutely great, and we are going to adjourn until 6:30 tomorrow when we will hear the keynote address by the Honorable Guy Vander Jagt.

The Chair now recognizes my former colleague in the House of Representatives, Mayor Bill Hudnut of Indianapolis, for the purpose of addressing the Convention.

All rise and remain silent please for the benediction.

BENEDICTION

BY

THE HONORABLE WILLIAM H. HUDNUT III
Mayor of the City of Indianapolis, Indiana

The hour is late; it has been a long day. We don't want this to be a sunrise service. So let's all pause to ask God's blessing on our words and work in this

Convention and on the nominees we will soon present to the people of this country and on our beloved country itself. Let us pray.

Oh, God, our help in ages past, our hope for years to come, You have taught us that blessed is the nation whose God is the Lord. Remind us of Your sovereignty, from which the nations rise and pass away, and Your providence, under which we all keep our rendezvous with destiny.

May we live out our days under heavenly guidance and protection and be firm in our resolve to make America truly a nation under God. Save us from the idolatry of making a god of our particular creed or party or race or country or way of life or point of view.

Help us humbly to seek, oh, God, not for You to be on our side, but for us to be on Yours.

For the drumbeats of history held mute in the heritage of our country's political conventions, we thank you, Lord.

For the roll call of the Delegates from the mountains to the prairies, from the cities to the farms, from the red clay of Georgia to the snowy caps of Alaska, from the rocky coast of New England to the sun-bleached shores of Hawaii, who participate in the nominating process with faithfulness, zeal and hope, we thank You, Lord.

For the aspirations in the heart of every convention, and certainly this one, as together we seek to make a new beginning toward a better tomorrow and a better quality of life for our people, where more justice and more compassion, more brotherhood and more peace, more liberty and more equality will be structured into the sinews of the American community, we thank You, Lord.

Where we are wrong, correct. Where we are weak, strengthen us. Where we are corrupt, purify us. Where we are confused, enlighten us. Where we are callous, sensitize us. Where we are divided, reconcile us. And where we are right, affirm us.

Give us, we pray, and those whom we will nominate for President and Vice President, wisdom and courage for the facing of this hour and the living of these days; and grant, oh God, that we may develop the resources of our land, call forth its powers, build up its institutions, promote all its great interests, and in our day and generation accomplish something worthy to be remembered.

And to You be the glory and the praise, now and forever, world without end. Amen.

(Whereupon, at 12:15 a.m., the Convention recessed, to reconvene at 6:30 p.m., Wednesday, July 16, 1980.)

FOURTH SESSION

WEDNESDAY, JULY 16, 1980

The fourth session of the convention started at 6:30 p.m. As the Delegates, Alternates and guests assembled they were entertained by the Official Convention Orchestra under the direction of Manny Harmon.

CALL TO ORDER

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The fourth session of the 1980 Convention of the Republican Party is hereby called to order.

PRESENTATION OF COLORS

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The colors now will be presented by the ROTC Unit of the Northern High School of Detroit.

(The Colors were presented by the ROTC Unit of the Northern High School of Detroit.)

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The Pledge of Allegiance will be led by Johnny Grant from the State of California.

MR. GRANT. — Ladies and gentlemen, it is always a great privilege to recite the Pledge of Allegiance to the flag of our great country. It is a special privilege tonight and let's do it and let the whole world know we really mean it. Please put your hands over your hearts and repeat after me.

(Johnny Grant led the Delegates, Alternates and guests in the Pledge of Allegiance to the flag.)

THE NATIONAL ANTHEM

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The Chair now recognizes the daughter of a former great Chairman of the Republican National Committee, Dean Burch and Patty Burch, Miss Shelly Burch, for the singing of the National Anthem.

(The National Anthem was sung by Shelly Burch of New York.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Would you please remain standing for the invocation by Rabbi Richard Hertz, Senior Rabbi of Temple Beth El of Detroit, Michigan.

INVOCATION

BY

RABBI RICHARD HERTZ
Temple Beth El, Detroit, Michigan

Almighty God and Father in whose sight all Your children are brothers and sisters, You guide the destiny of nations and people under Your supreme moral fortress, to You we turn for divine guidance in this historic hour of decision.

We thank You for all of the blessings showered upon this glorious land, for its noble heritage of religious freedom and its prophetic dream of brotherhood and equality, for its exalted principles of justice and liberty for all, for its ideals of equal opportunity and religious moralism, for its enlightened citizenry who value their democracy enough to sacrifice for its well being in peacetime as well as in war.

Dear God of us all, as we gather here in this riverfront where two free nations share their common border in peace and understanding, let that example show all countries in this divided world how to live in peace and understanding. Guide the leaders of this one world with special insight for preserving and protecting the vital interest of all nations so that borders can be secure, terrorism eliminated, women and children safe, and no more wars, anywhere, may ever be undertaken, but, rather, security and peace for all countries, big and small, may be the hallmark of our time.

We pray for Your special blessings upon all who gather here this week. Let them be filled with wisdom, courage and understanding that they meet their heavy responsibilities with dedication to the highest principles of democracy and freedom.

Let the word go forward from this riverfront to the people of this republic, that concern for our cities, compassion for the poor, the elderly, the handicapped, the uneducated, equal protection for the civil rights of all free citizens regardless of race, religious sect or national origin may be our contract with the people.

Let there ring forth a real call for freedom and peace, for the welfare of all and the hurt of none, that this land of the free may remain the home of the brave.

Fervently we invoke Your blessing of peace and prosperity upon this republic and all throughout the world who look to it for moral leadership. Let the spirit of understanding and wisdom touch the minds and hearts of all those gathered here so that the message of hope may go forth from this arena that will assure every person everywhere that each may continue to subsist as the Scripture says, "Under His own vine and under his own fig tree with none, none to make him afraid." Amen.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — As we have done every night at the beginning of every session of this Convention, let us now pause and remain

standing for a moment of silence for the hostages in Iran. (A moment of silence was observed.)

Let's give a special round of applause for The Liberty Baptist College Singers of Lynchburg, Virginia.

Remain standing while the Colors leave the floor.

"WHO ARE THE DELEGATES?"

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — And now, ladies and gentlemen, a word from some of our delegates.

(A brief film followed showing several delegates.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The Chair now recognizes Tirso del Junco, Vice Chairman of the Republican State Central Committee of California, for the purpose of an introduction.

INTRODUCTION OF THE HONORABLE DAVID C. TREEN, GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF LOUISIANA BY DR. TIRSO DEL JUNCO, VICE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF CALIFORNIA

DR. DEL JUNCO. — Mr. Chairman, fellow Delegates, fellow Americans, today, there is a new spirit sweeping the American political scene. This spirit is a return to those values and beliefs upon which this nation was founded and which made America great. It is a return to individual self-reliance and independence from government interference. At the very heart of this spirit is a resurgence of Republican philosophy.

The distinguished leader I have the privilege of introducing to you tonight is the personification of this new Republican spirit. One of the major phenomena of Louisiana politics in the 1970's has been the steady and spectacular rise of the Republican Party. The credit for this success belongs to Governor David Treen.

A few years ago, not one Republican held a single significant public office in the entire State of Louisiana. Today, as we move into a new decade, the political landscape is dramatically altered.

One-fourth of Louisiana's delegation in the United States House of Representatives is Republican.

Republicans carried the State for President in 1972, very nearly carried it again in 1976 and will carry it overwhelmingly for Ronald Reagan in 1980.

Last December, Louisiana voters, with a Republican voter registration of less than five percent, elected David Treen governor — the first time a Republican had been elected governor of Louisiana in 102 years.

Today, voters across the great State of Louisiana look beyond a century-old party label when they cast their ballots. They look to the individual candidate and to the issues.

Fellow Americans, I strongly urge each and every one of you to follow the example of the voters of Louisiana. For it is no honor to be chained to a single political party. There is no achievement in being taken for granted on election day and then forgotten and ignored for the next four years.

I ask you to open your minds and your hearts. Listen to our message. Hear our words and examine our record. Then make your decision. Vote your convictions, not a patronizing political party. The people of Louisiana looked beyond party label when they elected David Treen their governor.

And the people of America will look beyond party label when they elect Ronald Reagan President of the United States.

Fellow Delegates, fellow Americans, it gives me honor to present to you a man of conviction and dedication, a leader of the new spirit sweeping America, the distinguished Governor of the State of Louisiana, the Honorable David C. Treen. (Applause.)

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE DAVID C. TREEN, GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF LOUISIANA

GOVERNOR TREEN. — Mr. Chairman, fellow Delegates and fellow Americans, during the past few weeks I have been asked, as I am sure many of you have, about the purpose of this Convention. "Isn't it going to be a dull Convention?" "After all, everyone knows who the Republicans are going to nominate for President."

Yes, we know whom we are going to nominate, but far from being a dull convention, this is an exciting and historic occasion for us and for all the people of the United States because tonight we are going to nominate for President a man who is firmly committed — heart and mind — to the principles of the free enterprise system. Committed to those principles because they offer the best hope for the revitalization of the American economy.

And this Party is united with him on that issue. And the vast majority of the American people — frustrated by the exotic experiments of economic eggheads — are ready to back and elect candidates that will support the free market system as the only solution to our economic ills. (Applause.)

And that is one of the reasons why, one of the principal reasons why, the people of this country are going to go to the polls on Tuesday, November 7th, and elect a new leader for our nation.

Nowhere is it more important that we put our faith and trust in the market system than in the production of energy, and in no other area have the fallacies of the past been more dramatically exposed. Our current energy problems result

from a multitude of events and circumstances, but long-term shortages of energy could be averted if we just let the law of supply and demand operate.

And I am here to charge that the principal responsibility for the energy crisis of this country belongs to that political party which has held power in the United States Congress for 26 consecutive years. That Democrat majority in the Congress has demonstrated its lack of faith in the market system with respect to the production of energy over and over again.

I was there for more than seven years watching the sickening spectacle of that congressional majority of lawmakers engaged in obstructing the law — obstructing the law of economics, trying to convince a sometimes gullible public that we can have more energy even by paying less for it. The Democrat Party has been peddling this dangerous notion for years and years.

Let me illustrate. Democrats in Congress overwhelmingly opposed President Ford's proposal to lift controls on domestic oil. They defeated the plan. Despite the growing dependence of America on foreign oil, they defeated the decontrol plan. In the years 1972 through 1979 this nation's dependence on foreign sources of oil has risen from 31 percent to 44 percent.

Alarmed by the billions of our dollars being sent abroad to buy oil, and because of the unrelenting attack by Republicans on President Carter's energy policies, some gradual decontrol was grudgingly set in motion. As astonishing as it sounds, a majority of Democrats voted to reimpose full controls. Fortunately, Republican solidarity prevented that.

In vote after vote in the Congress, Democrats have resisted natural gas deregulation. In 1976 and 1978 they even voted to enlarge natural gas price controls to include the intrastate market — the only place where supplies were increasing.

I don't think the American people can be fooled any longer. They know there is no way to get something produced by refusing to meet the cost of production.

I am reminded of the story of the emperor who was faced with economic problems in his realm. He summoned his counsellors and said, "Bring me a synopsis of the law of economics so I can understand it and put it into effect."

When they returned with a thick volume of paper, he order one of the three counsellors executed and told the others, "I don't have time to read a book. Go back and put together a short synopsis of the law."

When they returned in a week with a 10-page document, the emperor ordered one of the two executed and told the third that he didn't have time to read 10 pages and that he had better come back with a short summary of the law of economics. A few days later, his last counsellor arrived and said, "Your Highness, I now have the law of economics boiled down to eight words."

The emperor was delighted. He said, "What are they?"

And the counsellor replied, "There's no such thing as a free lunch."

The counsellor survived, the emperor survived, and his kingdom survived.

I have made some harsh charges against the other political party. They are justified. The other party deserves to shoulder the blame for our energy problems.

But we will not win this election merely by making charges. We will win this election by offering solutions. And we have the solution to the energy crisis. It lies not in some new scheme for production of energy by government. It lies not in some vast bureaucracy allocating and rationing energy. It lies no other place than in the free market.

The answer lies in freeing the imagination and initiative of all Americans to match energy supplies to energy demands. Permitting the law of supply and demand to operate in the energy field will deter wasteful use of energy; it will provide the incentive needed for the production of more of our traditional forms of energy — oil and gas and coal; it will spur the genius of American technologists to find ways to convert our vast deposits of coal into readily usable forms of energy; it will produce other scientific breakthroughs; it will provide the capital to put into production new forms of energy made economically feasible by a pricing system which works in an atmosphere free of restraints.

And the benefits to Americans will be enormous. We will eliminate the monumental cost to taxpayers of monstrous regulatory bureaucracies. We will lessen our dependence on foreign sources which imperil our national security. We will provide more and better jobs for people not only in new energy-producing industries, but all across a revitalized American economy.

My fellow Americans, we don't have long lines at service stations this summer. But that doesn't mean that we don't have an energy crisis. We do. That energy crisis is largely man-made, but the good news is that men and women can find the solution. We in the Republican Party are united in the conviction that the solution to energy shortages and energy misallocations lies in adherence to that basic economic principle which made the United States of America the economic giant of the world.

The enormous advantages of the free market system must and will be a principal focus of our campaign this fall. We are, indeed, fortunate that our standard-bearer in this campaign is one who is recognized as being a consistent and unwavering supporter of the free enterprise system as the solution to our energy problems.

And that is just one of the reasons why the American people will place the responsibility for leadership in the hands of Ronald Reagan, the next President of the United States. Thank you. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Ladies and gentlemen, Governor David Treen has not only given us his wisdom, but he is spending his birthday with us tonight. This is the anniversary of the birth of the Honorable David Treen, Governor of Louisiana.

Would you join me in a chorus of "Happy Birthday?"

(The entire assembly sang "Happy Birthday" to Governor Treen.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The Chair now recognizes the great Governor from the great State of South Dakota, William Janklow, for the purpose of an introduction.

INTRODUCTION OF THE HONORABLE CONNIE NEWMAN BY THE HONORABLE WILLIAM JANKLOW, GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF SOUTH DAKOTA

GOVERNOR JANKLOW. — I have a rare opportunity this evening because I get to introduce a lady by the name of Connie Newman who is a credit to the United States, a credit to the community that she comes from, and a credit to the Republican Party.

I would like to start off very briefly by apologizing to you delegates. I would like to apologize because it is my state that has given George McGovern to the world, and I would also like to tell you that it is my state this November which will bring George McGovern back home to South Dakota to live permanently. (Applause.)

And we will do our part if you people from Indiana will send Birch Bayh back to Indiana and if you will send Frank Church back home. (Applause.)

And if you will send all of these new-found conservatives back home for further training and understanding.

For four long, long years in this country we have talked about Presidential politics and we have forgotten that any President, like the quarterback of a team, or the head of a family, or the head of a business, needs someone to work with him. We are talking about a Congress. There are 535 people in that great Congress, and they have not been able to do anything with any speed or dispatch since Pearl Harbor was attacked. And the time has now come that the American people want action from their Congress.

We are tired of high-priced gasoline with no energy policy. And this is the time of the year when the American people are taking applications for the jobs called "public service." And let's briefly examine — and I mean for about 30 seconds — the record of these people who are reapplying for the position to run this great country.

And I say to people look at their track record and if they have done a good job they ought to send Jimmy Carter back to the White House; if he hasn't done a good job, send him back to Plains, Georgia and let him run the peanut factory. (Applause.)

You know, I can't help but be impressed with this great Convention that we have had and the civic associations and the law enforcement in this Detroit

community, and I can tell you that if Jimmy Carter's Pentagon planners could put on a function like these people do, there would be no hostages in Iran tonight; they would be home.

And if any of you people in America are happy with the fact that they can go wreck our embassy in Pakistan, then I say to you, send Jimmy Carter back to the White House. If you are happy that in Libya, Jimmy Carter's brother in the last year received $225,000 in fees from the Libyan government, that government that denies the people their civil liberties and human rights and wrecks our embassy, send him back to run this country. If you are happy that we have a combat offensive brigade in Cuba, send him back to run this country. If you are glad and like to pay 15 to 20 percent interest on the money you borrow, send him back to run this country. If you like eight to ten percent unemployment or you are unfortunate enough to live in Detroit's 20 percent unemployment, send him back to run your country.

And be impressed with them when they come flying in a week before some convention to tell you what they are going to do about unemployment, what they are going to do about hardship.

Well, I can tell you, take a look at this community in two months and you won't see any results by the Administration with their promises.

The time has really come to look at things like water development that this country needs, the transportation needs of rural America, an economic revival of our communities. The one thing I ask you all in America to understand and remember, don't ever be fooled when someone calls for new taxes. I don't care whether they call it a corporate tax, an income tax, a personal tax or a windfall profit tax. All taxes are paid by consumers. All taxes are paid by the people that buy things and engage in economic activity. Even if you are unemployed you pay the taxes because the cost is passed on to you.

If there is anybody in this great country that goes to bed tonight, or any other night, that really feels this President knows what is going on and is able to handle the job, and you feel comfortable sleeping because of this competence, then vote for him.

And if you don't, it is time to take any applicant and — I saw a bumper sticker today that said, "Just hang on America, Ronald Reagan is coming." That tells the story!

But I have a rare privilege tonight. I get to introduce a lady by the name of Connie Newman. Connie Newman has got an undergraduate degree from Bates College and a law degree from the University of Minnesota. She is the former director of the Vista Program under the old Office of Economic Opportunity. She is a former Presidential appointee to the Consumers Safety Product Commission. She is a former Assistant Secretary of The Housing and Urban Development Department.

In these times when we talk about the working woman, when we talk about and examine the role of women in our society, here is a lady that is a doer,

here is a lady that is an achiever, here is a lady that is successful. She is a member of the NAACP, the Urban League, and she sets standards to which every one of us in America can aspire whether we happen to be black or white or red or yellow or some mixture.

I am proud to present to you people, from Washington D. C., Connie Newman.

ADDRESS BY
THE HONORABLE CONNIE NEWMAN
FORMER ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF
HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

MS. NEWMAN. — Ladies and gentlemen, I, for one, have not lost faith in America. I, for one, have not lost faith in America yet, and I will not lose faith in America if America turns now to address the serious problems, the existence of which we cannot deny — the problems threatening the very fabric of our democracy — problems threatening the economic security and well-being of all citizens.

It is time to put into action our faith in the strength of the American people. It is time to unleash the optimists. There are more and more of us in this country — and in this party — who are anxious to mobilize the wisdom and courage of free men and women to make right what is wrong in our country.

This is a challenging time to be a Republican. The polls are starting to look up for the fall. But as we look forward to the election with optimism — to reversing the trend that began with the Depression and the New Deal — we must remember a number of things.

We have to remember why we lost the dominance that Lincoln, and Theodore Roosevelt, and the great Republican leaders of the Nineteenth and early Twentieth Century had given us. We have to understand why we took on minority status.

As a Black woman, I consider myself something of an authority on minority status. And as a result of that status I am sensitive to the possibility that some of you may believe that I, a Black woman, have stumbled into the wrong convention — that my convention is next month in New York. I want you to know that I know exactly where I am and why I am here. (Applause.)

The Republican Convention is the right place to talk about equal rights and equal justice under law. The Republican Convention is the right place to talk about respect for the ability of all, and the responsibility of all of us to work together.

But as I was saying earlier, we have to remember why this Party lost its position as the majority party. I believe that we lost our position for several reasons, but one big reason was this, the American people felt that the Republican Party was no longer concerned about them; that the Party was no longer the

party of the worker, of the Black, of the farmer, of the immigrant. The American people came to believe that the Republican Party had become the party of big business and industry alone.

Now we are beginning, just beginning, to convince the American people that we stand for much more. Looking at the massive problems that confront our society, as we divide into polarized special interest groups, many still wonder whether we can lead our people out of the squabbling, back to a sense of shared responsibility and shared national purpose. I think we can.

I think we can do it while making no retreat from our Republican commitment to liberty, equality, and individual initiative. But, I warn you, it will not be easy.

It will shake up some Republicans to do what is necessary for us to become, as we were for the first seventy years of our Party's history, the party of hope for blue collar Americans, the party of hope for Black Americans, the party of hope for the new immigrants, the descendants of immigrants, and the native Americans.

If we begin to move that way now, the future will be ours. Our Party, the Republican Party, can lead America out of its present troubles and back to greatness. (Applause.)

Millions of people are looking to us to shore up their faith in America. It is time to reward the optimists by addressing squarely the problems threatening the fabric of our society. The first step is to recognize that it is the responsibility of all of us together to rid the country of racial tension and the root causes of that tension — poverty, unequal justice, unequal opportunity.

When the Blacks and the poor riot in Miami in anger and desperation because they see unequal justice, the fabric of society is badly torn. We must rebuild our system of justice so that all are assured of fair and equal treatment — the innocent, the accused, the guilty, and importantly, the innocent victims.

All Americans must be assured of fair and equal treatment. Otherwise our institutions — the courts, the Congress, everything that holds us together — become symbols to many Americans of the forces that bring misery to their daily lives.

Republicans have to make it a matter of first priority to make our institutions deserve the confidence we want people to have in them. That will not be easy. It means breaking some crockery. But it is the first step without which nothing is possible. We face vast challenges, at home and abroad. Fundamental shifts are under way in our economy. The burden of adjusting to the new facts of life must be shouldered together. We do not have the luxury — either as a society or as a political party — of excluding anybody. We must make the most of the talents of every single American.

There are more than five million older Americans who are poor. Nearly a quarter of those over the age of 65. They gave more to their children — to us —

than they kept for their waning years. And we owe them. We owe them both the security of an adequate income, and the respect inherent in asking their help in dealing with the problems of the next few years, and not the patronizing disrespect of pensioning them off and whispering about the burden they create. It will require great imagination for us to make government change enough to do that. But we as a country need to make the changes that challenge — rather than stifle — the energies of every citizen.

And we cannot afford to waste the resources of the young. Right now we see the cruel irony of, on the one hand, unemployment rates among Black teenagers three to four times that of white adults. And, on the other hand, growing shortages of skilled labor in a number of areas which have been at the very heart of our economic strength. Only a concerted effort at vocational training and motivation can narrow the gap between the employer and the employee.

We have grown accustomed, as the baby boom generation has reached employment age, to the notion that there will always be more young people than jobs. But within the next decade labor shortages will spread across the economy. We will need those workers desperately. Yet we know that about a million of today's teenagers — poor and largely Black and Hispanic — will not clear the hurdle into productive adult employment unless somebody teaches them to read and write.

We must rescue those young people. And we must see to it that next year's teenagers receive their basic academic skills before they get out of school.

I have emphasized rebuilding faith in our institutions, rebuilding our ties between generations, and rebuilding the lives of the most disadvantaged among us. This country is not going to make it on narrow self-interest alone. Government can have a creative role in making it possible for us all to pull together in solving this country's problems. This country needs a government which can help us become a community again, and not the pulling, tugging, fractious interest groups — each dedicated to his or her little corner of the world.

Thinking Americans of good will cannot, do not, will not differ in their striving to obtain equal justice, equal rights, and a decent standard of living for all citizens.

Thinking Americans of good will may differ as to the best approach to providing the quality life for all. In that connection, I am disappointed in the platform treatment of the Equal Rights Amendment, but that disappointment does not detract from my commitment to influence others of my position on this as well as other issues. (Applause.)

On the other hand, I believe that the Party's commitment to Blacks and Hispanics has been strengthened by its approach of assuring employment rather than a future of welfare, which no American enjoys nor would accept when provided with a better opportunity.

This Republican Party statement of commitment, the strongest in modern times, should strengthen the efforts of the Party to attract a broader base of

support in November and afterwards — as is fitting for one of the major political parties.

We are now at a place I fear to reach — the end of my opportunity to share my thoughts, hopes and concerns with you. What should I say to you in closing when we all have so many things on our minds — things that affect us personally — things that affect our community, our nation, our world.

We have on our minds things that are at once troubling and hopeful; puzzling, yet challenging. Given what is on all of our minds, how shall we end this sharing?

I guess what I would say again is that I believe that without rebuilding, without the combined commitment to liberty and community that we can make a reality if we only will, this country will continue to slide into being merely a loose collection of minorities — each focused only on its own interest and each, by that focus, weakening the others and weakening us all.

I should say that I believe that Americans can rebuild this nation, Americans can restore faith in their institutions, can and will ensure equal justice and equal opportunity for all, will rid the nation of poverty and restore the respect of other nations.

But then, fellow Republicans, I am an optimist. It is time. It is time for this Party to reward the optimists.

Thank you. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — You know, if you want to be the governor of a state you should be born on July 16th. We not only have Governor Treen whose birthday is today, but Governor of the great Commonwealth of Pennsylvania Dick Thornburg's birthday is today. (Applause.)

Would the band give us a chorus of "Happy Birthday," please.

("Happy Birthday" to Governor Thornburg was sung by all.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — We have heard from several distinguished Republicans already. We have more to come and if the Delegates, the Alternates and our guests are to hear those speakers who are scheduled to appear, it will be necessary for us to give more heed to the condition of the order of the hall. You are not in bad order but you are not in very good order either. So, I would hope that we could keep the aisles relatively clear. I don't intend to instruct the Sergeant at Arms to clear the aisles, but I would hope that the members of the media would, in conducting their operations, be as aware as possible of the chance they may be obstructing the views of the Delegates who came here for the purpose of listening and voting.

The Chair would like to announce one matter of a purely housekeeping nature. Certain words were inadvertently dropped in printing the rules, the book that you received last night. A corrected version of Rule 30 (a) (4) has been distributed to Delegates and Alternates and made available to the press. The

omission will be corrected when the rules as adopted by the Convention last night are printed. This correction is being made pursuant to the resolution adopted by the Convention on Monday.

RATIFICATION OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The Chair now recognizes my distinguished colleague, the able Congresswoman from Maryland, the lady who is as responsible as any other Republican member for the stand which our Party has made for a balanced budget in the Congress, the Honorable Marjorie Holt, for the purpose of offering a resolution.

Mrs. Holt.

MRS. HOLT. — Mr. Chairman, I offer the following resolution and ask for its immediate consideration:

> RESOLVED, That those elected as members of the Republican National Committee by the Delegates from each State, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands and Guam are hereby declared duly ratified to serve as members of the Republican National Committee until the meeting of the successor committee to be ratified by the next Republican National Convention.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Without objection, the previous question is ordered.

The question occurs on the resolution offered by the Delegate from Maryland, Mrs. Holt. All those in favor of the resolution will signify by saying aye (Chorus of ayes); those opposed, no (No response).

The ayes have it and the resolution is agreed to, and without objection the motion to reconsider is laid on the table.

Without objection, the reading of the names will be dispensed with and the names of those elected including the state chairmen who automatically become members of the National Committee under Rule 19(b), adopted by the Convention, will be printed in the proceedings of this Convention.

Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

MEMBERS OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE RATIFIED BY THE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Alabama	Perry O. Hooper
	Jean Sullivan
Alaska	Eldon R. Ulmer
	Edith Holm
Arizona	Jack Londen
	Kit Mehrtens
Arkansas	A. Lynn Lowe
	Leona Troxell

California	Jack Courtemanche
	Gertrude C. McDonald
Colorado	Keith L. Brown
	Kay Riddle
Connecticut	John Alsop
	Mary H. (Billie) Boatwright
Delaware	Eugene D. (Gene) Bookhammer
	Priscilla B. Rakestraw
District of Columbia	Michael Gill
	Patricia Bruns
Florida	William C. (Bill) Cramer
	Paula F. Hawkins
Georgia	Carl L. Gillis
	Mary Stivers
Guam	Edward M. Calvo
	Nannette Ferraris
Hawaii	Edward Brennan
	Carla Coray
Idaho	David Little
	Leora Day
Ilinois	Harold B. Smith, Jr.
	Crete B. Harvey
Indiana	Jim Neal
	Margaret C. Hill
Iowa	John C. McDonald
	Mary Louise Smith
Kansas	McDill (Huck) Boyd
	Marynell D. Reece
Kentucky	Edwin G. Middleton
	Nelda L. Barton
Louisiana	Frank Spooner
	Ginny C. Martinez
Maine	Gordon Smith
	Mary Payson
Maryland	Lawrence J. Hogan
	Louise Gore
Massachusetts	Gordon Nelson
	Paula (Polly) Logan
Michigan	Peter F. Secchia
	Ranny Riecker
Minnesota	Leon Oistad
	Evie Teegen
Mississippi	Clarke Reed
	Evelyn McPhail
Missouri	Jewett Fulkerson
	Lydia Miller

Montana	Jack Galt
	Jean G. Birch
Nebraska	Arthur L. Knox
	Bee Whitmore
Nevada	Reese H. Taylor
	Eileen Schouweiler
New Hampshire	Gerald P. Carmen
	Sheila Roberge
New Jersey	Bernard M. Shanley
	Noel L. Gross
New Mexico	Robert C. Davidson
	April Lynn Westbrook
New York	Richard M. Rosenbaum
	Eunice B. Whittlesey
North Carolina	John P. East
	Diane McCoy
North Dakota	Ben Clayburgh
	Betty Lou Pyle
Ohio	James A. Rhodes
	Martha C. Moore
Oklahoma	James M. Inhofe
	Grace Boulton
Oregon	George P. Stadelman
	Dorotha Moore
Pennsylvania	Andrew L. (Drew) Lewis, Jr.
	Elsie Hillman
Puerto Rico	Hernan Padilla
	Julia Rivera de Vicenti
Rhode Island	Frederick Lippitt
	Elinor Clapp
South Carolina	John E. Courson
	Beverly J. Gosnell
South Dakota	William F. Lenker
	Nora Hussey
Tennessee	Mark C. Hicks
	Jeanne Geraghty
Texas	Ernest Angelo
	Fran Chiles
Utah	Wilbern McDougal
	Beppy Gibbons
Vermont	Lawrence A. Wright
	Madeline B. Harwood
Virginia	William H. Stanhagen
	Helen Obenshain
Virgin Island	Melvin H. Evans
	Meredith P. Clark

Washington	Dennis Dunn
	Bernece (Bunny) Bippes
West Virginia	Arch A. Moore, Jr.
	Priscilla Humphreys
Wisconsin	Ody J. Fish
	Helen Bie
Wyoming	Harold Hellbaum
	Margaret (Margie) Kelly

State Chairmen Who Became Members of The National Committee Under Rule 19(b) Adopted by this Convention

Alabama	William D. (Bill) Harris
Alaska	Yvonne Alford
Arizona	Thomas J. (Tom) Pappas
Arkansas	Jerri Pruden
California	Truman F. Campbell
Colorado	Philip D. (Phil) Winn
Connecticut	Ralph Capecelatro
Delaware	Jerome O. (Jerry) Herlihy
District of Columbia	Robert S. Carter
Florida	Henry B. Sayler
Georgia	Matt Patton
Guam	Artilia B. Cruz
Hawaii	Frank Cooper
Idaho	Dennis Olsen
Illinois	Don W. Adams
Indiana	Bruce B. Melchert
Iowa	Stephen W. Roberts
Kansas	Morris Kay
Kentucky	Liz Thomas
Louisiana	George Despot
Maine	Hattie Bickmore
Maryland	Allan C. Levey
Massachusetts	Andrew S. Natsios
Michigan	Melvin L. (Mel) Larsen
Minnesota	Vern F. Neppl
Mississippi	Michael L. (Mike) Retzer
Missouri	William H. (Bill) Macon
Montana	Aubyn Curtiss (Mrs.)
Nebraska	Ralph J. Knobel
Nevada	Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr.
New Hampshire	Carroll F. Jones (Mrs.)
New Jersey	David F. Norcross
New Mexico	Jack Emmons
New York	Bernard M. Kilbourn

North Carolina ..... Jackson F. (Jack) Lee
North Dakota ..... John Sellie
Ohio ..... Earl T. Barnes
Oklahoma ..... Harold V. Hunter
Oregon ..... Robert O. Voy
Pennsylvania ..... Martha Bell Schoeninger
Puerto Rico ..... Luis A. Ferre
Rhode Island ..... Donald E. Roch
South Carolina ..... George G. Graham
South Dakota ..... Dan Parish
Tennessee ..... Thomas W. Beasley
Texas ..... Chet Upham
Utah ..... Bill Stevenson
Vermont ..... John M. (Jack) Lindley, III
Virginia ..... Alfred B. Cramer
Virgin Islands ..... Viola I. (Joan) Burgess
Washington ..... Max E. Benitz
West Virginia ..... John McCuskey
Wisconsin ..... J. Michael Borden
Wyoming ..... Edwin J. (Ed) Witzenburger

MEETING OF NEWLY ELECTED NATIONAL COMMITTEE

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The Chair now recognizes my former colleague, the former Governor of West Virginia and the next Governor of the State of West Virginia, the Honorable Arch Moore, the senior member of the National Committee which has just been ratified, for the purpose of making an announcement of the next meeting.

Governor Moore.

GOVERNOR MOORE. — Mr. Chairman, in accordance with the rules adopted by this convention, it is my duty as the senior member in time of service to call the first meeting of the Republican National Committee. Therefore, a breakfast meeting will be held on Friday, July 19, 1980 at 9:00 a.m., Eastern Daylight Time, in the Mackinac Room, Detroit Plaza Hotel, for the purpose of organizing the new committee.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — I thank my former colleague and assure him that every person in this hall looks forward to his victory on November 4th. (Applause.)

PUBLICATION OF CONVENTION PROCEEDINGS

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The Chair now recognizes my distinguished colleague in the House of Representatives, one of the truly important, one of the truly effective first-term members of the House from the State of Mississippi, the Honorable Jon Hinson, for the purpose of offering a resolution.

Congressman Hinson.

MR. HINSON. — Mr. Chairman, and I might say the future Mr. Speaker, I offer the following resolution and ask for its immediate consideration.

> RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the Convention is hereby directed to prepare and publish for the convention a full and complete report of its official proceedings under the direction of the National Committee.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Without objection, the previous question is ordered.

The question occurs on the resolution of the delegate from Mississippi, Congressman Hinson. All those in favor of the resolution will so signify by saying aye. (Chorus of ayes.)

Those opposed, no. (No response.)

The ayes have it. The resolution is agreed to and without objection the motion to reconsider is laid on the table.

RESOLUTION OF APPRECIATION

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The Chair now recognizes John Sellie, Republican State Chairman for the State of North Dakota, for the purpose of offering a resolution.

MR. SELLIE. — Mr. Chairman, I offer the following resolution and ask for its immediate consideration.

> RESOLVED, That we, the Delegates and the Alternates to the 1980 Republican National Convention, acknowledge with this expression of gratitude and appreciation the excellent performance of the officers of the convention, the work of the members and the staff of the Arrangements Committee and those in the greater Detroit area who welcomed and assisted us, the people and the officials of the City of Detroit and the State of Michigan, the Host Committee, and the members of the news media, all of whom contributed to the success of the convention.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Without objection the previous question is ordered.

The question occurs on the resolution offered by the delegate from North Dakota, Mr. Sellie.

All those in favor of the resolution will signify by saying aye. (Chorus of ayes.)

Those opposed, no. (No response.)

The ayes have it and the resolution is agreed to, and without objection the motion to reconsider is laid on the table.

The Chair now recognizes the Governor of the first state, the State of Delaware, the Honorable Pete duPont, for the purpose of making an introduction.

Mr. duPont. (Applause.)

INTRODUCTION OF THE HONORABLE BILL BROCK BY THE HONORABLE PIERRE S. DUPONT IV GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF DELAWARE

GOVERNOR DUPONT. — Mr. Chairman, Delegates, friends and fellow Americans, more than a decade ago after a generation of decline and tragedy, the mighty city of Detroit began anew, rededicating itself to the fundamental principles that had made it one of America's greatest symbols of economic progress and prosperity. Working together, the people of Detroit and the people of Michigan threw off the pessimism of past years and turned their vision to the future, to a new beginning.

Well, just as the people of Detroit, working together, have created a new beginning for this great city, so, too, have Republicans, working together all across the land, set the stage for a new beginning not just for the Republican Party but a new beginning for all Americans.

After a generation or more of Republicans being in the minority, of too often being out of touch with the majority of our people, we are reaching out, reaching out tonight to a new majority of Americans who seek new leadership, new direction, who seek new commitments for solving our many problems.

The renaissance spirit that we see tonight here in this hall, here in this city, and in hometowns all across the country, is a tide already sweeping across America.

Consider that since the Presidential election in 1976, our Republican Party has gained three United States Senate seats, seven Governorships, sixteen seats in the United States House of Representatives and, most importantly, 358 seats in state legislatures across the nation.

For the first time in more than a generation, our people believe that a Republican candidate offers the best hope for a new, a revitalized, a stronger and more productive America.

And for the first time in a generation, Republicans are relearning the oldest rule of political governance, successful political leadership cannot impose its ideas and its programs from the top down, they must be built from the bottom up. (Applause.)

Ronald Reagan in the White House must be your number one goal. Winning Republican majorities in the Congress, along with governors and state legislatures must be the other. Tonight Republicans gather as one, together reaching out to you, the people of this great country, offering a new beginning, a new spirit, a new leadership to solve the problems of America.

So tonight, if you are a working couple unable to afford your own home because of record-high interest rates, tonight is the night to think about voting Republican for a change. (Applause.)

If you are unemployed, out of work because of the ineffective energy policies and overbearing regulatory policies of this Administration, tonight is the night to think about voting Republican for a change.

If you are a senior citizen who is falling further and further behind because ruinous inflation is destroying your personal economy, it is time to vote Republican for a change.

If you operate a small business and believe that recurring tax increases stifle incentives and discourage productivity, it is time to vote Republican for a change.

Or if you are the parent of a 19-year-old son concerned about the declining prestige and the increasing vulnerability of America because of foreign policy and defense policy failures of this Administration, then it is time to vote Republican for a change.

No one in the Republican Party has believed more deeply and committed himself more fully to bringing our Party's message to the young, to the aged, to the working men and women of our country than has Bill Brock. (Applause.)

He has sought to restore unity at the top of the Republican Party and through his support of the PAC conferences has sought to strengthen the Republican Party at the grass roots level as well.

Bill Brock understands that a change in only 96 targeted legislative districts could change the control of ten state legislatures and that change could restore to our Party 40 seats in the Congress rightfully ours, but gerrymandered away from us by Democratic state legislatures.

Bill Brock understands the need to broaden the financial base of the Republican Party and it is no accident that the Republican Party today has three times as many contributors as it did in 1976.

Bill understands that by reaching out to all Americans the Republican Party can become the majority party for America for this decade and decades to come. From Albany to Boston, from Dover to Denver the Republican Party is the party of the future.

To those gathered here this evening, to you who share in a rebirth of the Republican Party throughout America, it is my distinct pleasure to introduce to you a man who has dedicated himself and all of his energies to building our party from the beginning up, my good friend and your National Chairman from the great State of Tennessee, Bill Brock. (Applause and standing ovation.)

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE BILL BROCK, CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

CHAIRMAN BROCK. — Thank you. Thank you very much.

Well, it is nice to be in the greatest Convention in the whole world right here in Detroit. I am delighted to be with you. Thank you.

I saw an unemployed Black worker talking on the morning newscast; a fabulous story. She said she has always voted Democratic, but this year she is going to vote for Ronald Reagan. (Applause.)

And I like that.

Things are about to change in America, and I ask that we let that change begin tonight. The opportunity is here.

Polls say our Party is better liked and more respected than at any time in decades. The clear majority of Americans believe Republicans are better able to deal with inflation, high taxes and foreign humiliation.

It feels great to be a Republican this year, and I am excited about that fact. We are on our way up. (Applause.)

It feels great to win, and that is what we are going to do — in Congress and in the Senate, in State Legislatures, in cities and towns across this entire land.

This is a new Party. Like all Americans, we don't like being in second place, and we don't intend to stay there. (Applause.)

But before we get too caught up in the euphoria of this fantastic night at this great Convention, I think perhaps we should reflect for a moment or two on our larger purpose — the restoration of hope, optimism and unity to this country of ours.

We Republicans have done a lot for ourselves over the past few years with enormous effort and commitment. We have rebuilt our Party and revitalized it to the point that we can be optimistic about the chances for victory in November.

But now we need to take the next step. We need help — a lot of it. We need the support of people who are not traditionally Republican if we are really going to restore this country of ours to the greatness it has known throughout its history. We need to join hands with all our neighbors to form a new coalition of Americans.

It has to be a coalition that embraces everyone. It has to be a coalition rooted in the true values of family, neighborhood and work. It has to be a coalition that unites people and brings them together on the basis of shared values and shared beliefs. It has to be that or it won't be a winning coalition at all.

So tonight we reach out to all Americans, seeking to unite in common purpose with the men and women of this land whose work and sacrifice and effort continue to keep the American dream alive.

We are reaching out to young families whose dreams of buying a home or securing a better education for their children than they had are coming to an end. We say join us. Let us make a new beginning.

To older Americans whose life savings evaporate with inflation, we say join us; join us for a new beginning.

To Blacks, Hispanics, ethnics, immigrants and native Americans who are not ready for their dreams to die, we say join us and let us begin anew.

The American dream has been real for generations. We can get it back again, and that is our larger purpose.

We don't oppose Jimmy Carter just because he is a Democrat. We oppose him because his Administration has been a disaster for America. (Applause.)

And we don't oppose the people who control Congress just because they are Democrats. We oppose them because they make Congress a disaster for working men and women in this country. (Applause.)

It is not enough to criticize Jimmy Carter and his crippling Administration. It is not enough to lambaste his shredded promises. Rather, we should look to ourselves and insure that we provide the compassion and the courage to deliver the promise upon which this Nation was built. We seek a society which accepts no injustice and rejects all prejudices.

We meet here in Detroit, a city which provides a tragic example of what Carter's economic policies have done to working men and women. Today Detroit faces the gravest unemployment since the depression of the 1930's. One out of three auto workers is out of a job and on the street. One out of two Black young people between 18 and 24 is unable to find employment. That is insane in a free society. When men and women cannot feed, clothe and shelter their children, it is a human tragedy, one simply not tolerable in a free society capable of fulfulling dreams.

Today, it seems as if you have to be rich or poor if you want to send your child to college. But you had better not be in between. That is wrong, and it has got to change.

Today, Democrats have chosen to fight inflation by raising taxes, raising interest rates and throwing people out of work. That is playing politics with human lives; and it is not only bad economics, it is immoral.

It is unacceptable that we have an Administration which has conducted American foreign policy with vacillation, weakness and broken promises. It is time that the United States of America resumes its leadership of the free world, and it is time that we have a President who recognizes that he is the leader of the free world, is proud of it, and acts like it for a change. (Applause.)

It is absolutely incredible that this nation would have a President that claims that we, the American people, suffer from a crisis of confidence, some sort of malaise. It is inexcusable to talk like that.

We don't want, and cannot accept, a leader so weak and insecure that he blames the American people for his own failures.

America must have a President who inspires us with hope — hope for the future — one who challenges us beyond our own expectations, one who once again can lead us to the greatness that freedom allows, to the fulfillment of our dream.

Our promise to the American people to strengthen our families, our jobs, our schools, our neighborhoods, our promise for a competent government that not only leads its people but, by example, leads all mankind, are fundamental commitments that we will not abandon.

This moment is crucial because the fate of our nation, and I think the world, depends upon our success between now and November.

The clock is running on, America. We all know what this nation has been and we all know what it can be again. We take no joy in the distress and disarray of this Carter Administration. The situation is far too grave to permit partisan pleasure at their discomfort because the reasons for it are all too real, too many and too deep. Inadequate education, high prices, heavy taxes and unemployment and a jeopardized retirement are not the problems of Republicans and Democrats. They are the real problems of real human beings.

It is up to us, to you and me, to leave this hall and this city and take to the American people the message that the dreams of America will remain unfulfilled if a child is hungry, if our young can't read and write, if men and women cannot find a job, if our parents' lifetime of productive labor is erased by higher prices, if any person is denied opportunity because of race, creed or sex.

It is for us to fulfill that dream. But we cannot do it alone. We will need the help of all Americans — young and old, black and white, brown and yellow, women and men, Americans who have traditionally supported the Democratic Party, Americans who are independent voters, and perhaps Americans who have never yet voted at all.

Forge this new coalition. Build it on a foundation of shared values. Shape it, lead it, earn the support of these people, and the election of Ronald Reagan this fall will be for America a new beginning. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — It is now the privilege of the Chair to introduce a man whose distinguished public career has contributed much to our country — a four-star general, a former commander of the naval forces, a former Chief of Staff of the White House Staff, a great American. In fact, ladies and gentlemen, as one who knows, I can tell you and I can tell our fellow citizens that the people of this country will never know the depth of the debt they owe to our next speaker.

The next speaker is a distinguished general, the Honorable Alexander Haig. (Applause and standing ovation.)

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE ALEXANDER M. HAIG, JR. FORMER SUPREME COMMANDER OF THE NATO FORCES

GENERAL HAIG. — Mr. Chairman, fellow Delegates, fellow Americans. As an official Delegate from the great State of Connecticut you do me honor in permitting me to speak to this 1980 Convention of the Republican Party.

Others before me on this platform have suggested that we are facing a turning point in world affairs. In a few years we Americans must — indeed, we will — one way or another, make a decision as to whether or not we will continue to seek a world order, hospitable to the Christian-Judeo values and interests of today, or to abrogate that order to values and interests distinctly different from our own.

Never before have we been faced with such a decision, except in time of warfare. Thank God we do not feel this traumatic pressure tonight.

Nevertheless, never, or seldom, in the 204 years of American history have the alternatives facing us in the future been so clear.

As you know, a year ago I returned from five years abroad, where I served as the Commander of Allied Forces in Europe. During that period, I became increasingly concerned about the drift of America, but more importantly, about the impact that drift was having, not only among traditional and friendly allies in Western Europe but also among those increasingly important Third World nations upon whose good will and compatibility of policy our own future so fundamentally depends.

And finally, especially in recent years, I have become increasingly concerned that the incoherent, inconsistent policies emanating from Washington today have been confusing and, indeed, leading to higher levels of risk-taking within the walls of the Kremlin itself.

And for this reason I am delighted to have an opportunity to talk to this convention tonight and present my assessment of the threat and the challenges facing America in this vitally important decade before us.

I have described the Soviet threat as relentless. That is a very considered term. It means that what we are witnessing is not the consequence of some precipitous change in mood in Moscow which has suddenly allocated greater resources to the defense sector; hardly at all.

What we are observing is the maturing consequences of 15 years of increased spending on the part of the Soviet leadership at the rate of four to five percent, increased each year — each year — every year for the past 15, so that today they are spewing out large quantities of highly sophisticated military equipment throughout the spectrum of needs of the Soviet forces. It has enabled the Soviet Union to strengthen their forces and modernize them, facing our forces in Western Europe; to increase their level of threat to Communist China to something under 45 divisions east of the Ural Mountains, and left them with

a large residue of modern military equipment with which to answer the plaintive calls of Third World leaders, especially in the continent of Africa today.

A second aspect of this relentless growth in Soviet power is that it is balanced. Western defense critics frequently insist that what we are witnessing is a mindless feeding of a military constituency in the Soviet Union by a hierarchy that cannot control itself. Because it is mindless, it is therefore benign.

No assessment of the recent build-up of Soviet military power would suggest that it is benign or thoughtless, because what we have been witnessing is a very rational, a very systematic elimination of the anomalies in the Soviet force posture which have constricted and confined their global activities in the past and which have enabled us to exploit these deficiencies at great savings to the United States and the western world.

Well, I can tell you, in the intervening years since the Cuban missile crisis, the Soviet Union has dealt with central strategic nuclear power, regional nuclear power, and the conventional land, sea and air forces which threaten us globally today. And I for one, assessing the growth of Soviet central strategic nuclear power, believe that a new SALT II Treaty can only be negotiated by the next President of the United States, Governor Ronald Reagan. (Applause.)

And I also would suggest that as we assess relative balances between ourselves and the Soviet Union, we keep clearly in mind that this year for the first time in memory, the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the United States unanimously expressed their dissatisfaction with the Executive Branch budget for defense.

Now finally, this growth in Soviet power has changed the nature of the threat itself. Some years ago we as Americans could afford preoccupation with forced balances in the central region of NATO Europe which guarded the gateway to the heart of Europe.

Today, as Soviet power has grown, as Soviet mobility has been achieved, as the Soviet fleet has acquired a seven-seas capability, that threat has changed from continental and Eurasian to global in character. Therefore, rather than just a concern to military thinking, the Soviet threat has now become a threat to the very nexus of western vitality — political, economic and military. And clearly, the task ahead for this vital decade before us will be the management of global Soviet power.

You know, some years ago America, together with our allies in Europe, adopted a twin pillar policy — detente, on the one hand, efforts to improve East-West relations, and the maintenance of our necessary security policy on the other. And as I assess the success or failure of those twin pillared programs, as we have witnessed over the past years direct proxy intervention by the Soviet Union with Cuban proxies in Angola, Ethiopia, South Yemen, efforts to overturn the status quo in Northern Yemen, the creation two years ago of a puppet state in Afghanistan, upsetting 100 years of crypto neutrality, the overrunning of Cambodia by North Vietnamese proxies of the Soviet Union, and the recent

unprecedented direct intervention of Soviet forces again in Afghanistan, we must ask ourselves, have these twin pillars of policy and the way they have been applied in recent years served the American people and the interests of the free world? And my answer is a categoric no.

And so I remain convinced tonight that America must replace these twin pillars of policy with a new twin pillar policy involving reciprocity and strength.

Now the development and acceptance of such a new policy for the western world will require a new leadership in Washington. It will require a leadership that recognizes that the days of our sterile involvement in Southeast Asia are over, but a leadership that also recognizes that that post-Vietnam syndrome that left us mesmerized and pulverized must also be over.

I left my tour in Europe absolutely convinced that America remains the greatest nation on earth. It has been the receptable for generations who voted by their flight to leave societies where individual liberty and self-fulfillment were constrained by right of birth or governmental fiat. And it cannot and must not be considered immoral to pursue policies which seek to broaden and strengthen the vital interests of the American people. (Applause.)

Now, of course, America must be the vanguard of the search for social justice not only here at home but globally as well. But we cannot seek to create mirror images of the United States in every developing area throughout the world. And, you know, it neither serves the purpose of social justice nor the vital interests of America to pursue policies under the rubric of human rights which have the practical consequence of driving authoritarian regimes traditionally friendly to the West into totalitarian models where they will remain in a state of permanent animosity to the American people and our interests.

This is a new leadership that must recognize that America can no longer move in and out of global crisis situations and bring about outcomes that meet the collective interests of the free world. And I remind our friends in Europe that the days are gone when they could sit on the sidelines and alternately carp or support America alone for the burdens of their freedom.

Now, this is a new American leadership that must avoid viewing every setback on the international horizon as the direct consequence of Soviet duplicity. But I can assure you it is a leadership that cannot recoil from challenging blatant illegal Soviet intervention wherever it occurs.

It is a leadership which must have the wisdom and experience to recognize that the challenges facing America today represent an integral mosaic of political, economic and security failure, and that we will not solve our problems abroad until we solve our problems at home, and we will not solve our problems at home unless we attend to our problems abroad.

It means we need a President with a world view, with a strategic planning capability, so that we can operate from a framework that will enable us as a

nation to sort out with greater clarity those events on the strategic horizon that represent vital American interests from those that are best left to local solution.

I am convinced that only the Republican Party under the leadership of Ronald Reagan can provide that kind of leadership (applause) because I know we Republicans recognize clearly that together those nations of the free world today who share common values, those in Europe, those in the western hemisphere and in Asia as well, represent vastly superior political, economic and security assets, with which to manage successfully increasingly restive global Soviet power and to insist, as we are going to have to, that necessary and desirable historic changes occur within the confines of the accepted rules of international law and not by resorting to bloodshed, terrorism and wars of national liberation.

It was some 30 years ago that World War II leader Winston Churchill said, "This is the century of the common man." Unfortunately, the same century has witnessed more common men destroy more common men than any other five centuries in the history of mankind.

It is your task, fellow Republicans, and mine, to be sure we do not leave a more frightening legacy to our children. I thank you. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Ladies and gentlemen, every speech which is given to a convention is important. But the most important speech is the keynote. And we are about to hear the keynote address from a very distinguished member of the House of Representatives, one of the finest speakers I have ever known in my life, and I want the aisles to be as cleared as possible.

I would like very much to have all of the Delegates and the Alternates take their seats and to have our guests be in order as well. You are very welcome and we are happy to have you, but we do intend to have order during this next speech. If I have to order the aisles cleared, I will.

So, will the members of the media please retire until after the keynote speech has been delivered.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is now my great privilege to recognize one of the most able, capable and, yes, charismatic members of the House of Representatives — this gentleman is serving his first term. I have not known very many members of the House in my rather lengthy career who have made the impression, risen to the heights that this young man has accomplished during his first term in the Congress. He is the President of the Freshman Class and if you know anything about the dynamism of the members of the Congress who were elected in the 1978 election, you know that being President of that Freshman Class is somewhat akin to sitting on top of Mt. St. Helens. But, he has done this with grace, with effectiveness and I am very proud, indeed, to present for the purpose of an introduction, the Congressman from the great State of Arkansas, Ed Bethune.

INTRODUCTION OF THE HONORABLE GUY VANDER JAGT BY THE HONORABLE ED BETHUNE MEMBER OF CONGRESS, 2ND DISTRICT OF ARKANSAS

MR. BETHUNE. — Thank you, thank you. Mr. Chairman, my fellow Americans, tonight I am excited about introducing the keynote speaker because something good is happening in America, something that is long overdue.

There is a new force building in this country. I felt it in 1978 when I got very close to the good people of Arkansas in my race for Congress.

When I got to Washington I joined with other newly-elected Republican Congressmen to make up the Freshman Class: From California we got men like Congressman Bill Dannemeyer.

From Kentucky we got Congressman Larry Hopkins.

From the great State of Michigan we got Congressman Bob Davis.

And from Maine we got our beautiful Congresswoman Olympia Snowe.

From Pennsylvania we got Congressman Don Ritter, Congressman Charlie Dougherty.

From Mississippi we got Congressman Jon Hinson.

And from New Jersey we got Congressman Jim Courter.

I could go on and on but every one of our 39 new Congressmen told me that when they were campaigning they felt that same force building in this country.

And this year people in and out of government, politicians, businessmen, workers, farmers, homemakers, everyone — the young, the old — tells me that they feel the same force building in this country. Everyone can sense that something is happening in America.

And tonight we Republicans are full of optimism because we now know that that force is on our side.

As we enter the '80s, a ground swell is coming and it is coming from the grass roots and it can't be turned back. People want a change. People want to start acting like Americans again. (Applause.)

People want to build for the future on the solid foundations that made America great. They don't want more of the same. It is an American renaissance, that is what the new force is all about. It is a rebirth of the American character, that very special something that sets this country apart from all the nations of the world.

One writer put it this way, "France is a land and England is a people; but America is more. America," he said, "is a willingness of the heart." And that is what it is.

The American character is that drive, independence, optimism, determination, grit, gumption, all those qualities that are wrapped up in our trust in God.

THE HONORABLE GUY VANDER JAGT of Michigan
Keynote Speaker of the Convention

Tonight the Renaissance begins and it begins with the keynote that is more than a theme for this meeting, this is a keynote for the future and who better to give such an important address than a man who personifies our national character, a man of hope who treasures his heritage and loves his family, one who worked hard to get an education and make his way in the world. Who better to sound the keynote for our future than a man who truly understands America.

As a leader in Congress, Guy Vander Jagt has traveled to every state in this Union helping to elect almost half the members of the United States House of Representatives. He has crisscrossed this country from East to West, from North to South, and he has listened and he has learned, just as he learned when he studied for the ministry at Yale and practiced and preached three summers at a little Church just west of here; just as he learned when he studied law at the University of Michigan and practiced with honor in Grand Rapids.

Who better to start us on a new beginning than a man who loves his country and gives up so much to do his duty. Who better to call out to the American people than a man so eloquent and sincere that Americans everywhere will cling to and savor his every thought tonight.

My fellow Delegates, I ask you, do you want to hear from such a man? (A chorus of ayes.)

With one voice, do you want to hear from such a man? (A chorus of ayes.)

Do you believe there is hope? (A chorus of ayes.)

Do you want a new beginning? (A chorus of ayes.)

Do you want to hear a keynote for the future? (A chorus of ayes.)

Are you ready for the keynote speaker? (A chorus of ayes.)

Ladies and gentlemen, it is my honor to present my colleague in the Congress from this beautiful and friendly State of Michigan, the keynote speaker, the Honorable Guy Vander Jagt. (Applause and standing ovation.)

KEYNOTE ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE GUY VANDER JAGT MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM MICHIGAN CHAIRMAN, NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE

MR. VANDER JAGT. — Thank you very much. Thank you. Wow, you sure know how to make a fellow feel like giving a speech. Thank you very, very much for that welcome. And thank you, Congressman Ed Bethune, for a marvelous introduction.

Last night I was here all dressed up in my brand new suit waiting to speak to you, and I waited and waited, and waited, and around midnight, when I peeked around the stage and looked at you, I decided you looked more like you wanted to go home and go to sleep than hear another speech. But I hope you are ready for one now.

Coming to the delivery room without delivering anything last night was not without reward. It is the great privilege and pleasure of the wives of scheduled speakers to be seated in the box with the next First Lady of the United States of America, the beautiful and lovely, and warm, and wonderful Nancy Reagan. That was the privilege and pleasure of my own lovely wife, Carol, last night and tonight she is here in an honored spot on the platform. So we get two rewards and I only have to deliver one speech. And whether it is Monday, Tuesday, or Wednesday, I think I have to be the luckiest guy in America to be able to have this opportunity to try to give expression to your hopes and dreams for America as we launch this campaign.

We want to make America great again and we know that under the leadership of Ronald Reagan and a new Congress, America can be great again. The American people know that, too. The only malaise is in the leadership in Washington, not in our people, and that is good because that is the source of America's greatness and it always has been, and always will be.

Years ago the French were so intrigued by our greatness, they sent a writer over here to answer one question. What is it that makes America great? He studied and wrote a book and answered the question when he said, "I searched for America's greatness in her matchless Constitution, and it was not there. I searched for America's greatness in her halls of Congress, and it was not there. I searched for America's greatness in her rich and fertile fields, and teaming industrial potential, and it was not there. It was not," he wrote, "until I went into the heartland of America and into her churches and met the American people that I discovered what it is that makes America great. America is great," he said, "because America is good and if America ever ceases to be good, America will cease to be great." Because the American people have never ceased being good, America can be great again.

I am a lucky guy for another reason tonight, because except for the waiting, I have about the easiest job in America. To appreciate just how easy my job is, think for just a moment of how hard is the job of my counterpart, Mo Udall, who has to keynote the Democratic National Convention. Poor old Mo has to try to make Jimmy Carter look good. Now that is not a hard job. That is an impossibility.

It is my easy task and great privilege to speak to you tonight about a man whose leadership America so desperately needs, our great candidate, Ronald Reagan. Ronald Reagan comes to this convention a winner, a winner over the finest field of presidential candidates that any party ever assembled and we are proud of all of them.

But Ronald Reagan's victory is a victory of the people, and by the people and for the people. From the ranks of the people he comes and for the people he speaks, oh so eloquently.

When Ronald Reagan started the campaign he did not have the support of the country clubs, the board rooms, the media, the Washington establishment

or the Republican establishment. The only thing Ronald Reagan had was the support and loyalty and love of the people. He had that, and an unmatched ability to feel, and to express the hopes of the people for themselves and for America, and so the people responded to Ronald Reagan. With their hearts, and their minds, and their votes they responded.

And so from all over America we have come here to Detroit this week to select Ronald Reagan our standard-bearer. We will go forth from Detroit to elect Ronald Reagan our President.

Just as Ronald Reagan has brought unprecedented unity to the Republican Party, Ronald Reagan can bring America together for a new beginning. It is our historic opportunity as a united party to be the chosen instrument by which, and through which the American people reach out to change the direction we are traveling to restore the American dream, to make America work again, to make America great again.

It is so fitting that we gather here in Detroit for Ronald Reagan to launch the crusade for a new beginning and a new greatness for America. Here in Detroit, where the stilled assembly lines, the closed factories, and the jobless workers proclaim the bankruptcy of Jimmy Carter and his policies, we feel the anguish of our people — that unemployed auto worker who has to try to explain to his little daughter why the long-promised birthday bicycle is not there because, "Daddy doesn't have a job anymore."

The bad news is that things didn't have to get this way. The good news is that under Ronald Reagan, things won't stay that way. The tragic news is that all of this was deliberately brought about by the Carter Administration, really on purpose. They increased interest rates on purpose, they tightened credit, and on purpose last fall the Carter Congress adopted the Carter budget of despair which their chairman said was deliberately designed to slow the economy down. "Slow the economy down" means "put people out of work." They projected it and they succeeded — 889,000 added to the unemployment rolls in May alone. That is the biggest monthly jump in history, including the depths of the Great Depression.

The pathetic answer of Jimmy Carter to this heartache is more of the same. They reject our Republican call for a tax cut to stimulate the economy as irresponsible. I say it is the height of irresponsibility to deny a desperately needed, long-overdue, tax stimulus to a sagging economy right now. I say that it is the height of irresponsibility and callousness to deliberately plunge one million more fathers into the heartache of saying, "Daddy doesn't have a job anymore."

Carter says that in this crisis people have to sacrifice and make do with less while government grows and grows — $87 million more next year alone. Republicans say, "Oh, no, no, it is the other way around." In this crisis government ought to sacrifice and make do with less so that people can grow and work and produce again.

Our system is sound and great because it is founded where all greatness has to begin — upon a faith in God. That is the bedrock and everything springs from that. That faith is enunciated at the very beginning of the Declaration of Independence, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights . . .". That is the source of our rights as Americans, not the government, but God. All the rest of it was set up to preserve and protect the rights that God gave us when he created us in his own image.

Because our founding fathers believed that, they put our government under a Constitution, to give limits to government and unlimited opportunity to people. They put a Bill of Rights in that Constitution, not to guarantee what government must do for us, but to guarantee what government could never do to us, could never take away from us.

Democrats understood that. Woodrow Wilson said, "The history of liberty is the history of the limitation of government, not the increase of it." There are millions of good Democrats in America who agree with Woodrow Wilson and Ronald Reagan that only by limiting government can we increase liberty, opportunity and productivity. But the Washington establishment, big government Democrats, long separated from their own heritage and their own people, insist on making government ever bigger and stronger, and people become smaller and weaker.

Like a great athlete who has neglected and abused and punished his own inner strength for too long, America has toppled from the top of the heap to the bottom of the heap in terms of increased productivity. It is time that we concentrated again on the inner strength that made America great in the first place. It is time that we paid just as much attention to reward and incentive to the people who do work as we do with welfare for the people who do not work. That is the way to get America working again.

We need to carry that message to every hamlet and, like that first Paul Revere, make our message, "Wake up America, wake up Americans, this is your chance, this is your opportunity for a new beginning." Those early Americans responded to Paul Revere's message. They roused themselves from their slumber, rubbed their sleepy eyes, rolled up their sleeves, reached for their muskets and they raced to the battlefields. It was the longing for economic freedom that got them up out of bed. They felt a big government was smothering ther flourishing enterprises. Tom Jefferson put it this way in the Declaration: "He, the king (the government) has established multitudes of new offices and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people (through too much regulation) and to eat of our sustenance (through too much taxation).

Then, as now, they felt over-regulated, over-interfered with, and over-taxed. And now as then, it is time for a new uprising, a new beginning, a new direction under new leadership.

But the hour is late, for by ever increasing government the Democrats have brought America to the point where one of every six Americans works for

government, one of every three Americans is dependent upon the government. The lines have crossed and now, for the first time, more Americans live off the check from out of the government than work and pay taxes into it. One-third of all the land in America is owned by the government. In spite of the rhetoric, this Democratic Congress continues to spend money like drunken sailors.

Last month out in San Diego a couple of drunken sailors overheard me make that statement. They almost strung me up from the nearest lamp post. Drunken sailors think it's an insult to be compared to the Democrat Congress. You know, you really can't blame them because there's an awful big difference. At least drunken sailors spend their own money. You know whose money the Democratic Congress is spending.

In fact, they have been spending money they don't have for so long that inflation is rampant, and if Carter's inflation of the first quarter continued unabated, by the time some of today's babies are finishing their education, the bill for a cheeseburger, a milkshake and french fries at the Big Boy would come to $355. And if you think that's bad, by the time they are ready for three-bedroom dream house in the suburbs, the price would be over $7 million and steak at the supermarket $1,093 a pound.

Obviously, we can't continue down this Carter pathway much longer; obviously it's time for a change, but it will be difficult because we are bearing the burden of the excesses of Democratic Congresses past. Every penny that you paid in income tax this year, together with two-thirds of the American people — all of it, all put together — will do absolutely nothing this year except pay this year's interest on our national debt, eighty percent of which has been piled up since the Democrats last seized exclusive control of the national cash register twenty-five years ago.

The Democrats can't break out of that spending and taxing cycle, because the Washington establishment big Democrats believe that America is great because of all the good things that government does for people. Republicans — all Republicans together — believe just exactly the opposite. We believe that America is great, not because of what government does for people, but because of what in America a free people can do for themselves and for their country.

That's what America is all about, that's what Republicanism is all about, and that's what the November 4th election is all about, but we've got to change the direction we are traveling because now we're on a *Titanic* course. When that big ship sailed on its maiden voyage, it was considered the finest, the most modern, the safest ship ever built. But even more amazing than the amazing fact that the unsinkable ship sank, is that in spite of hours and hours of repeated and received radio messages that, "There is ice in your cruise lane; there is danger if you don't change direction," when the big ship did smack into the iceberg, it was traveling full speed straight ahead. The bands were playing, the people dancing and most of them sound asleep in the cabins below.

We need Paul Reveres to awaken people as to how we can change the direction in which America is traveling. Right now they don't know how and they are sleeping through elections. Two out of three who could vote didn't vote in the last Congressional elections, and they will tell you that they didn't because it doesn't make any difference; that six times in twenty-five years they have changed Presidents, and nothing changed in what came out of Washington. There is an element of truth in that because not once in those twenty-five years did we ever change the Congress. Which person sits in the White House is no more important than which party and philosophy runs the Congress in setting the economic rudder of this nation. No President ever spent a penny that Congress hadn't appropriated, or collected a tax not levied by the Congress, or promulgated a regulation not authorized by the Congress, and for twenty-five years in a row that Congress has been Democratic. If we want a change, there's only one way to get it, and that's to change the Congress from Democratic to Republican control.

You know, if we want the weight of government off our back, and the hands of government out of our pocketbook, we can't do that by putting the same team in charge that put government there in the first place. The only way to do it is to get ourselves a new team, and the only way to do that is vote Republican for a change.

A new Republican Congress under the leadership of Ronald Reagan can brush aside forever President Carter's admonition that we must limit our dreams and we must hunker down and adjust to a no-growth economic policy. It is true that Carter has made a nightmare of the American dream. People say, "Oh, but he's such a nice man. He has such good intentions and tries so hard." But Proverbs tells us that the road to hell is paved with good intentions.

Four years ago Carter ran for office running against high taxes, high inflation and high unemployment. He's missed the ball on all three. Taxes — they've gone up under Carter in three years more than any three-year period in the history of the Republic. That's strike one. Inflation — Carter has doubled it and tripled it since he's been in office. That's strike two. Unemployment — we're adding to the rolls faster than ever in history and that's strike three.

Any baseball umpire will tell the batter, "Three strikes and you're out and it's back to the dugout for you." On November 4 we'll have the chance to tell Jimmy Carter, "It's three strikes and you're out and its back to Plains, Georgia for you."

But I didn't come here tonight to tell you how bad Jimmy Carter is. You know that, the American people feel it, there is no need to dwell on it. I am here tonight to tell you how good America can be again. The most exciting thing to hit Washington in many a moon is the enthusiasm of the Republican freshman class in Congress, personified by the wonderful Ed Bethune who introduced me. These guys and gals are brimming over with ideas and solutions, they're ready to act, they're ready to govern. There is only one thing they need, and that is

reinforcements from the Congressional elections this fall to swell their ranks and give them a majority.

With Ronald Reagan they do not believe that the best is behind us; they believe that the best is yet to come and they're ready to make it happen for America and our people. They believe about America and our future the way it was described in this poem that once summed up for me how I felt about coming home to America after a long visit to Europe.

'Tis great to see the old world and
wander up and down
Among historic palaces and
the cities of reknown
And admire crumbly castles
and the statues of the kings,
But now I think I've had enough
of antiquated things.

So now it's home again and home again —
America for me.
My heart is turning home again and
there I long to be,
In the land of youth and freedom
beyond the ocean bars
Where the air is full of sunlight and
that flag is full of stars.

Oh London, it's a man's town,
there's power in the air.
And Paris, it's a woman's town
with flowers in her hair.
And it's sweet to dream in Venice and
it's great to study in Rome,
But when it comes to living
there is no place like home.

I know that Europe's wonderful,
yet something seems to lack,
The past is too much with her,
the people looking back,
But the glory of the present
is to set the future free.
We love our land for what she is and
what she is to be.

So it's home again and home again —
America for me.
I want a ship that's westward bound
to plow that rolling sea,
To the blessed land of room enough

beyond the ocean bars
Where the air is full of sunlight and
that flag is full of stars.

The reason that Ronald Reagan wants to revive the old fundamental values of America is not because of the glory of the past, but because of that glory that is yet to be, the dreams that are yet to come true.

Sixty-six years ago this month, my father stood on the docks of Hoboken. He stood there in clothes that were patched and tattered, but they were the very best that he had because he had just immigrated here from the Netherlands. No man has ever been poorer in material possessions or richer in dreams than that little fourteen-year-old Cutch lad standing there in wooden shoes on the docks of Hoboken. He was dreaming some mighty big dreams. He dreamed that if he worked long and hard and saved he might one day own his own transportation. He dreamed that if he really worked hard, he might one day own his own home. And into that home children would be born, and maybe those children might receive what no member of the Vander Jagt family had ever received back in the old country — a high school diploma. Wouldn't that be something! And maybe, just maybe, one of those children might go on to a university and receive a college degree. Can you imagine that?

Now his dreams stopped there. Maybe his children's children might go on beyond and be doctors or lawyers, or something wonderful like that, but that would be too far to go all the way from the docks of Hoboken in just one generation. If anybody had come up to him and told him that Harry Vander Jagt's son would one day serve in the Congress of the United States and stand here tonight delivering the keynote of a great convention of a great party, launching a great and historic campaign, he would have thought that man was plumb out of his mind. That was an utterly impossible dream, even in America!

But you know the rest of the story. His dreams, like the dreams of millions of immigrants, came true beyond their wildest expectations. As they climbed the ladder of opportunity, building better lives for themselves, working for everything they got, but in America having the chance to keep what they had worked for. As they built better lives for themselves and their families, in the process they built a better America for all.

The dreams of our young people aren't very much different today. They want a car with gas cheap enough and plentiful enough that they can drive it. They want their own home. They want a good education for their kids. And they want America to be strong enough and secure enough and steady enough to maintain peace and freedom in the world so that tomorrow can be better for their kids even than America is for them today. *That's the American dream.*

In order to maintain that, we have to grow and progress, and I think we have to adopt John Connally's suggestion and make sure that this year GOP stands not only for Grand Old Party, but to get the message out that the heart

and guts of our Republican platform spells GOP: Growth, Opportunity, and Progress for people.

We can have that in America again if we have faith in God and the blessed system that flows from it, faith in America and our future. We can, if we believe we can. As I look out at this arena, an arena that is named for an Alabama sharecropper who came here to Detroit with only the clothes on his back and a dream in his heart and made us all proud as he made his dream come true. As I look out a Joe Louis Arena, I see a wonderful audience of Republicans. You have been a wonderful audience, and from the bottom of my heart, I thank you. I love you all! But when I look out into those television cameras, I see a different audience — an audience not of Republicans or Democrats, of black or white, rich or poor, young or old, male or female. I see an audience of Americans, each one with their very own dream. Those two words — American and Republican — have a great deal in common, especially this year. The most obvious thing they have in common is that the last four letters of each word are exactly the same. Republican ends in "I can." American ends in "I can." There are no two words that have better described our American spirit than "We can." Whenever duty said to Americans, "You must," Americans responded with, "If we must, we can and we will!" — and we did.

Today, no matter now big the stumbling blocks, we can make them even bigger stepping stones into a brigher tomorrow. Let us heed the advice of Ralph Waldo Emerson when he wrote: "So nigh is grandeur to the dust. So near is God to man. When duty whispers low, thou must, Americans answer: We can."

If we Republicans can get that message into every hamlet, people will respond again and once more rouse themselves from their slumber, rub their sleepy eyes, roll up their sleeves and reach not for a musket, but for a ballot and race not to the battlefield, but to the voting booth to change America, the direction we need to go.

Longfellow promised us that would happen. I'm sure you all remember how he began that poem about Paul Revere: "Listen my children and you shall hear of the midnight ride of Paul Revere."

The important thing for today is the promise he made in the last four lines:

> Through all our history to the very last
> in the hour of darkness and peril and need,
> The people *will waken* and listen to hear
> The hurrying hoofbeats of that steed
> and the midnight message of Paul Revere.

Our message for 1980 is: Wake up America, wake up and under the leadership of Ronald Reagan and a Republican Congress together, we can make a new begining, we can have a new birth of freedom and opportunity. Together, we can build a great, richer, freer America than ever before, an America where dreams can come true.

(Mr. Vander Jagt's speech was interrupted many times with applause. At the conclusion, the assembly rose and cheered and applauded.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Guy Vander Jagt, you were worth waiting for. I think every person in this hall would agree with me that you have just heard the finest address given to a Republican Convention probably ever. (Applause.)

I never heard a better one.

It will be necessary for the Chair once again to admonish the members of the media and the Delegates that the business of the convention is still not over, not even half over, and it will be expedited if we can keep the aisles reasonably clear so that people who need to get through the aisles can do so.

I understand requirements of the media to check whatever news may be going around the floor. I also understand the need for the Delegates and the Alternates who spent their own money to come here to be able to see and hear and act.

So will you please, will you please clear the aisles just as rapidly as you possibly can?

Now it is my great privilege to recognize one of the truly great senior members — he isn't as senior as I am, but he is pretty senior — of the House of Representatives from the great State of New York. He is being called up for the purpose of making an introduction. But I think you should all know that this gentleman, when there is a Republican Congress, will be the chairman of the vital Ways and Means Committee. So you are not going to hear from an ordinary garden variety member of Congress by any manner or means when you listen to the Honorable Barber Conable, Jr., the Congressman from the great State of New York. (Applause.)

INTRODUCTION OF THE HONORABLE GEORGE BUSH BY THE HONORABLE BARBER CONABLE, JR. MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK

MR. CONABLE. — Mr. Chairman, fellow Delegates, the Republican I am presenting to this distinguished convention tonight has rendered service of great value to the Party and the nation for many years.

Leaving a most successful business career, he was a most active and popular member of the House of Representatives. Then each time heeding the call of duty to a different division, he served in succession as our Ambassador to the United Nations, Chairman of the Republican National Committee, Envoy to Mainland China, and Director of the Central Intelligence Agency.

His performance in each of these roles was exemplary and added to his circle of friends and admirers.

Coming to recent years, this man, during the past two years, has proved in state after state his ability to attract a wide range of support and enthusiasm to the Republican cause. Drawing on his experience, his wide circle of supporters

and friends, and his attractive public image, he demonstrated what a strong present political asset he is for our Party.

But looking ahead, those who know him see him as a growing future asset to America, speaking out in years to come for the principles which have gathered us at this critical moment in Detroit.

Yes, the past, the present and the future have all combined in this man's public personality. He has a lively intellect, a strong character; a fine person. I am proud to present him to you now, the Honorable George Bush. (Applause and cheers and standing ovation.)

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE GEORGE BUSH FORMER AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED NATIONS

AMBASSADOR BUSH. — Thank you. Thank you very, very much.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Ladies and gentlemen, George Bush tells me he wants to talk, and if you sit down, he can. If you quit making noise with those whistles, he can. But if you keep up what you are doing, we are going to once again pull the old Republican trick of running out of prime time. So will you please be quiet and let my good friend George give you his wisdom? Please.

AMBASSADOR BUSH. — Ladies and gentlemen, thank you very much.

Come on, sit down.

Thank you very much. Thank you. Thank you, ladies and gentlemen.

Sit down.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, and my fellow Republicans and fellow Americans. Thank you.

Thank you very much. Please, downward. Thank you very, very much.

My time is about up. Thank you, ladies and gentlemen.

Ladies and gentlemen, thank you. Thank you very, very much.

We have got lots of business — John, do you want to do this? You do it. You are the boss.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Ladies and gentlemen, may I one more time appeal to you to please be seated and please cease the noise so that we can hear from a very, very distinguished Republican, the Honorable George Bush. (Applause and cheers.)

AMBASSADOR BUSH. — Thank you very much. Thank you, John Rhodes. We have indeed some very important business on our convention agenda tonight, for here in this arena, named after one of the legendary American winners of the past, Joe Louis, we are going to nominate a winner for our country and our Party in the decade of the eighties.

We Republicans want a winner to lead our Party to victory in the fall. The American people, regardless of the party, want a winner in the White House

after four years of Jimmy Carter's fumbling, incompetent leadership. We have such a winner and his name is Ronald Reagan. (Applause and cheers.)

As a matter of fact, if anyone wants to know why Ronald Reagan is a winner, you can refer him to me. I am an expert on the subject.

He is a winner because he is a leader, because he has traveled the country and understands its people. His message is clear. His message is understood. And besides, his victory was forged on an anvil of tough, clean, honorable participation in our political process. (Applause and cheers.)

Since this victory convention opened, we have heard from President Ford and an impressive array of Party leaders. Individually and together they made an overwhelming case, a case against the dismal record of the Carter Administration and a case against a record of broken promises.

Here they are — nearly 500 pages of Jimmy Carter's 1976 promises to the American people. And they are absolutely meaningless, totally meaningless. (Applause and cheers.)

But the Carter era of broken promises and unfulfilled commitments is drawing to a close, and the Reagan era of an America true to its promise of peace and prosperity is beginning.

And our purpose isn't, and must not be, to tear down Jimmy Carter. It is to offer hope and direction to all of our countrymen. And we can do this by reaching out to all Americans. We can do it by caring about people. And we can do it by emphasizing our belief in individual freedom.

Under the leadership of Ronald Reagan, the strength of the American dollar is going to be restored, both here and abroad. The crushing burden of Federal bureaucracy and the excesses of regulation will be lifted from the back of America's free economy.

Under the leadership of Ronald Reagan, that free economy is going to find government its ally, not its adversary, in the fight to curb inflation and to get jobs for American workers. Jobs, jobs, jobs, that is what is needed.

And under the leadership of Ronald Reagan, Americans overseas will once again be able to count on their government to protect their safety so that no American will ever be held hostage by foreign fanatics. (Applause.)

And under a Reagan presidency, a policy of peace through strength will assure that no power on earth, be it great or small, will miscalculate the resolve of the American people and it leaders. And that means that we must build a foreign policy based on keeping our word of honor.

And that means we must strengthen the intelligence services of this country. (Applause and cheers.)

And that means that we must stop apologizing for the United States around the world. (Applause and cheers.)

Under the leadership of Ronald Reagan, 1980 and the years ahead will see a new, winning coalition created on the American political scene — a coalition of all Americans from all religions, from all groups and ages and every race and heritage.

Our Party and our nominee will reach out to the poor, to the minorities, to the handicapped and say, "We will give you hope and opportunity."

My fellow Republicans, from its earliest days, ours has been the party of individualism, fierce independence. There are few, if any, Republican gatherings, at any level, without their differences of opinion, and we have seen that spirit of independent thought reflected at this convention.

But let our opposition take no comfort from that great Republican tradition. For in this of all years we Republicans are unified, as never before, on the single overriding issue of the coming campaign — America cannot afford four more years of Jimmy Carter in the White House. (Applause and cheers.)

The fundamental issues which unify us are far greater than any differences that we may have. And so let us then, united in spirit and purpose, go forward from this Convention City to make 1980 a year of victory, not only for our Party but for our nation and for freedom-loving people everywhere.

Now, here is this great Joe Louis Arena, named after a great champion, on to the main event; what this convention and all America has been waiting for — the nomination of the 40th President of the United States, a true champion, a true champion of freedom, Ronald Reagan.

Thank you all very, very, very much. Thank you. (Applause and cheers and standing ovation.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Ladies and gentlemen, there is no doubt but what George Bush is one of the classiest members of the Republican Party. What a great guy.

And now I am sure George Bush joins me in asking you, if you will, to please be seated so that we may proceed with the business of this convention.

We will very shortly, very shortly, be calling the roll of the states for the purpose of nominating a President of the United States.

Before we do that, we have one other job to perform, and we expect that that will not take too long.

Again I would like very much, if I may, to have the attention of the people who are in the aisles and ask that they clear the aisles as rapidly as possible. Will the Delegates please be seated. The Alternates and our guests will please be seated. And, of course, the media, we understand your business — not as well as you do, but we do understand it. But we hope that you will also understand the necessity for the Chair to be in constant contact with the Delegates and the Alternates so that the business of the convention may proceed in an orderly manner.

May we please have a little less population in the aisles and more population in the seats?

Ladies and gentlemen, once again this 1980 convention proudly welcomes the next First Lady of the United States, Mrs. Ronald Reagan. (Applause and cheers and standing ovation.)

I think Mrs. Reagan has the notion that she is very, very welcome in this hall indeed.

SPECIAL PRESENTATION

The Chair now recognizes the distinguished senior Senator from the State of Kansas for the purpose of making a presentation. This outstanding American has provided exceptional leadership to both our nation and our Party. He is a decorated veteran, a former member of the Kansas Legislature, my former esteemed colleague in the House of Representatives, a former Chairman of the Republican National Committee, our 1976 Vice Presidential nominee, and a two-term member of the United States Senate, and I think most importantly, when we have that Republican Senate, the man who will be the Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, because he will be overwhelmingly reelected to his third term this November. Ladies and gentlemen, it is my pleasure to give you the Honorable Robert Dole. (Applause.)

SENATOR DOLE. — Mr. Chairman, let me say at the outset that four years have passed since I stood on this platform and said to the American people that I believed we needed to continue the leadership of Gerry Ford. We made that effort. We made up almost 30 points in a period of nine weeks. But we failed by a small margin.

I would like to speak tonight about duty, duty to our country. Those who come here tonight, those who work in our Party, those who care about America, those who served in the past, recognize that there comes a time in every man's life and every woman's life when we are called upon to go the extra mile, when we are called upon to rally around our Party and rally around our nation.

On Monday night I heard one of the greatest speeches I have ever had the privilege of listening to when President Gerald Ford addressed this audience and he said to those assembled, "It is good to be home in Michigan."

President Ford also said, "Some call me an elder statesman. I don't know. I don't mind telling you that I am not ready to quit yet. I have got news for this convention and Jimmy Carter. This Republican is going to do everything in his power to elect our nominee to the Presidency of the United States."

And I say to everyone, this is our obligation. This is a time for the Republican Party to come together. This is a time for leadership.

Oh, it has been a time to talk about the past. It has been a time to talk about Carter and to criticize his Administration. But I say to those who may be listening, we are a great Party. We must demonstrate our capacity to govern.

We must concern ourselves with the problems of the American people — be they young, be they old, be they black, be they white, be they handicapped. We ar the Party of the people.

And I would say also that as we go about our business and as we prepare for victory with Governor Reagan in November, it will be our obligation to work and work and work. And all those who come to this convention and all those who worked in the vineyard for any of the candidates over the past several months, the task will not be easy.

And I would finally say this: If you believe in America, if you believe our country is in distress, if you believe we can turn America around, and if you believe we can save this nation as Abraham Lincoln did over a hundred years ago, then whoever we may be, whatever our position may be, whatever our status in America, we have an obligation to serve America.

And so I say to this convention, let's get on with the business. Let's get on with the business of electing Republicans at local and state and Federal levels. Let's get on with the business of being the positive force for good in American politics. And let's get on with the business because we believe in America and we believe in freedom and we believe our leaders will respond when they know the American people are with us.

And speaking of duty, it is now my honor and my privilege to participate in honoring one of the great figures in the history of our Republican Party. He is a man who has given almost half a century of service to a party he has loved, nurtured and guided. He has served in various roles, from errand boy in a 1931 mayoral race to chairman of the Republican National Committee. The man we are honoring tonight is a son of the great State of Ohio, but he belongs to Republicans everywhere. It was in Ohio that he first made his mark. He took a disspirited, defeated Ohio party and restored it to its premiere position in the state. He was noticed as a man to reckon with.

When in 1965 he became chairman of the Republican National Committee, he faced an equally difficult challenge. He performed brilliantly. By 1968, our Party held 31 Governorships instead of 17; 43 Senators instead of 32; and 192 House members instead of 140. And under his tenure we controlled 20 state legislatures instead of 7.

It has been said of tonight's special guest that he was a man who made our party a party again. He almost singlehandedly rescued and rebuilt our organizational structure by putting together the Republican Coordinating Committee, and he was a tireless worker, always willing to put his entire heart into making Republicans a potent force in American politics.

He is a man who could innovate. He founded the State Chairmen's Association which has strengthened communication among our state committees and has fostered friendship and fellowship that transcend the purely political.

The individual we honor tonight has been called with admiration, but rather unfairly, a nuts-and-bolts man. That is too simplistic. What he really is is a master builder, an architect of the possible. Each of us in this arena owes him a great debt, for truly we have built on his foundation. We can do no less than honor this political figure.

Thus, I am honored to present this solid gold medal to a great Republican and a great American, Chairman Ray Bliss. (Applause.)

And accompanying Ray Bliss are our former National Chairmen, Mary Louise Smith, Dean Burch, George Bush and Bill Brock.

REMARKS BY RAY BLISS, FORMER CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

MR. BLISS. — Thank you very, very much. Thank you. Thank you very much.

If I may say a word, please. I heard the reference to the successes during my tenure as National Chairman, and I want to make it perfectly clear that no Chairman succeeds in his own right. You succeed in party politics because thousands and thousands of dedicated workers such as yourself go out and do the job.

And all I ask of you and those on the air tonight who believe as I do that we need a new President is to redouble your efforts as you did while I was Chairman, and I am sure we will have a tremendous victory in November. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Ladies and gentlemen, we are about to enter the process for which we all came. And it is so important that we have order during this process that with extreme reluctance I am now ordering the Sergeant at Arms to clear the aisles and keep them cleared during the roll call of the states.

CALL OF THE ROLL OF STATES

Now the Chair must make a statement, and I would like to have your attention because I will spell out the ground rules under which we will be operating during the time of the roll call and the nomination.

The Chair reminds the Delegates of the provisions of Rule 16. Rule 16 requires that before a name may be placed in nomination, such person must, and I quote, "demonstrate majority support from each of five state delegations." That is the end of the quote.

Therefore, when the Secretary calls the roll of the states, in order to determine which ones wish to place a name in nomination, we shall after, the roll has been called, ask the chairman of each delegation indicating its desire to make a nomination to state that his or her delegation will cast a majority of its votes for the candidate it will nominate.

THE HONORABLE RAY C. BLISS of Ohio
Former Chairman of The Republican National Committee

If the chairman's answer is in the affirmative, I will then ask the chairman to identify the other four state delegations which are prepared to support the candidate for nomination with a majority of their votes.

If those states support the statement of the chairman of the delegation preparing to make a nomination, such name may properly under Rule 16 be placed in nomination.

Following the completion of this call, the Chair will recognize those states which indicated an intention to place a name in nomination. Under Rule 16, the total time for nominating speeches and seconding speeches for any candidate for President shall not exceed 15 minutes.

When the names of the candidates have been placed in nomination, the Chair will ask the Secretary to call the roll of states for the purpose of voting. Again, under Rule 16, once the Secretary has begun to call the roll of states, it cannot be dispensed with for any reason. Therefore, all states will be called. If any state desires to pass, that state may of course do so. At the conclusion of the first call of the Secretary, the Secretary will proceed to call the names of those states which passed on the first call. No delegation will be recognized to change its vote until all delegations which passed have been given a second opportunity to vote. This is required by Rule 18(b).

Finally, the Chair wishes the Delegates to be aware of Rule 17 which states, and I quote, "When it appears at the close of the roll call that any candidate for the nomination for President or Vice President has received a majority of the votes entitled to be cast in the Convention, the chairman of the convention shall announce the question to be: Shall the nomination of the candidate be made unanimous?"

Now if the Delegates will please take their seats. And again we must have the aisles cleared and the Sergeant at Arms is instructed to clear the aisles of all persons, whether Delegates or media. We are ready to begin the very important business of nominating the next President of the United States.

Before I ask the Secretary to call the roll of the states, the Chair has an important announcement to make. It has been the custom at past conventions to permit the Chair to recognize non-delegates for the purpose of making nominating and seconding speeches for candidates. Now I ask you, is there objection to that procedure at this convention?

The Chair hears none and it is so ordered.

The states that desire to place a name in nomination will indicate their intentions when the name of the state is called. The Secretary will proceed with the call of the roll of the states, and the Chair recognizes the Secretary of the Convention, Aris T. Allen of the State of Maryland, who will call the roll of the states.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION (Dr. Aris T. Allen of Maryland). — Alabama.

GUY HUNT of Alabama. — Mr. Secretary, the great State of Alabama, being moved by the plight of the hostages to now wear yellow ribbons to remind us all that they have been hostages 255 days too long, yields to the great State of Nevada for the purpose of making a nomination.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Alaska.

MARILYN J. GUY of Alaska. — Yield.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Arizona.

THOMAS J. PAPPAS of Arizona. — Arizona passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Arkansas.

HARLAN "BO" HOLLEMAN of Arkansas. — Mr. Chairman, Arkansas passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — California.

R. D. "BOB" NESEN of California. — California passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Colorado.

HOLLY COORS of Colorado. — Colorado passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Connecticut.

MALCOLM BALDRIGE of Connecticut. — Connecticut passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Delaware.

PIERRE DUPONT IV of Delaware. — Delaware passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — District of Columbia.

ARTHUR A. FLETCHER of the District of Columbia. — The District of Columbia passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Florida.

L. E. "TOMMY" THOMAS of Florida. — Florida passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Georgia.

T. E. STIVERS of Georgia. — Georgia passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Guam.

PEDRO DIAZ PEREZ of Guam. — The American territory of Guam passes.

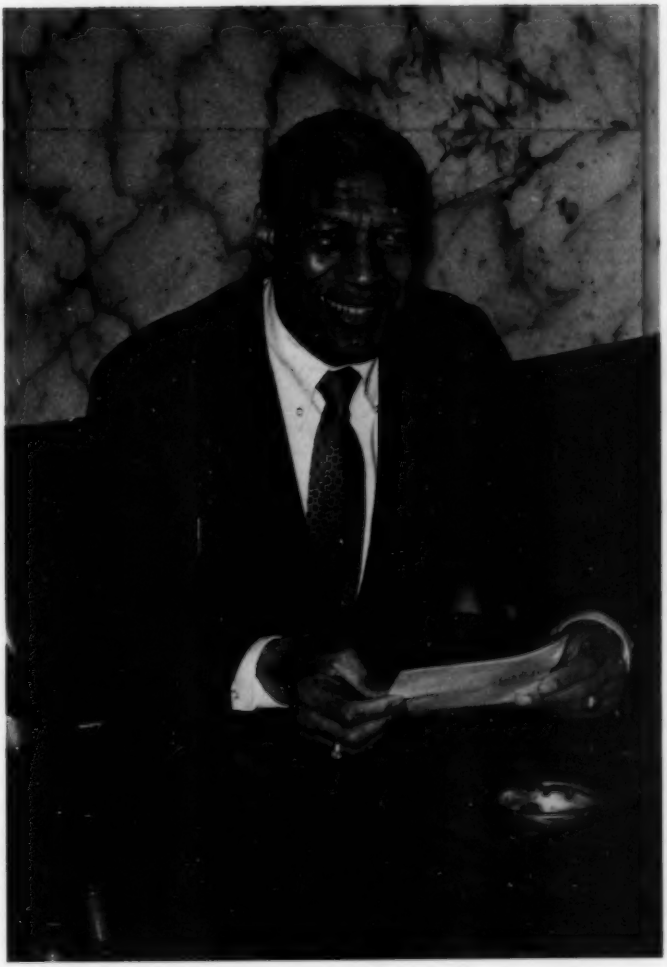
THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Hawaii.

HANNIBAL TAVARES of Hawaii. — Mr. Chairman, Hawaii passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Idaho.

JAMES A. MCCLURE of Idaho. — Idaho passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Illinois.



ARIS T. ALLEN of Maryland
Secretary of the Convention

JAMES R. THOMPSON of Illinois. — Mr. Chairman, Illinois, the birthplace of the next President of the United States, passes, but very reluctantly, because we would like to have the honor.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Indiana.

BRUCE B. MELCHERT of Indiana. — Indiana passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Iowa.

ROBERT D. RAY of Iowa. — Iowa passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Kansas.

D. S. "PETE" MCGILL of Kansas. — Kansas passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Kentucky.

M. GENE SNYDER of Kentucky. — Kentucky, the home of the NCAA champs, passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Louisiana.

JOHN CADE, JR. — Louisiana, the home of the Cajuns, lacking anything clever to say, passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Maine.

HATTIE BICKMORE of Maine. — Mr. Chairman, Maine, the Pine Tree State, passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — The great Free State of Maryland.

ROBERT E. BAUMAN of Maryland. — Mr. Chairman, the Free State of Maryland passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Massachusetts.

SILVIO C. CONTE of Massachusetts. — Mr. Chairman, the great Commonwealth of Massachusetts passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Michigan.

WILLIAM G. MILLIKEN of Michigan. — Mr. Chairman, Michigan passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Minnesota.

ALBERT H. QUIE of Minnesota. — Minnesota, Mr. Secretary, yields to Nevada.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Mississippi.

TRENT LOTT of Mississippi. — Mr. Chairman, Mississippi passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Missouri.

GLEN BROGDEN of Missouri. — Mr. Chairman, Missouri, the Gateway to the West, passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Montana.

LOUISE GALT of Montana. — Mr. Chairman, Montana, the Big Sky Country, passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Nebraska.

CHARLES THONE of Nebraska. — Mr. Chairman, Nebraska passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Nevada.

PAUL LAXALT of Nevada. — Mr. Chairman, the great State of Nevada wishes to place a candidate in nomination. (Applause.)

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — New Hampshire.

LANE DWINELL of New Hampshire. — Mr. Chairman, New Hampshire passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — New Jersey.

DAVID F. NORCROSS of New Jersey. — Mr. Chairman, New Jersey passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — New Mexico.

ANDERSON CARTER of New Mexico. — Mr. Chairman, New Mexico passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — New York.

BERNARD M. KILBOURN of New York. — Mr. Secretary, New York, the home of the Big Apple, passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — North Carolina.

JESSE HELMS of North Carolina. — North Carolina passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — North Dakota.

JOHN SELLIE of North Dakota. — Mr. Chairman, North Dakota, the new energy state, passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Ohio.

DAVID W. JOHNSON of Ohio. — Mr. Chairman, the great State, the Buckeye State, the home of the Ohio State Buckeye football team — the next collegiate football champs, passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Oklahoma.

SKIP HEALEY of Oklahoma. — Mr. Chairman, Oklahoma, that beats all of them, passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Oregon.

DIANA EVANS of Oregon. — Mr. Chairman, Oregon passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Pennsylvania.

RICHARD L. THORNBURGH of Pennsylvania. — Mr. Chairman, Pennsylvania passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Puerto Rico.

LUIS A. FERRÉ of Puerto Rico. — Mr. Chairman, the bastion against communism in the Caribbean passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Rhode Island.

R. WILLIAM PENNOYER IV of Rhode Island. — Mr. Chairman, Rhode Island passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — South Carolina.

CARROLL A. CAMPBELL of South Carolina. — South Carolina passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — South Dakota.

NORA W. HUSSEY of South Dakota. — Mr. Chairman, the Reagan country of South Dakota passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Tennessee.

LAMAR ALEXANDER of Tennessee. — Mr. Chairman, Tennessee passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Texas.

ERNEST ANGELO, JR. of Texas. — Mr. Chairman, the state that is going to retire the Majority Leader of the House of Representatives passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Utah.

ROBERT B. SYKES of Utah. — Mr. Chairman, the state with the greatest snow on earth passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Vermont.

LAWRENCE A. WRIGHT of Vermont. — Mr. Chairman, Vermont passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Virginia.

JOHN N. DALTON of Virginia. — Mr. Chairman, Virginia passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — The Virgin Islands.

PHILIP C. CLARK of the Virgin Islands. — Mr. Chairman, the Virgin Islands, America's paradise, passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Washington.

C. DALE DUVALL of Washington. — Mr. Chairman, Washington would love to make a nomination but we will pass at this time.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — West Virginia.

ARCH A. MOORE, JR. of West Virginia. — Mr. Chairman, West Virginia passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Wisconsin.

LEE S. DREYFUS of Wisconsin. — Mr. Chairman, Wisconsin, the home of Eric Heiden and all of those gold medals, passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Wyoming.

MALCOLM WALLOP of Wyoming. — Mr. Chairman, the only state with a hundred percent Republican delegation in Congress passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Mr. Chairman, the State of Nevada wishes to be recognized for the purpose of placing a name in nomination.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The Chair asks the Chairman of the State of Nevada to affirm, if he will, that a majority of the Delegates from that state will support the person whom that state intends to nominate for the office of President of the United States. Would the Chairman so indicate?

SENATOR LAXALT. — Mr. Chairman, I do so indicate.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Now would the Chairman of the State of Nevada give the names of four other states that he believes will affirm that a majority of the Delegates of that state will support the name Nevada intends to present?

SENATOR LAXALT. — Mr. Chairman, those four states are the states of California, Georgia, Oklahoma and Ohio.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The Chair now asks the attention of the Chairmen of the delegations of the States of California, Georgia, Oklahoma and Ohio.

Will the Chairman of the California delegation affirm that in his opinion a majority of the Delegates from that state will support the individual whom the State of Nevada will offer to the convention?

MR. NESEN. — Mr. Chairman, the delegation from the great State of California proudly seconds this nomination of our former governor, a great American, Governor Ronald Reagan. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Will the Chairman of the California delegation answer the question that the Chair propounded to him?

MR. NESEN. — The California Chairman affirms.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — I thank the Chairman.

May I have the attention of the chairman of the delegation from the great State of Georgia.

MR. STIVERS. — Mr. Chairman, the great State of Georgia is proud to confirm unanimous support of its delegation in seconding the nomination of Governor Ronald Reagan for President of the United States.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — I thank the Chairman.

Will the Chairman of the delegation from the State of Oklahoma now affirm the same?

MR. HEALEY. — Mr. Chairman, all 34 Delegates from the State of Oklahoma affirm it.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — And now will the Chairman from the great State of Ohio affirm?

MR. JOHNSON. — Mr. Chairman, all of Ohio's 77 delegates are proud to support the nomination of Ronald Reagan. The chairman affirms.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The name to be presented to the Convention by the State of Nevada is qualified under the Rules of the Convention and the Chair now recognizes one of the great members of the Senate of the United States, the former Governor of the State of Nevada, a great Republican, a great guy, Senator Paul Laxalt.

THE HONORABLE PAUL LAXALT
DELEGATE AND UNITED STATES SENATOR
FROM THE STATE OF NEVADA, NOMINATING
THE HONORABLE RONALD REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT

SENATOR LAXALT. — Mr. Chairman, fellow Delegates, distinguished guests, and a special greeting to the real power in this country, the 230 million citizens who so proudly say, "I am an American." This is indeed a blessed land. Geographically ideal in its location between the two great oceans of the earth, vast in its size, rich in its citizenry, proud in its purposes.

A measure of that pride is welled up tonight in me, the son of an immigrant sheepherder experiencing the best of the American dream as I place in nomination for the highest office of this great country, the name of the man who most certainly will become its next Commander in Chief.

There is no woman nor man in this hall who would not be proud to have my task tonight. As one who has been in the political trenches with him for the past 16 years, I have been privileged to have firsthand observation to the varied experience of this man and of his commitment to country.

In 1966 when we both ran for governor of our respective states, I watched — marvelling all the way — as this citizen politician conducted one of the most aggressive, appealing and effective campaigns in American political history.

In a state where his party was outnumbered 3 to 2 he won by a smashing one million votes. And unlike one Jimmy Carter, he proved he can govern as well as he can campaign.

Measured in independent terms, the great state he governed would be outranked by only six nations on the globe. When he assumed office that state was racked by all the monumental problems and financial chaos which in those same years brought other state governments to near bankruptcy. He attacked these problems with guts and grit.

He did not view his election as the chance to give each of his political cronies the best job they ever had. His policy was that he never appointed anyone to a high position in his Administration who needed the job. Applying the

Western slogan, "Give me men to match my mountains" he assembled a team composed of the top talent that that great state could offer.

Through his first term and after his smashing reelection to an additional four years, he demonstrated he had learned that ultimate lesson of leadership — that no man in state or national government can have all the answers. That in a democracy the assembling, directing and stimulating of public servants is an important test of leadership.

He balanced California's budget while increasing supplemental aid to the elderly, the blind and disabled and while giving property tax relief to senior citizens.

He increased state support for schools 24 times as much as the increase in enrollment.

He moved his state from eleventh to third among the states in the rehabilitation of the handicapped and their placement in private jobs.

He made more minority appointments than any governor in U. S. history.

He increased support for alcohol and drug abuse programs.

He increased support for the rehabilitation of juveniles and adults and for the treatment of the mentally ill.

He removed welfare cheats from the public rolls and then increased welfare benefits to the truly needy by 43 percent.

And after all these accomplishments, he balanced the budget and gave a massive tax rebate to his state's citizens and left as his legacy the largest state surplus in American political history.

Now, I would say, my fellow Republicans, my fellow Americans, that is some track record. And I submit to you this evening that this outstanding man will do the same great job for all of America as he did for California.

After a job so well done, other men would rest on their accomplishments, would consider that after service in the Army and eight years in the State House they had done their share. But I know from personal conversations with this man that he will never stop being grateful to God and this marvelous country for the opportunities given to him and to his family.

Out of office, he continued to speak up for America and to state his positions. No man out of public office ever has given more fully of his views on government. In newspaper columns and radio broadcasts and on the public lecture circuits he challenged and he served. He worked harder, travelled more miles in more states than any candidate in recorded American history. His decisive plurality at the polls was a testimony to the power of his consistent views and to his energies for he ran beside the finest group of thoroughbred candidates ever fielded by either party.

Throughout the long campaign his basic decency brought people together and reconciled differences to produce the finest spirit of unity ever shared by a party out of control of the White House.

What this man has done to bring our party together he can do to bring our country together. We have been crawling through a four-year tunnel, but finally we can see the light of hope at the end. Confidence in country can again become an American birthright. Consistency in diplomacy can again mark our international actions. America can again become the home of the free, the brave and the proud.

Now, who is this man whose mere candidacy has had such an influence on the courage of government?

Reagan (Audience response.)

Who is this man who says we must never again send American boys to fight and die in a war we do not intend to win?

. . . Reagan . . .

And who is this man whose political philosophies are supported by concerned Democrats and Independents as well as Republicans?

. . . Reagan . . .

Who is this man who believes America should be militarily strong, not to advance war but to assure peace?

. . . Reagan . . .

Who is this man, this former wage earner and union member, who knows how unemployment and inflation can destroy the family dream?

. . . Reagan . . .

Who is this man who dares to be strong?

. . . Reagan . . .

Who is this man who will conduct the most aggressive and exciting political campaign in all of American political history and beat the pants off Jimmy Carter?

. . . Reagan . . .

Who is this man who gives us hope again and tonight will bear our banner?

. . . Reagan . . .

And who will be the next President of the United States?

. . . Reagan . . .

Tonight is one of those crucial turning points in American history. Listen to me, Delegates. Listen to me, all in this hall and all across America.

Tonight we raise the standard around which Americans, regardless of party, will rally in November. Tonight we strike a light in the four-year blackout of America's hopes and dreams.

The man whose name I will proudly put in nomination for President of the United States represents that once-in-a lifetime opportunity to match public mood and private man.

Take hope, America, help is on the way. Help is finally on the way.

This man represents the public dream that is bandwagoning across America tonight. It is a bandwagon for better government. Come on America, join the bandwagon. You are all welcome. Let's make America great again. (Cheers and applause.)

Mr. Chairman, my fellow Delegates, it is now my great honor and privilege to nominate the next President of the United States — Governor Ronald Reagan.

(A demonstration lasting almost 30 minutes followed; cheers and applause; balloons were released and the Delegates marched in the aisles.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Let's sit down and get him nominated, shall we? (Applause and cheers.)

We can't nominate him until we sit down and hear the seconding speakers.

May we have order, please, and will the Delegates take their seats, and will our guests, please, if you are not entitled to be on the floor, withdraw.

I think you did a very good job of getting the idea across that this convention wants Ronald Reagan as the next President of the United States. So, please, sit down and let it happen.

Ladies and gentlemen, I would like to remind people with horns and whistles that there is a rule of this convention against having horns and whistles and I know you are all law-abiding citizens, so would you please take them from the hall.

I thank you for your cooperation and we will now proceed with the seconds to the nomination for the Office of the President of the United States.

And the Chair now recognizes a former State Chairman and now the National Committeeman from the great Empire State of New York, Richard Rosenbaum.

RICHARD ROSENBAUM, DELEGATE AND NEW YORK STATE CHAIRMAN SECONDING THE NOMINATION OF THE HONORABLE RONALD REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT

MR. ROSENBAUM. — Mr. Chairman.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The Delegate from New York, Richard Rosenbaum, is recognized for the purpose of seconding the nomination of Ronald Reagan.

MR. ROSENBAUM. — Mr. Chairman, fellow Delegates, I rise to second the nomination of a man who has brought this Republican Party together as never

before and who I am confident will bring the American people together again. My native state, the great Empire State of New York, holds out its heart to the one man whose strength of purpose and clarity of vision will lead us to the dawn of a new era for all America.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am privileged and proud to second the nomination of a man who has demonstrated in the long triumphal march to this moment, that he has the energy to win and the capacity to govern, Ronald Reagan of the Golden State of California. (Cheers and applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Thank you, Dick.

The Chair now recognizes Diana Evans, the Delegate from Oregon.

MS. DIANA EVANS, DELEGATE FROM OREGON SECONDING THE NOMINATION OF THE HONORABLE RONALD REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT

MS. EVANS. — Mr. Chairman, I rise on behalf of the people of Oregon, the state that put Governor Reagan over the top in May, to second the nomination of the next President of the United States.

With crisis at home and abroad, the western United States and the entire nation needs new leadership, the leadership of Ronald Reagan. As a woman and a westerner, I am proud that Governor Reagan demonstrated in our neighboring State of California his commitment to women's rights. Ronald Reagan offers a new beginning.

It is with joy and pride that I second his nomination. (Cheers and applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Ladies and gentlemen, the aisles are still far from clear and the level of noise is very high. It is difficult to hear those giving the seconding speeches. May we please have better order?

The Chair now recognizes Kina'u Boyd Kamali'i, the Delegate from Hawaii.

THE HONORABLE KINA'U BOYD KAMALI'I DELEGATE FROM HAWAII, SECONDING THE NOMINATION OF THE HONORABLE RONALD REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT

MS. KAMALI'I. — Ladies and gentlemen, Hawaii is the youngest state in the Union, but we have some of the oldest and best known traditions in the world. In a single word, Aloha, we represent love, hope and aspirations possible to a people with open hearts and minds.

Tonight we will nominate a man who understands that America is a land with a rich heritage drawn from many different cultures, but lately we have gone off-track. This is not the fault of the American people, but of their leaders. Whatever our backgrounds, we stand united as Americans in our belief that the

future is not to be feared. The man to restore that pride and courage is Ronald Reagan. Hawaii pledges her aloha to him and I am very proud to second his nomination for the Presidency of the United States. Aloha. (Cheers and applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The Chair now recognizes the Delegate from Louisiana, the great Republican Governor of that state, David Treen.

THE HONORABLE DAVID TREEN
GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF LOUISIANA
SECONDING THE NOMINATION OF
THE HONORABLE RONALD REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT

GOVERNOR TREEN. — Mr. Chairman, the people of the State of Louisiana of both political parties do now hold, and have for a long time held, Ronald Reagan in the highest esteem. They do so because of his unique personal qualities and also because of his firm commitment to the free market system. As a great energy-producing state, we know that he is committed to the proposition that we can solve our energy problems if we will simply let the free enterprise system work its will, and for that reason the people of the State of Louisiana are going to cast its ten electoral votes for Ronald Reagan, and for that reason it is my high honor on behalf of the people of Louisiana to second the nomination of the next President of the United States, Governor Ronald Reagan. (Applause and cheers.)

The Chair now recognizes the distinguished son of a distinguished father, Lieutenant Governor William Scranton, III, the Delegate from Pennsylvania.

THE HONORABLE WILLIAM SCRANTON III
LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR OF THE COMMONWEALTH
OF PENNSYLVANIA AND DELEGATE
SECONDING THE NOMINATION OF
THE HONORABLE RONALD REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR SCRANTON. — Mr. Chairman, thousands of working men and women in states like Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio, Michigan and Illinois have been losing their jobs. In many states of this nation unemployment is epidemic. The Republican Party is determined to bring prosperity and jobs back to this nation. We are prepared to show all Americans, whether rich or poor, black or white, old or young, whether they live in the cities or in the countryside, that they have a home in the Republican Party.

We are determined to reestablish the principles of economic freedom that will make our nation strong again.

I am pleased to second the nomination of the man who will lead our Party and our nation to a new prosperity. I, together with all the Delegates from the

great Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, second the nomination of Ronald Reagan. (Cheers and applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The Chair now recognizes Linda Carole White, the Delegate from the State of California.

MS. LINDA CAROLE WHITE, DELEGATE FROM CALIFORNIA SECONDING THE NOMINATION OF THE HONORABLE RONALD REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT

MS. WHITE. — Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, it is a privilege and a pleasure this evening to second our Party's nomination of Ronald Reagan for the Presidency of the United States.

I know Ronald Reagan. I know of his strong record as Governor of California. His Presidency offers a new beginning for Americans like myself who are striving to enter into the mainstream and become a viable part of this nation's future.

Our Party, the party of Lincoln, which emerged in a crisis over a century ago, can, under the leadership of Ronald Reagan, bring us together in a new beginning by offering new ideas, new solutions and a commitment to Black economic growth. This is why I am honored to second the nomination for Ronald Reagan. (Applause and cheers.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The Chair now recognizes one of the great Republicans of all time, the distinguished former Governor of Puerto Rico, Luis A. Ferré.

THE HONORABLE LUIS A. FERRÉ FORMER GOVERNOR OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF PUERTO RICO AND DELEGATE SECONDING THE NOMINATION OF THE HONORABLE RONALD REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT

GOVERNOR FERRÉ. — Mr. Chairman, fellow Delegates, ladies and gentlemen, Nosotros los Puerto Riquenos nos sentimos orgullosos de nuestra cultura, nuestra tradicion y nuestro idioma español. But we are also very proud of our American citizenship. But we know that the time has come for us to move into full partnership in the American dream of equality and freedom by taking our full place in the roll of the States as the 51st State of the Union.

One man and one party holds our support for this dream for us in Puerto Rico, and for all Americans. The Party of hope is the Republican Party. And the man is he whose nomination I second with confidence and pride, Ronald Reagan. (Cheers and applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The chair now recognizes the distinguished former Chairman of the Republican National Committee, the Delegate from Iowa, Mary Louise Smith.

THE HONORABLE MARY LOUISE SMITH FORMER CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE AND DELEGATE FROM THE STATE OF IOWA SECONDING THE NOMINATION OF THE HONORABLE RONALD REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT

MS. SMITH. — Mr. Chairman, from the great State of Iowa, in every political year, in every political party, there is a time to express differences of opinions and then a time to unite in spite of them.

Ladies and gentlemen, this is the time to unite, to unite as never before. Our future depends on it. As a former Chairman of our Party and as a supporter of Ambassador Bush, I am deeply honored to second the nomination of the next President of the United States, Ronald Reagan. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The Chair now recognizes the Delegate from New Jersey, John A. Rocco.

JOHN A. ROCCO, DELEGATE FROM THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY SECONDING THE NOMINATION OF THE HONORABLE RONALD REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT

MR. ROCCO. — Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, this is a very proud moment for me, for my hometown of Cherry Hill, and for our great State of New Jersey.

My parents came to this country to seek a life for themselves and especially their children. This dream has come true for tonight I am able to stand before you and second the nomination of the next President of the United States. A man who knows, as I do, what the American dream is all about. A man who can rescue that dream from the nightmare of inflation, unemployment and international conflict. A man who will rekindle that dream and help it come true for all those who wish to call themselves Americans.

I am honored and privileged to second the nomination of the next President of the United States, Ronald Reagan. (Applause and cheers.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The Chair now recognizes Susan Williams-Sweetser, the Delegate from Vermont.

SUSAN WILLIAMS-SWEETSER DELEGATE FROM THE STATE OF VERMONT SECONDING THE NOMINATION OF THE HONORABLE RONALD REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT

MS. WILLIAMS-SWEETSER. — Mr. Chairman, and my fellow Republicans, I stand before this convention not as a successful professional or businesswoman,

but as a college student struggling to make ends meet. I stand here because I am concerned about what the future holds for my generation. We want a future with good jobs, plentiful energy and, above all, peace and freedom for our nation and all nations. And our present leaders tell us that these goals are out of reach. I don't believe them.

That is why I have turned to the Republican Party and to the one and only candidate who has dared to dream about a better America for my generation.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am proud and honored as one of the younger delegates in this convention, to second the nomination of our next President of the United States, Ronald Reagan. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The Chair now recognizes Max L. Rowe, the Delegate from the State of Illinois.

MAX L. ROWE, DELEGATE FROM THE STATE OF ILLINOIS, SECONDING THE NOMINATION OF THE HONORABLE RONALD REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT

MR. ROWE. — Mr. Chairman, I was born and raised in the small town of Dallas City where my family has been Republican since two of my great-grandfathers voted for Abraham Lincoln in 1860. The candidate whose nomination I rise to second is a native son of Illinois. We in my home state are justly proud of his record of accomplishment. Although I was elected a delegate to this convention representing John Anderson, it is with pride and honor that I rise to second the one man who has united our Party and will bring together all Americans, Ronald Reagan. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The Chair has just come into possession of a resolution of the Political Action Committee of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, one of our most important patriotic veterans organizations, and I would just like to read you the resolving clause of that resolution.

"Resolved, that the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States Political Action Committee hereby endorses the candidacy of Governor Ronald Reagan for the Office of President of the United States."

And, now, it is with great pride that I introduce one of the more distinguished members of the House of Representatives, the former Co-chairman of the Republican National Committee, the Delegate from Delaware, the Honorable Thomas B. Evans, Jr.

THE HONORABLE THOMAS B. EVANS, JR. MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF DELAWARE, SECONDING THE NOMINATION OF THE HONORABLE RONALD REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT

MR. EVANS. — Thank you, John, and fellow Delegates. It is an honor to stand before you tonight personally and on behalf of the Republicans in the

United States House of Representatives to second the nomination of Governor Reagan who will be the next President of the United States. (Applause.)

Our nation has always been a beacon to other people around the world. We have been the light of hope to those who search for freedom, for opportunity, and for individual happiness. But that light is now in danger of being extinguished through incompetence, indecision and plain and simple failure to lead. Where once there was hope in America, now there is another emotion — frustration, frustration over government's inability to control inflation; frustration over inept, inconsistent and erratic foreign policy; frustration over the growing maze of federal regulations which add millions to the cost of everything; frustration over the increasing and crushing burden of taxes; and frustration over the fact that government apparently just doesn't seem to care very much any more about the individual American.

We are losing the spirit that has always set Americans apart from people in most every other land — the spirit of confidence, of togetherness, of creativity and of purpose. We are, in short, losing the feeling of pride in being an American.

Ronald Reagan offers no magic formulas. Unlike some others, he doesn't promise more than he can deliver. But he does promise one thing, and on this he will deliver. He will make all of us proud to be Americans once again.

A few weeks ago Governor Reagan came to the Capitol Building in Washington, D.C. to meet with and continue his close cooperation with the members of the United States Congress. While walking from the House to the Senate side of the Capitol, he passed through the great Rotunda, the symbolic center of our government. There were no advance men to herald his arrival and no brass bands to strike up catchy tunes. Yet, hundreds of our fellow Americans, no doubt surprised to find themselves at that historic place with Governor Reagan, broke into spontaneous applause. And, as they searched around for the Governor in the Rotunda their eyes said what their voices could not, "We are with you, Governor Reagan. Give us back our pride and the spirit that we lost."

Tonight, fellow Delegates, we can give our fellow citizens the chance to regain that lost American spirit. We can give them a President who says to America, "I will make our government work again for people." And we can give them a President who says to the world, "I want your friendship. But more importantly, I want your respect."

Ronald Reagan can rekindle the spark that has made American great with our help and the help of millions of Americans just like us all over this land. That spark will grow into a roaring fire that will light the beacon once again and tell the world that America is back to stay. (Applause.)

ROLL CALL OF THE STATES FOR SELECTION OF A NOMINEE FOR PRESIDENT

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The Chair now calls upon the Secretary of the Convention, Dr. Aris T. Allen, to call the roll of the states for the purpose of nominating the next President of the United States, Ronald Reagan.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Alabama, 27 votes.

GUY HUNT of Alabama. — Mr. Secretary, the great State of Alabama who in November will elect its first United States Republican President in over 100 years, proudly casts its 27 votes for the next President, Governor Ronald Reagan.

CHIEF READING CLERK (Joe Bartlett). — Alabama, 27 votes for Ronald Reagan.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Alaska, 19 votes.

MARILYN J. GAY of Alaska. — Mr. Chairman, the great State of Alaska with all its energy and natural resources locked up by the Federal Government, now has a key, Ronald Reagan. And Alaska is proud to cast all 19 votes for the next President of the United States, Governor Ronald Reagan.

CHIEF READING CLERK. — Alaska, 19 votes for Ronald Reagan.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Arizona, 28 votes.

THOMAS J. PAPPAS of Arizona. — Mr. Chairman, Arizona, home of the next Speaker of the House, Congressman John Rhodes, land of freedom, Goldwater and new beginnings, proudly casts 28 votes for the next President of the United States, Ronald Reagan.

CHIEF READING CLERK. — Arizona, 28 votes for Ronald Reagan.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Arkansas, 19 votes.

HARLAN "BO" HOLLEMAN of Arkansas. — Mr. Chairman, Arkansas, the land of opportunity and the home of razorbacks, proudly casts 19 votes for the next President of the United States, Governor Ronald Reagan.

CHIEF READING CLERK. — Arkansas, 19 votes for Ronald Reagan.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — California, 168 votes.

MICHAEL K. DEAVER of California. — Mr. Chairman, I would like to yield this announcement to the daughter of the next President of the United States.

MAUREEN REAGAN of California. — Mr. Chairman, California casts 168 votes for the next President of the United States, my father, Ronald Reagan. (Applause.)

CHIEF READING CLERK. — California, 168 votes for Ronald Reagan.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Colorado, 31 votes.

HOLLY COORS of Colorado. — Mr. Chairman, the great State of Colorado, Ski Country U.S.A., home of beautiful mountains and rocky mountain spring water, is honored to cast all 31 unanimous delegate votes for Ronald Reagan, the next President of the United States.

CHIEF READING CLERK. — Colorado, 31 votes for Ronald Reagan.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Connecticut, 35 votes.

RALPH E. CAPECELATRO of Connecticut. — Mr. Chairman, the delegation that represents the people of Connecticut casts 35 votes for the next President of the United States, Governor Ronald Reagan.

CHIEF READING CLERK. — Connecticut, 35 votes for Ronald Reagan.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Delaware, 12 votes.

PIERRE S. DUPONT IV. — Mr. Chairman, the first state of the United States of America, the state that welcomed every other state in this hall into the Union, is proud to cast all 12 votes for Governor Ronald Reagan.

CHIEF READING CLERK. — Delaware, 12 votes for Ronald Reagan.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — District of Columbia, 14 votes.

ARTHUR A. FLETCHER of the District of Columbia. — Mr. Chairman, the District of Columbia, the home of the world's most beautiful Capitol, casts 14 votes for Mr. Ronald Reagan.

CHIEF READING CLERK. — District of Columbia, 14 votes for Ronald Reagan.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Florida, 51 votes.

L. E. "TOMMY" THOMAS of Florida. — In Florida we believe in Ronald Reagan and we cast all 51 votes for the next President of the United States, Ronald Reagan.

CHIEF READING CLERK. — Florida, 51 votes for Ronald Reagan.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Georgia, 36 votes.

T. E. STIVERS of Georgia. — Mr. Chairman, the sovereign State of Georgia, which now hereby acknowledges and bewails its manifolds sins and wickedness in sending Jimmy Carter to Washington and which now faithfully promises to take him back next January, is proud and honored to cast all of its 36 votes for that great and unselfish leader, Ronald Reagan.

CHIEF READING CLERK. — Georgia, 36 votes for Ronald Reagan.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Guam, 4 votes.

PEDRO DIAZ PEREZ of Guam. — Mr. Chairman, from the Republican Territory of Guam, whose delegation was the first to pledge 100 percent support, is now happy to cast 4 votes for a winner, Ronald Reagan.

CHIEF READING CLERK. — Guam, 4 votes for Ronald Reagan.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Hawaii, 14 votes.

HANNIBAL TAVARES of Hawaii. — Mr. Chairman, because we all know that Hawaii is the most beautiful state in the Union, it has the most beautiful weather that California and Florida dream about, and because we have the

greatest people in the world, and we all know that, I will not say anything about that. Instead, Hawaii casts 14 votes for Ronald Reagan.

CHIEF READING CLERK. — Hawaii, 14 votes for Ronald Reagan.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Idaho, 21 votes.

JAMES A. MCCLURE of Idaho. — Mr. Chairman, Idaho plans to cast not only its votes for Governor Reagan, but to give him more help in the Senate of the United States by separating Senator Church from the state. Idaho proudly casts 21 votes for Ronald Reagan.

CHIEF READING CLERK. — Idaho, 21 votes for Ronald Reagan.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Illinois, 102 votes.

JAMES R. THOMPSON of Illinois. — Mr. Chairman, under the laws of Illinois I am obliged to report to you that there are within our delegation 21 votes for a man who has not been placed in nomination, John Anderson. But, Mr. Chairman, now comes the good part. Illinois, the home of the first Republican President of the United States and the birthplace in Tampico, Illinois and growing up in Dixon, Illinois, of the next President of the United States, casts 81 votes for Governor Ronald Reagan.

CHIEF READING CLERK. — Illinois casts 81 votes for Ronald Reagan, 21 votes for John Anderson.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Indiana, 54 votes.

BRUCE B. MELCHERT of Indiana. — Mr. Chairman, the delegation of the beautiful state of Indiana, the home of fast cars, great basketball and winning Republicans, proudly casts 54 votes for Ronald Reagan.

CHIEF READING CLERK. — Indiana, 54 votes for Ronald Reagan.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Iowa, 37 votes.

ROBERT D. RAY. — Mr. Chairman, Iowa, a place to grow, casts its 37 votes for a former Iowan whose spectacular and sensational career has grown and grown since he was a sportscaster in Iowa. We are very proud to cast all 37 of our votes for the next President of the United States, Ronald Reagan.

CHIEF READING CLERK. — Iowa, 37 votes for Ronald Reagan.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Kansas, 32 votes.

D. S. "PETE" MCGILL of Kansas. — Mr. Chairman, the great State of Kansas, the home of those two great Americans, Senator Nancy Kassebaum and Senator Robert Dole, proudly casts 32 votes for Governor Ronald Reagan.

CHIEF READING CLERK. — Kansas, 32 votes for Ronald Reagan.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Kentucky, 27 votes.

M. GENE SNYDER of Kentucky. — Mr. Chairman, Kentucky, home of beautiful women, fast horses and great basketball teams, casts 27 votes for Ronald Reagan.

CHIEF READING CLERK. — Kentucky, 27 votes for Ronald Reagan.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Louisiana, 31 votes.

JOHN CADE, JR. of Louisiana. — Mr. Chairman, Mr. Secretary, the Bayou State of Louisiana, who is proud to name among its delegation the newest Republican governor in America, casts its entire 31 votes for the next President of the United States, Ronald Reagan.

CHIEF READING CLERK. — Louisiana, 31 votes for Ronald Reagan.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Maine, 21 votes.

HATTIE M. BICKMORE of Maine. — Mr. Chairman, Maine, the home of Yankee ingenuity and independence, proudly reaffirms the saying, "As Maine goes, so goes the nation." Maine proudly casts its entire 21 votes for the next President, Governor Ronald Reagan.

CHIEF READING CLERK. — Maine, 21 votes for Ronald Reagan.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — The lovely state of Maryland, 30 votes.

CHARLES McC. MATHIAS of Maryland. — Mr. Chairman, the great Free State of Maryland, home of the Chesapeake Bay crab and the Baltimore Orioles, that great winning baseball team, casts all 30 unanimous votes for the next President of the United States, Ronald Reagan.

CHIEF READING CLERK. — Maryland, 30 votes for Ronald Reagan.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Massachusetts, 42 votes.

SILVIO O. CONTE of Massachusetts. — The great Commonwealth of Massachusetts, the state of high technology, education, Presidents and the Red Sox, casts 33 votes for Ronald Reagan, 9 for Anderson.

CHIEF READING CLERK. — Massachusetts, 33 votes for Ronald Reagan, 9 votes for John Anderson.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Michigan, 82 votes.

WILLIAM G. MILLIKEN of Michigan. — Mr. Chairman, the great State of Michigan casts 67 votes for Reagan, 13 for Bush, 1 for Anne Armstrong and one uncommitted.

CHIEF READING CLERK. — Would the Chairman of the Michigan delegation please repeat that vote?

WILLIAM G. MILLIKEN. — Reagan 67, Bush 13, Armstrong 1 and 1 not voting.

CHIEF READING CLERK. — Michigan casts 67 votes for Ronald Reagan, 13 votes for George Bush, 1 vote for Armstrong and 1 not voting.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Minnesota, 34 votes.

ALBERT H. QUIE of Minnesota. — I am pleased to have the lady who did more than anyone else for Ronald Reagan in Minnesota announce for that great state, the site of the Minnesota Massacre of 1978.

MARSIE LEIER. — Ronald Reagan 33, 1 vote no endorsement.

CHIEF READING CLERK. — Would the chairman of the Minnesota delegation please repeat that vote?

MARSIE LEIER. — Ronald Reagan 33, no endorsement 1 vote.

CHIEF READING CLERK. — Minnesota, 33 votes for Ronald Reagan; 1 not voting.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Mississippi, 22 votes.

TRENT LOTT of Mississippi. — Mr. Chairman, Mississippi, believing that together we can make a new beginning and make America great again, casts all of its 22 votes for our next President of the United States, Ronald Reagan.

CHIEF READING CLERK. — Mississippi, 22 votes for Ronald Reagan.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Missouri, 37 votes.

GLEN W. BROGDEN of Missouri. — Mr. Chairman, this is a great day, a day we have been waiting for for a number of years. Mr. Chairman, the State of Missouri casts all 37 votes for the next President of the United States, Ronald Reagan.

CHIEF READING CLERK. — Missouri, 37 votes for Ronald Reagan.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Montana, 20 votes.

LOUISE GALT of Montana. — Mr. Chairman, Montana, the Big Sky Reagan country, is indeed proud and pleased and thrilled to cast the vote at this time which makes Governor Reagan the nominee of our Party. Twenty votes for Governor Reagan.

(Applause and cheers as the required number of votes for nomination was reached.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Ladies and gentlemen, under the rules of the convention, the roll of the states must be completed. So if we may have your indulgence to be seated while the roll of the states is completed, then the business of the convention will have been consummated for the evening. So, if you will, please, clear the aisles; Delegates take their seats, the Secretary will resume the call of the roll.

CHIEF READING CLERK. — Montana, 20 votes for Ronald Reagan.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Nebraska, 25 votes.

CHARLES THONE of Nebraska. — Mr. Chairman, the great State of Nebraska, that gave Ronald Reagan the largest percentage of votes of any state in the Union in the primaries, casts 25 votes for Ronald Reagan.

CHIEF READING CLERK. — Nebraska, 25 votes for Ronald Reagan.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Nevada, 17 votes.

FRANK J. FAHRENKOPF, JR. of Nevada. — Mr. Chairman, the great Silver State of Nevada, home of Senator Paul Laxalt and Governor Robert List, proudly casts 17 votes for Ronald Reagan.

CHIEF READING CLERK. — Nevada, 17 votes for Ronald Reagan.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — New Hampshire, 22 votes.

LANE DWINELL of New Hampshire. — Mr. Chairman, New Hampshire, that first primary state where this really all began, is unanimous in casting all of its 22 votes for Ronald Reagan.

CHIEF READING CLERK. — New Hampshire, 22 votes for Ronald Reagan.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — New Jersey, 66 votes.

DAVID F. NORCROSS of New Jersey. — Mr. Chairman, for the purpose of presenting New Jersey's vote, I present our co-chairman, Raymond Donovan.

MR. DONOVAN. — Mr. Chairman, I am deeply honored to have the privilege to represent the great Garden State, the home of a treasured asset, William Simon, and to cast New Jersey's 66 delegate votes for my friend, a man of destiny, the hope of our Nation, the Honorable Ronald Reagan of California.

CHIEF READING CLERK. — New Jersey, 66 votes for Ronald Reagan.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — New Mexico, 22 votes.

ANDERSON CARTER of New Mexico. — New Mexico, Reagan country for 12 long years, casts all 22 votes for Ronald Reagan.

CHIEF READING CLERK. — New Mexico, 22 votes for Ronald Reagan.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — New York, 123 votes.

BERNARD M. KILBOURN of New York. — Mr. Chairman, New York has 121 votes for Ronald Reagan and 2 abstentions.

CHIEF READING CLERK. — New York, 121 votes for Ronald Reagan, 2 not voting.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — North Carolina, 40 votes.

JESSE HELMS of North Carolina. — Mr. Chairman, former Governor Holshouser and I yield to the next Governor of North Carolina who will announce the vote for this state.

BEVERLY LAKE, JR. — Mr. Chairman, North Carolina proudly casts all 40 votes for a great American, our next President, Ronald Reagan.

CHIEF READING CLERK. — North Carolina, 40 votes for Ronald Reagan.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — North Dakota, 17 votes.

JOHN SELLIE of North Dakota. — Mr. Chairman, North Dakota, the new energy state, is proud to vote our 17 votes for the next President of the United States, Ronald Reagan.

CHIEF READING CLERK. — North Dakota, 17 votes for Ronald Reagan.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Ohio, 77 votes.

DAVID W. JOHNSON of Ohio. — Mr. Chairman, for the great State of Ohio, on this historic and eventful night in this great city of labor and work, as the son of two humble immigrant Lebanese parents, I take great pride on behalf of Ohio, mother of eight Presidents, to cast 77 votes for our next great President and leader, Ronald Reagan.

CHIEF READING CLERK. — Ohio, 77 votes for Ronald Reagan.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Oklahoma, 34 votes.

SKIP HEALEY of Oklahoma. — Mr. Chairman, I rise to introduce the man to cast Oklahoma's vote, the true pride of Oklahoma, Congressman Mickey Edwards.

MICKEY EDWARDS. — Mr. Chairman, on behalf, not only of Oklahoma's 34 Delegates and 34 Alternates, but of hundreds of thousands of other Oklahoma Republicans and Democrats, black and white, men and women, young and old, who have been waiting a long, long time for this moment, Oklahoma proudly casts all 34 of its votes for the next President, Ronald Reagan.

CHIEF READING CLERK. — Oklahoma, 34 votes for Ronald Reagan.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Oregon, 29 votes.

DIANA EVANS of Oregon. — Mr. Chairman, the State of Oregon, home of beautiful, clean and quiet Mount Hood, casts, in the true spirit of party unity, all 29 votes for Ronald Reagan.

CHIEF READING CLERK. — Oregon, 29 votes for Ronald Reagan.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Pennsylvania, 83 votes.

RICHARD L. THORNBURGH of Pennsylvania. — Mr. Chairman, Pennsylvania, home of the world champion Pittsburgh Pirates — and the world champion Pittsburgh Steelers — pledges to win one for the Gipper this November. The great coal State of Pennsylvania casts 83 unanimous votes for our next President, Ronald Reagan.

CHIEF READING CLERK. — Pennsylvania, 83 votes for Ronald Reagan.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Puerto Rico, 14 votes.

HERNAN PADILLA of Puerto Rico. — Mr. Chairman, as mayor of the oldest city of the United States, San Juan, Puerto Rico, reporting for Puerto Rico, we cast our 14 Delegates, but if we had the number of Delegates we are entitled to, and that we should be entitled to as the 51st state, we would cast all of them for Ronald Reagan, the next President of the United States.

CHIEF READING CLERK. — Puerto Rico, 14 votes for Ronald Reagan.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Rhode Island, 13 votes.

F. WILLIAM PENNOYER IV of Rhode Island. — Mr. Chairman, the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, the last of the 13 states to ratify the U. S. Constitution, whose symbol is the independent man, the New England state that has the best syrup on the East Coast, is the jewelry capital of the United States of America, casts 13 votes for Ronald Reagan.

CHIEF READING CLERK. — Rhode Island, 13 votes for Ronald Reagan.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — South Carolina, 25 votes.

CARROLL A. CAMPBELL of South Carolina. — Mr. Chairman, the great sovereign State of South Carolina, the state that gave Ronald Reagan his first primary victory in the South and the home of the new Miss Universe, casts 25 unanimous votes for the next President of the United States, Ronald Reagan.

CHIEF READING CLERK. — South Carolina, 25 votes for Ronald Reagan.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — South Dakota, 22 votes.

NORA W. HUSSEY. — Mr. Chairman, South Dakota, with great confidence in our country's future, casts 22 votes for Ronald Reagan.

CHIEF READING CLERK. — South Dakota, 22 votes for Ronald Reagan.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Tennessee, 32 votes.

LAMAR ALEXANDER of Tennessee. — Mr. Chairman, Tennessee, home of the Republican National Chairman and the Majority Leader of the United States Senate next year, proudly casts all 32 of its votes for the next President of the United States, Ronald Reagan.

CHIEF READING CLERK. — Tennessee, 32 votes for Ronald Reagan.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Texas, 80 votes.

ERNEST ANGELO, JR of Texas. — Mr. Chairman, the State of Texas, proud to be a part of history in the making, casts all 80 votes for Ronald Reagan.

CHIEF READING CLERK. — Texas, 80 votes for Ronald Reagan.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Utah, 21 votes.

WILLIAM A. STEVENSON of Utah. — Mr. Chairman, Utah, the most Republican state in the United States; Utah, the state which in 1976 cast the highest percentage of Republican votes of any state in the Republic for Gerald Ford, and promises to do the same in 1980 for Ronald Reagan; Utah proudly casts its 21 votes for the next President of the United States, Governor Ronald Reagan.

CHIEF READING CLERK. — Utah, 21 votes for Ronald Reagan.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Vermont, 19 votes.

LAWRENCE A. WRIGHT of Vermont. — Mr. Chairman, the Green Mountain State of Vermont, the home of the best skiing in the United States, proudly casts unanimously its 19 votes for our next President, Ronald Reagan.

CHIEF READING CLERK. — Vermont, 19 votes for Ronald Reagan.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Virginia, 51 votes.

JOHN N. DALTON of Virginia. — Mr. Chairman, Virginia, the mother of presidents, the only southern state that did not vote for Jimmy Carter and showed some good sense in 1976, the only state in America that in the last 30 years has only supported a Democrat candidate for President one time, and we invite you to follow our lead, proudly casts 51 votes for Ronald Reagan.

CHIEF READING CLERK. — Virginia, 51 votes for Ronald Reagan.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Virgin Islands, 4 votes.

PHILIP C. CLARK of the Virgin Islands. — Mr. Chairman, the easternmost area under the U. S. flag, America's flag, the United States Virgin Islands, whose Delegates to this 1980 Republican National Convention are 75 percent Black and who are proud that their delegate to Congress is the only Black Republican in Congress, today casts 4 votes for Ronald Reagan.

CHIEF READING CLERK. — Virgin Islands, 4 votes for Ronald Reagan.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Washington, 37 votes.

C. DOLE DUVALL of Washington. — Mr. Chairman, the State of Washington, the state that sent a gift of volcanic ash to the rest of the nation recently, is happy to cast an erupting 36 votes for Ronald Reagan and 1 vote for John Anderson.

CHIEF READING CLERK. — Washington, 36 votes for Ronald Reagan; 1 vote for John Anderson.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — West Virginia, 18 votes.

ARCH A. MOORE, JR of West Virginia. — Mr. Chairman, West Virginia, the beautiful mountain state where mountaineers are always free, wants to spread that freedom to all Americans by casting its 18 votes for the next President, Ronald Reagan.

CHIEF READING CLERK. — West Virginia, 18 votes for Ronald Reagan.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Wisconsin, 34 votes.

LEE S. DREYFUS of Wisconsin. — Mr. Chairman, Wisconsin, with its open primary law for 69 years and its mandatory first ballot requirement, casts 6 for John Anderson, 28 for Ronald Reagan.

CHIEF READING CLERK. — Wisconsin, 28 votes for Ronald Reagan; 6 votes for John Anderson.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Wyoming, 19 votes.

MALCOLM WALLOP of Wyoming. — Mr. Chairman, the equality state proudly completes your roll call and the tally of honor for the next President of the United States by casting all 19 votes for Governor Ronald Reagan.

CHIEF READING CLERK. — Wyoming, 19 votes for Ronald Reagan.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Ladies and gentlemen, the Chair is prepared to announce the vote. I don't think there will be any great surprises in this. The vote is as follows: Anderson, 37; Armstrong, one; Bush, 13; abstentions, four; Reagan, 1,939. (Applause and cheers.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Ladies and gentlemen, I am sure you must have suspected by now that this has gone on for this long for a very special reason.

But I do have a little business that I have to transact. I have got to say these words. The Chair declares that the nominee of this convention for the Presidency of the United States is Ronald Reagan. (Great applause and cheers.)

Now, ladies and gentlemen, there is one more question to be put before this session of the convention. Rule 17 states that "When it appears at the close of the roll call that any candidate for the nomination for President or Vice President has received a majority of the votes entitled to be cast, the chairman of the convention shall announce the question to be: Shall the nomination of the candidate be made unanimous?"

All in favor say aye. (Chorus of ayes.)

Opposed, no. (No response.)

The ayes have it and the nomination of Ronald Reagan is made unanimous.

Without objection, the motion to reconsider is laid upon the table.

FINAL TABULATION OF FIRST BALLOT FOR PRESIDENT

State	*Votes*	*Reagan*	*Anderson*	*Bush*	*Armstrong*	*Abstention*
Alabama	27	27				
Alaska	19	19				
Arizona	28	28				
Arkansas	19	19				
California	168	168				
Colorado	31	31				
Connecticut	35	35				
Delaware	12	12				
District of Columbia	14	14				
Florida	51	51				
Georgia	36	36				
Guam	4	4				
Hawaii	14	14				
Idaho	21	21				

State	Votes	Reagan	Anderson	Bush	Armstrong	Abstention
Illinois	102	81	21			
Indiana	54	54				
Iowa	37	37				
Kansas	32	32				
Kentucky	27	27				
Louisiana	31	31				
Maine	21	21				
Maryland	30	30				
Massachusetts	42	33	9			
Michigan	82	67		13	1	1
Minnesota	34	33				1
Mississippi	22	22				
Missouri	37	37				
Montana	20	20				
Nebraska	25	25				
Nevada	17	17				
New Hampshire	22	22				
New Jersey	66	66				
New Mexico	22	22				
New York	123	121				2
North Carolina	40	40				
North Dakota	17	17				
Ohio	77	77				
Oklahoma	34	34				
Oregon	29	29				
Pennsylvania	83	83				
Puerto Rico	14	14				
Rhode Island	13	13				
South Carolina	25	25				
South Dakota	22	22				
Tennessee	32	32				
Texas	80	80				
Utah	21	21				
Vermont	19	19				
Virginia	51	51				
Virgin Islands	4	4				
Washington	37	36	1			
West Virginia	18	18				
Wisconsin	34	28	6			
Wyoming	19	19				
	1,994	1,939	37	13	1	4

COMMITTEE TO NOTIFY THE HONORABLE RONALD REAGAN OF HIS NOMINATION

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The Chair appoints the following outstanding Republicans to the Committee to Notify Governor Reagan of your decision to nominate him for the office of President of the United States: Anne Armstrong of Texas, Keith Bulen of Indiana, Robert Carter of the District of Columbia, William Casey of New York, Congressman Tom Evans of Delaware, Congresswoman Marjorie Holt of Maryland, Senator Nancy Kassebaum of Kansas, Senator Paul Laxalt of Nevada, Drew Lewis of Pennsylvania, James Lynn of Maryland, Congressman Robert Michel of Illinois, Virginia Rice of California, Congressman Guy Vander Jagt of Michigan, Frank Whetstone of Montana and Clifton White of Connecticut.

INTRODUCTION OF THE NOMINEE FOR PRESIDENT

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Ladies and gentlemen, your nominee, the next President of the United States, and Mrs. Reagan. (Long applause and cheers.)

REMARKS BY THE HONORABLE RONALD REAGAN NOMINEE FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

GOVERNOR REAGAN. — Thank you very much. Thank you very much.

The Delegates of this convention, you ladies and gentlemen, and those who are viewing, I know that I am breaking with precedent to come here tonight, and I assure you at this late hour I am not going to give you my acceptance address tonight. I will wait for the scheduled time.

But in watching the television at the hotel and seeing the rumors that were going around and the gossip that was taking place here, I felt that it was necessary to break the tradition, just as probably in this campaign we are going to break with tradition a lot of times. (Applause and cheers.)

Let me as simply as I can straighten this out and bring it to a conclusion. It is true that a number of Republican leaders, people in our Party, officeholders, felt, as I am sure many others have felt, that a proper ticket would have included the former President of the United States, Gerald Ford, as second place on the ticket.

And it is true also that we have gone over this and over this and over this, and he and I have come to the conclusion, and he believes deeply, that he can be of more value as the former President campaigning his heart out, which he has pledged to do — (applause and cheers) — and not, and not as a member of the ticket.

So I respect him very much for the decision that he came to. He is loyal to this Party and to this country.

And he has told me that he and Betty will be there, wherever they need to be in the campaign to help.

I then believed that because of all of the talk and how something might keep going for the night, that it was time for me to advance the schedule a little bit. And I talked to a man we all know and a man who was a candidate, a man who has great experience in government — and a man who told me that he can enthusiastically support the platform across the board. I have asked, and I am recommending to this convention, that tomorrow when the session reconvenes that George Bush be nominated as Vice President of the United States. (Applause and cheers.)

I only have one more thing to say. It is past the witching hour. It is late. God bless you. Good night, and we will see you tomorrow night. Thank you very much. (Applause and cheers.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — I never saw a happier bunch of Republicans and I never saw a bunch of Republicans with more reason to be happy than you are.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I am going to recognize the great Senator from the State of Utah, Orrin Hatch, for the purpose of offering the benediction.

BENEDICTION

BY
THE HONORABLE ORRIN HATCH
United States Senator from the State of Utah

Let us pray. Let us pray for our candidates and for our country. If we could, let us pray together.

Our Father in heaven, as we bow before Thee, it is with gratitude in our hearts for this wonderful city of Detroit and for the great privilege we have of being here and for the kind treatment that we have received. From the people in the shops to the man on the street, to the policemen and others who have been so courteous and kind to us, we are grateful to Thee. And we acknowledge what a great city this is, and we pray that You will bless it and all other cities in this country that they may be able to pull out of the lethargy that they are in.

Our Father, we are grateful for this country. We are grateful for the Constitution which Thou has created at the hands of wise and good men, which Thou hast raised up for this purpose. And we are grateful for this federal republic that means so much to all of us and the liberties that come from being Americans.

We are grateful for the privilege we have had of being at this convention and having one of the greatest men in the history of this country nominated President of the United States, representing our particular Party. And we pray that Thou will bless him, Thou will bless his Vice Presidential nominee, and Thou will bless all of us that we might do everything in our power to help this

country in these desperate hours out of the desperate problems and issues of the day, particularly our national security problems, national defense, inflation, unemployment, productivity, the desperate issues that we have to put right.

We pray, our Father in heaven, that Thou will bless Governor Reagan from this time forward and his running mate and each and every one of us that we might spread our message across America with Thy help, that we might be able to teach equality in this land without discrimination, and that we might be able to not discriminate in order to have equality and that we might be able if it can be Thy will to go up and down this land and bring our Democrat and our Independent friends with us together for a new beginning. God bless America. We pray humbly, in the name of Jesus Christ. Amen.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The Chair recognizes Robert H. Tuttle, a Delegate from the State of California, for the purpose of offering a motion to adjourn.

MR. TUTTLE. — Mr. Chairman, I move that the Convention adjourn until 6:00 p.m., Thursday, July 17, 1980.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The question occurs on the motion from the Delegate from California. All those in favor will signify by saying aye. (Chorus of ayes.)

Opposed, no. (No response.)

The ayes have it and accordingly, the convention is adjourned until Thursday, July 17, 1980, at 6:00 p.m.

(Whereupon, at 12:22 a.m., the Republican National Convention was recessed, to reconvene at 6:00 p.m. on Thursday, July 17, 1980.)

FIFTH SESSION

THURSDAY, JULY 17, 1980

This final session of the Convention started at 6:05 p.m. While the Delegates, Alternates and guests assembled they were entertained by Donald Vails Choraleers of Detroit and the Convention Orchestra under the direction of Manny Harmon.

CALL TO ORDER

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The fifth session of the 1980 Convention of the Republican Party is hereby called to order.

PRESENTATION OF THE COLORS

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Our colors will now be presented by the Cadet Girl Scouts of Metropolitan Detroit.

(The colors were presented by the Cadet Girl Scouts of Metropolitan Detroit.)

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Two years ago the people of California accomplished a remarkable task. They passed Proposition 13, cutting their property taxes by almost two-thirds.

Tonight to deliver our Pledge of Allegiance I am pleased to introduce to you the man who, with Howard Jarvis, co-authored that historic people's initiative, Paul Gann.

On June 3rd, Paul Gann in his third state-wide victory won the California Republican primary against six challengers with a victory margin of more than a quarter million votes and without running a single television commercial.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am proud and pleased to present to you the man that the people of California want as their next United States Senator, and who will be their next United States Senator, Paul Gann, to lead us in the Pledge of Allegiance.

MR. GANN. — Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Delegates, Alternates, haven't we had a wonderful convention? (Applause.)

Don't you feel that we are being given another opportunity to regain control of our country? (Applause.)

If you do, join me in inviting this nation to stand at this time and place your right hand over your heart, and please follow me as we pledge allegiance with our hearts and minds to this great flag of the United States of America.

(Mr. Gann led the assembly in the Pledge of Allegiance to the flag.)

MR. GANN — Thank you very much, and God bless you.

THE NATIONAL ANTHEM

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The Chair now recognizes a beautiful lady with a beautiful voice, Princess Pale Moon, for the singing of our National Anthem.

(The National Anthem was sung by Princess Pale Moon of the Cherokee Nation.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The Chair now recognizes His Eminence, John Cardinal Dearden, Apostolic Minister of Detroit, for the invocation.

Will you please stand for the invocation?

INVOCATION

BY

JOHN CARDINAL DEARDEN
Apostolic Minister of Detroit

Let us pray.

God, our Father, we offer honor and praise to You. We are thankful for the blessings that have enriched our individual lives and the life of this nation.

Because we have received so much from Your hands, we acknowledge our responsibilities as stewards of Your bounty.

In response to the demands of stewardship, we gather to search out ways within the framework of our political system to enjoy the blessings of sound and responsible government.

As a people, we cherish our liberties. We ask respect for our rights and we pledge ourselves to respect the rights of others.

We seek those things that attest to and enhance the fundamental dignity of the human person. We cherish life as a gift from You, our Father. We are concerned to see to it that people everywhere and especially here in our own land have the opportunity to live truly as free persons, assured of the protection of law for their security and their well-being.

We will work to safeguard their rights in education, economic security, social equality, and equal opportunity.

Peace is one of the most precious gifts we have from You. Help us to cherish and preserve it in our own communities and in the community of nations.

However arduous the quest, keep us firm in our resolve never to abandon it.

In our concern for all these things that will make us a people always mindful of our duties to You and to one another, enlighten us in the steps we must take.

Father in life, be with us always. Grant through Your Son and our Redeemer, the Lord Jesus, in the power of Your Spirit, that we may do right, love goodness, and walk humbly with You our God. Amen.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The Chair now asks that, as we have done at the beginning of every session of this convention, we once again remember, as we have never forgotten, our hostages in Iran with a moment of silence. Please be silent.

(A moment of silence was observed for the hostages in Iran.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — And now let's give a big round of applause for Don Vails Choraleers, and please remain standing while the colors leave the floor. (Applause.)

A special thank you to the Cadet Girl Scouts of Metropolitan Detroit for their wonderful aid in this convention. (Applause.)

"WHO ARE THE DELEGATES?"

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Now as we did last night, we are going to enjoy a word from some of our delegates.

(A brief film showing various delegates was shown.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — It is now my great honor and privilege to recognize my distinguished colleague, my neighbor, from the State of New Mexico, the Honorable Manuel Lujan, for the purpose of addressing the convention. Congressman Lujan. (Applause.)

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE MANUEL LUJAN, JR. MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW MEXICO

MR. LUJAN. — Chairman Rhodes and distinguished guests, the bonds of friendship between the United States and Canada have remained strong and free for 200 years. But never has that friendship been proven more dramatically than it was proven earlier this year. Since that dark day of November 4th, 1979,

when 50 American citizens were seized on foreign soil and held captive by a gang of international bandits, all of us have had the same sense of frustration and national humiliation.

Our government called on the international community to support economic and political sanctions, but that support has been at best slow in coming, and as time dragged on, it became painfully apparent that the United States would have to go it alone in any effort to free the hostages. And we were given no assurances that such an effort would be made.

Then came the news flashes of January the 29th. Six Americans who had been hidden by Canadian diplomats for almost three months had been spirited out of Iran and were safe in West Germany. (Applause.)

Our good neighbor to the north had not only given us the first real ray of hope in this crisis but had closed her embassy in Iran to protest against the Ayatollah's act of international terrorism.

This unselfish display of friendship and support will never be forgotten by the American people. (Applause.)

I was very honored when I was invited to express on behalf of all our people our heartfelt gratitude and appreciation for that friendship.

As Delegates in this Republican Convention, we owe Canada a special thank you for the hospitality and cooperation that we have received. Many of us are staying across the river in Windsor, Ontario, and have been made to feel like honored guests. The gracious treatment of our Canadian hosts will always be gratefully remembered. (Applause.)

In a larger sense, however, we shall recall in future years that tonight, while some 50 lonely Americans spend their 257th day as prisoners of a foreign nation, that there are six Americans whose ordeal is over, thanks to our northern neighbor who has proven to be our true friend. (Applause.)

To those Americans still in captivity, let us say that under President Reagan none of their countrymen will ever be subjected to the same treatment, because a nation cannot permit its diplomats to be treated like common criminals. (Applause.)

And to our good and proven Canadian friends, let us pledge that their timely and heroic support shall never be forgotten.

So as we say in New Mexico, to Canada, muchas gracias. Thank you, Canada, from the bottom of our hearts. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Now let us all stand while we conclude our tribute to our good friend and neighbor, Canada, while Manny Harmon and the 1980 Convention Orchestra present the Canadian National Anthem. Will we please all stand for the Canadian National Anthem.

(The Canadian National Anthem was played.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The Chair now recognizes the distinguished United States Senator from the State of New York, the Honorable Jacob K. Javits, for a very special purpose.

STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE JACOB K. JAVITS UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM NEW YORK

SENATOR JAVITS. — Thank you very much, Chairman Rhodes.

The chairman of the New York delegation has authorized me to express our great appreciation to the chairman of the convention and to the convention authorities for allowing us the privilege of the convention for a memorial to a man we hold very dear and we believe the country should hold very dear.

For 40 years as citizen, federal official, Governor and Vice President, Nelson Aldrich Rockefeller of New York served this Republican Party and his state and our nation with such singular patriotism, devotion and excellence as to commend him for an honored place in the history of our country.

Now the Republican Party assembled in our 32nd quadrennial national convention memorializes with honor Nelson Aldrich Rockefeller for his great and historic service to our Republican Party, to his state and to his nation.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Ladies and gentlemen, will all of you rise now and observe a moment of silence for a great American, a great Republican, the former Vice President of the United States, Nelson Aldrich Rockefeller.

(A moment of silence was observed in memory of former Vice President Rockefeller.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The Chair is now very proud to recognize one of the outstanding young leaders in this or any other nation. This is a gentleman from the largest state in the union, population-wise, who by his hard work, by his wonderful personality, and by his obvious capabilities has caught the fancy not only of the people of his great state but of all of the people of the United States.

He is the chairman of this Convention's Program Committee. He is the Republican National Committeeman from California. He is also the Lieutenant Governor of California, and at least half the time — the best half, by the way — the Governor of California. (Applause.)

Ladies and gentlemen, will you please join me in welcoming for a presentation the Honorable Mike Curb, Lieutenant Governor of California. (Applause.)

PRESENTATION OF GOLD CONVENTION BADGE TO THE HONORABLE BILL BROCK, CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE BY THE HONORABLE MIKE CURB LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

MR. CURB. — Chairman Rhodes, my fellow Delegates, as Lieutenant Governor of California, I believe I can speak for our entire state when I say how proud we are that Ronald Reagan is the nominee of our Party. (Applause.)

If the political measure of our Party is the quality of its leadership, then the Republican Party is truly blessed. We are blessed with men and women of quality and dedication and commitment. We have leaders committed to the traditional values of America and to the Republican principles that protect the dignity of the individual, the free enterprise system, and opportunity for all.

We have no better example of such leadership than our own Republican National Chairman, Bill Brock. (Applause.)

Bill has been a leader in Congress. He has been a leader in the United States Senate. He has been a dynamic leader in the building of the Republican Party in his home State of Tennessee.

Since Bill Brock was chosen as Chairman of the National Committee, the Republican Party has gained three U. S. Senate seats; we have gained sixteen seats in the Congress; we have gained seven additional governorships; and 358 additional seats in state legislatures. (Applause.)

Ronald Reagan recently asked Bill Brock to continue as the Chairman of our party. (Applause.)

So tonight is the night we honor Bill for the dedication he has given us for the past four years in the building of our Republican Party.

And speaking for Bill's friends throughout this nation, and on behalf of Republicans everywhere, it is my distinct honor tonight to present the special badge of this convention to our Republican National Chairman, Bill Brock. (Applause.)

RESPONSE BY THE HONORABLE BILL BROCK

CHAIRMAN BROCK. — If I may, I would like to just say thank you very much, not only for myself but for the National Committee, because I do think they have worked so hard in the last three years to rebuild this Party and to give us the opportunity for success that we have this year.

We have been building from the bottom up. We have been improving the quality of our candidates because of your efforts. And it is nice to be recognized when you are the chairman, but you have to know that you all have done the work.

Can I ask you to think with me a minute about where we were a year ago when the decision was made to come to Detroit, Michigan? You know, this city has surprised some people, and I just wanted to tell you for myself and for all of the Delegates that have come up to me in the last few days and said, "Hey, you know, this is a nice town." (Applause.)

It really is.

My wife was telling me she walked into a hotel and one of the doormen was out there who looked so tired and she knew he had been working about 18 hours a day. But everywhere you have been and I have been in this town, I haven't heard one case of somebody being rude. On the contrary, I have heard nothing but compliments about waitresses and people in the workplaces and the shops and everywhere. (Applause.)

And I just thought it was important — I know we passed a resolution — but I just thought it was important for us to say to the people of this city, doggone, you are nice folks, and we appreciate you. You have really been super. You really have. You have just bent over backwards. (Applause.)

I might also mention that this has been an incredible convention because it is not just a city, but it is the whole State of Michigan that is involved. We have got them together right here in the front row — and Bill Milliken is as fine a Governor as there is anywhere in the world. I am proud of the fact he has been so helpful, and I appreciate that very much. (Applause.)

I am sorry to interrupt your program, but I just thought it was important to say that. We appreciate you folks in Michigan and in Detroit particularly. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Ladies and gentlemen, I think it is important for me to say something about Bill Brock right now.

Bill Brock is a man of great courage. He is also a man of great intelligence. It isn't just that he agrees with me most of the time, although he does. That isn't all that makes him intelligent.

But, you know, when he took over the job of running the Republican National Committee, he was following some very great people, some great chairmen who have brought this Party back from the doldrums we were in some years ago. He recognized, though, that we began to fail at the grass roots, and so we were going to have to start to build back up at the grass roots. And that is the reason that so much of the resources of the Republican Party have gone into the financing of elections for state legislatures, for Governors, for Secretaries of State, and people around the country who are so important to the future of this party.

Also, and I have got to admit, Bill, that I was one of those, when Bill Brock decided, as others did, that Detroit was the place to come, I really thought he had lost his mind. But I will be the first to apologize and say to Bill, the people of Detroit have made a hero out of you. They have been so great. (Applause.)

They have been so great. They are so hospitable. The facilities are so superior that as far as I am concerned, Detroit stands out as one of the finest convention cities I have ever been in. (Applause.)

You have a great Governor, too, in Bill (William G. Milliken, Governor of Michigan).

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I have lots of honors as chairman. This is one of them that I really like.

This young man I had the privilege of campaigning for. I campaign for a lot of people, but they don't all win, unfortunately. This one did. (Applause.)

In Indiana, there was a district which had been Democratic for much too long, and a young man decided that he could do something about it. He also decided that maybe I could help him.

So I went up and I was one of the first to campaign for this young fellow, followed by many other Republicans. And he won a resounding victory and an even more resounding reelection victory. He is now one of the most prominent, most liked, most respected members of the House of Representatives.

He is going to do something which the American people will be grateful for. He is going to replace Birch Bayh in the United States Senate. (Applause.)

Ladies and gentlemen, the Congressman from the State of Indiana, the next Senator from the State of Indiana, the Honorable Dan Quayle. (Applause.)

INTRODUCTION OF THE HONORABLE HOWARD H. BAKER, JR. BY THE HONORABLE DANFORTH QUAYLE MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF INDIANA

MR. QUAYLE. — Thank you very much, John Rhodes. You were good luck to me in 1976. You have already been in Indiana for us in 1980, and we are going to do a good job and get it done, I can assure you of that.

Not only will America elect Ronald Reagan President of the United States, but we will elect George Bush Vice President of the United States, and we are going to have a Republican United States Senate. (Applause and cheers.)

And let's just look at Indiana. We are going to make Dick Lugar the senior Senator from Indiana and let Birch Bayh come home and live under those laws he has been passing all of these years. (Applause.)

And let's look at South Dakota. We are going to elect Jim Abdnor and say goodby to George "B-1 Bomber" McGovern. (Applause.)

We are going to elect Chuck Grassley and retire John Culver. (Applause.)

And let's look at the great state of Idaho where finally, finally we are going to get rid of Frank Church and elect Steve Symms. (Applause.)

These four states and others will bring a new majority to the United States Senate for the first time since 1954.

The liberal leadership of Kennedy, Bayh, McGovern, has failed America. We do not want failure. We want success.

What we need in this country today, in the Congress and in Washington, is a new ethic, a new spirit, a new morality, a new generation of leadership. The new leadership will implement the programs of President Reagan and Vice President Bush. The new leadership will be creative and offer positive constructive alternatives to make America work again. The new leadership will demand less government and will reward those who are productive. And the pilot of that new leadership in the United States Senate is a man who I have the privilege of introducing tonight, Senator Howard Baker. (Applause.)

Senator Baker was the first Republican elected from the State of Tennessee by a popular vote. For those 14 years that he has served in the United States Senate, he has served with great distinction. For the past three and a half years, Senator Baker has been the Republican leader of the United States Senate.

Howard Baker is a man of integrity, of intelligence, of respect, and of a quality that is rare in Washington, competence.

Ladies and gentlemen, I give to you the next Majority Leader of the United States Senate, Howard Baker. (Applause and standing ovation.)

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE HOWARD H. BAKER, JR. UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM TENNESSEE AND MINORITY LEADER OF THE SENATE

SENATOR BAKER. — Ladies and gentlemen, it is an exhilaration for me to be here on this platform tonight and to witness firsthand an introduction by a young man. By a young man from Indiana who has the youth and the vitality, who has the vigor to prove what I am going to tell you tonight.

This convention is going to change the course of destiny in America by changing the Congress of the United States and making it Republican for the first time in 26 years. (Applause.)

My friends, this convention will not only launch a new Republican President and Vice President of the United States, but this Republican Convention in 1980 will elect a Republican Senate, a Republican House of Representatives throughout this land and at every level of government because you have the vigor and the vitality in your work and your dedication to make this happen.

That, my friends, is how strong the Republican Party is tonight. In November, America is going to end four years of drift and doubts by electing Ronald Reagan President of the United States. (Applause.)

Not just because Jimmy Carter has been a weak President in a dangerous time, but because Ronald Reagan will be a strong President in an exciting time.

In November, America is going to elect George Bush Vice President of the United States. (Applause.)

Not just because he is Ronald Reagan's running mate, but also because he is a superbly qualified, effective leader for this country in the '80s.

And, my friends, in November, America is going to make John Rhodes of Arizona the next Speaker of the United States House of Representatives. (Applause.)

My friends, not just because the Democrats spend too much on bureaucratic giveaways, but also because they spent too little on the defense of this country. And in November, America is going to help elect a Republican Senate of the United States, not just because it has been 26 years since we had one, but also because the country has suffered from Democratic spending in every one of those 26 years.

Friends, let's call the roll of States. Let's talk about Republican victories in 1980. Let's talk about Illinois, let's talk about electing Dave O'Neil to the Senate of the United States from Illinois because America knows that our economy demands an offensive in our farm produce.

Let's talk about Indiana.

Let's talk about the young man who was just standing on this platform. Let's talk about Dan Quayle, the next junior Senator from the State of Indiana, because Indiana knows what America knows, that unemployment in the automobile industry comes from overspending by this Democratic Administration and this Democratic Congress.

And, friends, let's talk about Pennsylvania. Pennsylvania will elect Arlen Specter to the United States Senate in 1980, because Pennsylvania knows what America knows, that the Democratic Administration and the Democratic Party have no energy policy to promote any alternative to our dependence on foreign fuel.

And, my friends, let's talk about Idaho. Let's talk about another fine young man named Steve Symms, who is coming to the Senate of the United States, and we want him and we need his talents and we need him on the Republican side of the aisle, and you are going to elect him because Idaho knows what America knows.

Idaho knows that it is time Washington stopped talking about cutting back government and started getting the job done.

South Dakota. South Dakota will elect Jim Abdnor to the Senate of the United States because South Dakota knows what America knows, that all the good intentions in the world will not substitute for American defenses second to none. That is why we need to elect Jim Abdnor to the Senate of the United States, and that is why we intend in South Dakota to see that that happens in 1980.

Iowa. Iowa will elect Chuck Grassley to the Senate of the United States in 1980 because Iowa knows what America knows, that we can't protect our senior citizens whom we owe so much unless we stop inflation by stopping the runaway spending in Washington.

California. My friends, I believe California will elect Paul Gann to the Senate of the United States because California knows what America knows, that the American economy and the American people deserve a tax cut now and I predict, my friends, that we will elect Mark Andrews in North Dakota and Gene McDargh in Missouri, and John East in North Carolina and Jim Betz in Ohio, Marshall Mays in South Dakota, Mack Mattingly in Georgia and I predict also we can elect Republican Senators in Alabama, Alaska, Arkansas, Colorado, Connecticut, Hawaii, Kentucky, New Hampshire, Oklahoma, Vermont, Washington, Wisconsin, all across this country, because Americans everywhere know we want to solve a problem and we know that you don't solve it by going back to the people who caused the problem to begin with.

And, finally, fellow Republicans, I predict that our Republican senators who are already contributing so much to the security and welfare of this country will be re-elected wherever they are running, from Bob Dole to Bob Packwood, from Jake Javits to Barry Goldwater, from Paul Laxalt in the West to McC. Mathias in the East and back West again to Jake Garn.

My friends, the Republican Party is united. The Republican Party is strong. The Republican Party and this great country of ours will not be denied. But winning, winning the election — winning the election — is less important than governing this nation. And the unity needed to win, while vital, is less vital than the unity needed to govern.

The Carter administration is a good example of what happens when a party falls apart at the seams. This convention is a good example of what happens when a party pulls together for the common good of all of the people of the United States. (Applause.)

Faced with a stiff challenge from his own party, Jimmy Carter has used every question of policy, every instrument of government for political advantage against other Democrats. No crisis, foreign or domestic, has been immune from politics.

Jimmy Carter's brand of politics, where yesterday's politics is changed today and today's promise is broken and tomorrow's word will be nothing the next day. It is not just the result of an inept White House. It is also the desperate politics of a President presiding over a bitterly divided Democratic Party. A party that cannot unite itself, can never unite this nation.

And that is why the Republican Party — that is why Republican unity behind Ronald Reagan and George Bush is so vital.

Of course we need to win, but we will need it even more to govern, and to govern with purpose and progress and optimism.

President Ford said it well the other night. America can do anything it sets its mind to do, but only if we are together as a party and as a country.

Sometimes the few points we disagree upon among ourselves get a lot more attention than those points on which we agree. So I thought that we might tell America tonight what everyone in this convention hall agrees on. It is a unity agenda, a unity agenda which should and will elect Ron Reagan and the Republican Party to a position of power of responsibility in the 1980s.

A unity agenda. A unity agenda which will serve America in the '80s.

We stand absolutely unified for rebuilding America's defenses. We stand unequivocally united for restoration of competence in America's diplomacy. We stand enthusiastically united for a tax cut for all Americans now, and we stand totally united for a dismantling of the Federal bureaucracy that has grown fat and arrogant under Democratic administrations, and we stand forever united for a decisive energy policy based on freeing free enterprise to produce once again.

And we stand firmly united for bringing the government the best America has, for forging a Cabinet of men and women of competence as well as compassion, for filling the White House staff with proven success rather than untried hangers-on, reaching out for America's best regardless of religion or color or sex or age, for making politics and public service the noblest calling again, with people who want only to get the job done.

My friends, the days of doubt about the equality of the people in charge will be ended. We stand united tonight, a convention united behind its party, a party united behind its nominees, a country united in its resolve.

It is that unity in November and through the next four years that can restore our country's strength and prosperity and confidence and pride. America that was once the world's beacon can once again show the way.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Ladies and gentlemen, I now have another honor of introducing one of the more distinguished, capable, valuable members of the House of Representatives. This man is always on the floor now.

People who have seen the House in session know that from time to time there aren't too many people on the floor. They are off doing committee work or off doing something else, but this member believes — and many others agree with him — that one of the most important functions that you have as a Member of Congress is to know what is going on on the floor and he does.

He is the best student of the rules of the House that we have and I have often said that as minority leader if I didn't have him, I would have to invent somebody just like him, and I am so pleased and proud to acknowledge before this entire country and this convention my dependence, my gratitude to one of the great members of the House of Representatives, the Honorable Robert Bauman of the State of Maryland, who is now recognized for a presentation.

STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE ROBERT E. BAUMAN MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF MARYLAND

MR. BAUMAN. — Mr. Speaker — and I don't mean Mr. Chairman, I mean Mr. Speaker of the House of Representatives, John Rhodes — (Applause) — we are all going to join to make sure you have that title, John, in just a very few months.

Now this is my seventh Republican National Convention. I started coming to these things back in 1956 when Dwight David Eisenhower was President of the United States, that great American. And I want to tell you, it isn't easy to be a Republican in the State of Maryland. It wasn't easy to be a Republican in many places until now, until this year. Until 1980 we have had many troubles as a party.

Below this rostrum as I speak to you, you see the words "Together a New Beginning." I want to emphasize "together." Together we must be.

Let me tell you this. There ain't no other delegation more together than the delegation from the State of Maryland. (Applause.)

You know who the co-chairmen are? The very conservative Congressman you are hearing now and our senior Senator from the State of Maryland, McC. Mathias, who is up for reelection this year.

We bridged the gap in Maryland. We have differences, but we work together and I am here tonight to present to you a gentleman whose name doesn't appear on the schedule, but who agrees with me that the most important thing that we as Republicans, that we as Americans can do is to elect Ronald Reagan as President and to elect George Bush as Vice President. (Applause.)

We must win in 1980 not for Reagan and Bush, but for America and for the world. We must change the trends in America, we have to stop the deflation of our defense and our dollars and our families.

How do you do that? How do you achieve that task?

Let's go back to the founder of our party, who told us the way. Abraham Lincoln standing on the floor of the Legislature many years ago as a young man said, "Don't trim your sails. The way to win is to stand by your principles." That is the way to win.

We want to leave this convention supporting both ends of the ticket. There have been differences before and there will be differences again. But those differences end tonight.

We will go forth united. And toward that end it is my great honor and distinct pleasure to present to you tonight a gentleman who has worked for Ronald Reagan in the vineyards for many, many years, before it became popular, before Ronald Reagan became the mainstream of the Republican Party that he is tonight.

The gentleman I present to you is the conscience of the United States Senate, one of the most valiant defenders of principles and of the Republican faith. He is the single most influential member of this convention, who has written the platform on which our presidential and vice presidential candidates say they will run.

It is my honor, my distinct honor, to present to you the Senator from the State of North Carolina, Jesse Helms. (Applause.)

STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE JESSE HELMS, UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

SENATOR HELMS. — Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen of this convention, my dear friend Bob Bauman, during the past year, many of you here this evening and other Americans across the country have urged that I allow my name to be placed in nomination as candidate for the Office of Vice President of the United States.

I have been deeply honored. I have been deeply honored by these suggestions, indeed humbled by the very thought. I know that those who have offered their support did not do so because of personal loyalty or friendship as such, but because we have a common commitment to the pro-American and pro-family principles which all of us have tried to articulate.

I think it is clear that I have neither encouraged nor discouraged these efforts and I have written no letters, made no speeches, pursued or campaigned for this honor.

Yet some of my friends across this country have persevered. The difference between the various presidential and vice presidential candidates has not been based on personalities or geography, but on issues and on principles. It matters not the name of the President of the United States, the person who lives and works in the White House nor serves in the Office of the Vice President.

What matters are the principles that guide them and their faithfulness to those principles.

Tonight another name will be submitted in nomination for that office and I want you to know that I have no regrets whatsoever for the Republican Party must be a party of principles, not of personalities. (Applause.)

It is only on the basis of principle that we must appeal to the American people and it is only on the basis of our principles that the American people should be governed. And there is one lesson that our nation's leaders must learn, it is that the American people are not interested in politics as usual. In fact, most Americans are scarcely interested in politics.

The opinion polls and the elections of recent years demonstrate that there is a growing disaffection with political movements and political parties.

Millions of Americans who have been supporting Ronald Reagan owe no loyalty to the Republican Party and they are not looking for jobs in the Reagan Administration and they will not be moved by appeals here for party unity or by any wheeling or dealing in the back room of any convention, whether it be here or in New York.

Indeed, the American people are not all that interested in those labels which are so frequently tossed around by the media. You know, right wing, left wing or moderate, because generally these labels are deceptive and they reflect scarcely more than anything else the opinion and the political orientation of the media themselves.

The American people are interested only in what is right and what is wrong. (Applause.)

As Americans we may give our votes to candidates and parties, but we give our loyalty only to God and family and country. (Applause.)

And I say to you tonight that there is a new majority in America, newly emergent but believing in the traditional values of our nation.

In recent years our people have not been stirred by politics. Indeed, many of them have been disillusioned in their hopes and dreams for a better America.

And our party must reach out to those millions who yearn for a reaffirmation of traditional moral values in America.

Now let us ask ourselves, have we not seen these Americans striving to strengthen the family? Have we not seen them concerned about a nation whose courts sanction the taking of innocent human life simply for social convenience?

Have we not seen them working to preserve the family center, to strengthen the definition of women's rights in our constitution?

Have we not seen them working to control the circumstances of the education of their children, to preserve a God-fearing sense of moral and intellectual values?

Do not most Americans want to see an end to inflation, an honest end, and a restoration of an honest dollar?

Are not most Americans fed up with the use of tax systems to redistribute their hard-earned dollars not to the needy, but to political special interests?

Do not most Americans want to protect their jobs and the jobs of their fellow workers from the ravages of unfair foreign competition?

And, finally, do not all Americans want to preserve our freedom and our way of life against the international assault of socialism, Marxism, Communism and other totalitarian regimes? Yes. And that is the reason most Americans are opposed to using our tax dollars and our diplomacy to support Marxist governments abroad such as in Nicaragua.

Yes, and that is why they were outraged over the giveaway of the Panama Canal to a Marxist dictator who is now busy spreading its ideology throughout the Caribbean. (Applause.)

Yes. And they are concerned about our defense capabilities and you are looking at one senator who will never vote to send one American boy to the other side of the world to fight a war he will not be allowed to win.

Yes, sir and yes, ma'am, Americans more than ever are concerned about distortion of national defense and they believe that our nation is a good nation and that our national defense should not be merely equal to, but superior to, the military might of the Soviet Union.

That is what our platform says. These are not political issues. These are moral issues and these are issues of survival.

So, as we look out across this America that we love, we see the coalition to which we must appeal between now and November, and we must do it honestly and sincerely. These are Americans, decent, honorable, concerned Americans who want to preserve the family, the free enterprise system and regain a foreign policy that will allow those values to survive.

Let me say that I am proud of you. I am proud of the Platform Committee that produced a platform adopted by this party this week at this convention, a platform based on principle.

We have said what we mean, now let's say it over and over again and mean what we say. (Applause.)

And every Republican who embraced this platform will find himself or herself in tune with that coalition out there across America, which will make Ronald Reagan the next President of the United States.

Now the point of my being here. It was gratifying to hear last night that the Republican ticket in November is pledged to support this platform across the board without exception and to do it with precision. And I will tell you this: they had better, because the American people are going to hold us to that pledge.

Ronald Reagan was selected as the candidate of the primaries and of this convention, not because he is a warm and attractive leader, which he is. He was nominated because he had a skillful campaign team, in part. He was not nominated merely because he had a splendid record as Governor of California, which he did, because there are other good governors.

The fact is that Ronald Reagan was nominated and is the favorite of the American people today because he has resolutely and unfailingly stood for the principles of Americans who want to make our nation great again — morally, militarily and economically. (Applause.)

This is the coalition across America which has called Governor Reagan and which has brought him to the nomination of our party.

Now let me ask you something. Do you remember that evening exactly four years ago when a great American spoke at Kansas City to the Republican Convention? Do you remember Ronald Reagan's message that evening?

I will never forget it.

Do you remember he said, "You just stay in there and you stay with the same faith that made you do what you are doing here. The individuals on the stage may change," he said, "but the cause is there and the cause will prevail because it is right."

And then he said, "So don't give up your ideals and don't compromise. Don't turn to expediency and don't, for heaven's sake, get cynical. Look at yourselves and what you were willing to do and recognize that there are millions of Americans out there who want what you want, who want it to be that way, who want it to be a shining city on a hill."

Ladies and gentlemen, we can have that shining city on a hill, but we can have it only through God's grace, our own courage and our own will to abide by the faith of our fathers. And our ticket has pledged that they, both of them, understand this. They have given assurance that they understand the miracle of America.

They have pledged that they will abide by the platform adopted by this convention. So let us all go from this place this night and set our sights on that shining city on the hill.

I support our ticket because our nominees have emphasized their faith and their dedication to the platform adopted by this convention.

My friends, let us live each day mindful that the Lord may be giving us just one more chance to save America. With a genuine spiritual rebirth we can do it. And let's get about it.

Thank you and God bless you. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Thank you, Senator Helms, for reminding us of what we are and what we must be.

Ladies and gentlemen, you have seen this gentleman who is standing to my left during this convention, but I don't imagine that there are many of you who know that he is quite a bit more besides being the Chief Reading Clerk, which he is in this convention.

He is also the Republican candidate for the United States House of Representatives from the First Congressional District of West Virginia, the next Congressman from that district, the Honorable Joe Bartlett. (Applause.)

ROLL CALL OF STATES FOR NOMINATION FOR VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Our next order of business is to proceed with the selection of the candidate for Vice President of the United States, and I will again review the procedure.

The Secretary of the Convention will call the roll of the States. Any State wishing to make a nomination should so indicate. However, Rule 16(a), which requires an indication of majority support from each of your delegations, does not apply in the selection of the vice presidential candidate.

Following the completion of this call, the Chair will recognize those States which indicated an intention to place a name in nomination. Under Rule 16 once the Secretary has begun to call the roll, it cannot be dispensed with for any reason. Therefore, all States will be called when the names of candidates have been placed in nomination.

The Chair will ask the Secretary to call the roll of States for the purpose of voting.

Again under Rule 16 once the Secretary has begun the call of the roll, it cannot be dispensed with for any reason. So the Chair asks that there be no demonstrations until after the roll has been completely called and all States have voted.

If any State desires to pass on the first call, it may do so. At the conclusion of the first call of the roll the Secretary will proceed to call the names of those States which passed.

No delegation will be recognized to change its vote until all delegations which have passed have been given a second opportunity to vote.

In accordance with Rule 18(b) again I want to remind the delegates of the provision of Rule 17, which states and I quote, "When it appears at the close of the roll call that any candidate for the nomination for President or Vice President has received the majority of the votes entitled to be cast in the convention, the chairman shall announce the question to be 'Shall the nomination be made unanimous?' "

I now ask the Deputy Secretary of the Convention, Mrs. Noël Gross of New Jersey, to call the roll of the States to determine those States which have a nomination.

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Alabama.

GUY HUNT of Alabama. — Alabama proudly yields to the State of Kansas for the nomination of Vice President.

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Alabama yields to the State of Kansas.

Alaska.

MARILYN J. GAY of Alaska. — Alaska passes.

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Arizona.

THOMAS J. PAPPAS of Arizona. — Madam Chairman, the Sunshine State of Arizona passes.

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Arkansas.

HARLAN "BO" HOLLEMAN of Arkansas. — Madam Chairman, Arkansas passes.

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — California.

R. D. "BOB" NESEN of California. — California passes.

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Colorado.

HOLLY COORS OF COLORADO. — Colorado passes.

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Connecticut.

RALPH CAPECELATRO of Connecticut. — Madam Chairman, Connecticut passes.

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Delaware.

PIERRE A. DUPONT IV of Delaware. — Madam Secretary, Delaware passes.

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — District of Columbia.

ARTHUR A. FLETCHER of the District of Columbia. — The District of Columbia, the nation's capital, passes.

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Florida.

L. E. "TOMMY" THOMAS of Florida. — Florida casts 48 votes for Bush and 3 abstentions.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Will the chairman of the Florida delegation please respond to the question of the Chair as to whether that state has a name to be placed in nomination.

MR. THOMAS. — Florida passes.

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Georgia.

T. E. STIVERS of Georgia. — Georgia passes.

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Guam.

PEDRO DIAZ PEREZ of Guam — The Republican Territory of Guam passes.

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Hawaii.

HANNIBAL TAVARES. — Mr. Chairman, the State of Hawaii passes.

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Idaho.

JAMES A. MCCLURE of Idaho. — Mr. Chairman, the State of Idaho passes.

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Illinois.

JAMES R. THOMPSON of Illinois. — Illinois passes.

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Indiana.

BRUCE B. MELCHERT of Indiana. — Indiana passes.

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Iowa.

ROBERT D. RAY of Iowa. — Iowa passes.

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Kansas.

D. S. "PETE" MCGILL of Kansas. — Madam Chairman, Kansas has a name to place in nomination. Senator Dole will make the nomination. The name of our nominee is George Bush. (Applause.)

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Kentucky.

M. GENE SNYDER of Kentucky. — Mr. Chairman, Kentucky passes.

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Louisiana.

JOHN CADE, JR. of Louisiana — Mr. Chairman, Louisiana passes.

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Maine.

HATTIE M. BICKMORE of Maine. — Madam Chairman, Maine passes.

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Maryland.

ALLEN C. LEVEY of Maryland. — Mr. Chairman, Maryland passes.

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Massachusetts.

SILVIO O. CONTE of Massachusetts. — Massachusetts, 42 votes — passes.

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Michigan.

WILLIAM G. MILLIKEN of Michigan. — Michigan, 82 votes, passes.

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Minnesota.

MARSIE LEIER of Minnesota. — Minnesota passes.

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Mississippi.

TRENT LOTT of Mississippi. — Mississippi, the beautiful Magnolia State, passes.

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Missouri.

GLEN BROGDEN of Missouri. — Mr. Chairman, Missouri passes.

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Montana.

LOUISE GALT of Montana. — Madam Chairman, Montana passes.

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Nebraska.

CHARLES THONE of Nebraska. — Madam Chairman, Nebraska passes.

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Nevada.

PAUL LAXALT of Nevada. — Nevada passes.

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — New Hampshire.

LANE DWINELL of New Hampshire. — Mr. Chairman, New Hampshire passes.

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — New Jersey.

DAVID F. NORCROSS of New Jersey. — Madam Chairman, New Jersey, your home state and we are proud to see you there, passes.

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — New Mexico.

ANDERSON CARTER of New Mexico. — Madam Chairman, New Mexico, the Land of Enchantment, passes.

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — New York.

BERNARD M. KILBOURN of New York. — Madam Chairman, New York, the Empire State, passes.

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — North Carolina.

JAMES E. HOLSHOUSER, JR. of North Carolina. — Madam Chairman, the great Tarheel State passes.

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — North Dakota.

JOHN SELLIE of North Dakota. — Mr. Chairman, North Dakota passes.

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Ohio.

DONNA POPE of Ohio. — Madam Chairman, the great State of Ohio passes.

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Oklahoma.

SKIP HEALEY of Oklahoma. — Oklahoma passes.

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Oregon.

DIANA EVANS of Oregon. — Madam Chairman, Oregon, the state of excitement, passes.

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Pennsylvania.

RICHARD L. THORNBURGH of Pennsylvania. — Madam Chairman, Pennsylvania passes.

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Puerto Rico.

LUIS A. FERRÉ of Puerto Rico. — The 51st state of Puerto Rico passes.

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Rhode Island.

F. WILLIAM PENNOYER IV of Rhode Island. — Madam Chairman, Rhode Island passes.

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — South Carolina.

CARROLL A. CAMPBELL of South Carolina. — South Carolina passes, Madam Chairman.

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — South Dakota.

NORA W. HUSSEY of South Dakota. — Madam Chairman, South Dakota passes.

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Tennessee.

LAMAR ALEXANDER of Tennessee. — Mr. Chairman, Tennessee passes.

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Texas.

ERNEST ANGELO, JR. of Texas. — Texas passes.

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Utah.

ROBERT B. SYKES of Utah. — Madam Chairman, Utah passes.

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Vermont.

LAWRENCE A. WRIGHT of Vermont. — Madam Chairman, Vermont, the beckoning country, passes.

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Virginia.

JOHN N. DALTON of Virginia. — Mr. Chairman, Virginia passes.

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Virgin Islands.

PHILIP C. CLARK of Virgin Islands. — Madam Secretary, the Virgin Islands passes.

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Washington.

C. DALE DUVALL of Washington. — Madam Secretary, the State of Washington passes.

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — West Virginia.

ARCH A. MOORE, JR. of West Virginia. — Madam Chairman, West Virginia passes.

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Wisconsin.

LEE S. DREYFUSS of Wisconsin. — Wisconsin passes.

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Wyoming.

MALCOLM WALLOP of Wyoming. — Madam Chairman, Wyoming passes.

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Mr. Chairman, the State of Kansas wishes to nominate a candidate for Vice President.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The Chair now recognizes the senior Senator from the State of Kansas, a former National Chairman of our Party, our 1976 Vice Presidential nominee, the Honorable Robert Dole, for the purpose of nominating our 1980 Vice Presidential candidate. (Applause.)

THE HONORABLE ROBERT DOLE
UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM KANSAS
NOMINATING THE HONORABLE GEORGE BUSH
FOR VICE PRESIDENT

SENATOR DOLE. — Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, tonight we gather to select a Vice President, a running mate for the next President of the United States, Ronald Reagan. (Applause.)

My fellow Republicans, we are really here to celebrate as well as to nominate. And we have a great deal to celebrate.

We have a Presidential candidate who swept the field in the primary elections and is poised on the edge of victory as November approaches ever nearer.

We have a party that is united as never before, a party that has put aside its ideological and regional differences for the common good. We have a platform that reaches out with vigor to working men and women, which offers them hope rather than malaise, jobs rather than despair, for tonight America shall witness a party in the throes of a renaissance, a rebirth of the spirit and the strength to reverberate out of the Joe Louis Arena with the power of a roundhouse right.

Yes, let there be no mistake. Our Party is a two-fisted party tonight. We have unity of purpose that makes us a threat to take every constituency from our Democratic opponents. We have a ticket that can appeal to Americans from shore to shore, from shop floor to the board room, from the farm to the assembly line.

Detroit has told us that they like a good party. Well, we have given them a good party. (Applause.)

We have given them a party that will fight for Americans, for freedom in the marketplace, for security at home and abroad. We have given them a party that believes in hard work and a fair reward for that work. We have given them a party that has compassion and heart, a party that wants to bring all Americans — Blacks, Hispanics, handicapped, disadvantaged and underprivileged — into the mainstream, and to do so on their terms and with dignity. And we have given them a party and we have given them talent. We have given them men and women who deserve to serve.

One of those is the man that I am honored to nominate tonight. I know him well. We have shared experiences, having served in the Congress together and having both held the position of Chairman of the Republican National Committee.

But I really got to know him better this past year. I got to see him close up, watching as his character was forged and shaped on the cruise ship that was our Presidential selection process.

I watched and I thought here is a man who understands what this Party must do to become what it must become, the majority party of this nation. (Applause.)

As a young man he saw the flames of war spread across the globe and enlisted in the armed forces. His services as a pilot earned him decorations for heroism in the Pacific. In his twenties he went to Texas with Barbara, a great asset in his campaign, and there he built a successful business from the ground up.

In his thirties he ran and won a seat in Congress in a district that had never before elected a Republican, and once again he left his mark, becoming a valued member of the House Ways and Means Committee.

In his forties, he began his second career in public service in the Executive Branch of our government where he served with exceptional skill as our American Ambassador to the United Nations, as American Envoy to China, and as Director of Central Intelligence.

Along the way he even squeezed in a term as a very successful Chairman of our Party in a very difficult time for the Republican Party.

And now tonight, in his fifties, he embarks upon a new journey, to become the next Vice President of the United States.

The record, ladies and gentlemen, is long and distinguished. Yet the true mark of a leader lies not in the titles he has held but the vision and hope he has inspired.

And let me also say, he ran a positive campaign and an uplifting campaign, the kind of campaign that will be a vital asset in helping to ensure that Ronald Reagan is the next President of the United States. (Applause.)

Experience, honor, vision — these are the qualities that he will bring to our ticket and upon these foundations all of us can help to make the next President of our land, Ronald Reagan, one of the greatest Presidents of our history. (Applause.)

And he will stand with Ronald Reagan and together they will fight to throw off the gloom and despair that has descended over our beloved country. We can win this election in two ways, my fellow Republicans, and my fellow Americans who may be watching. We can win it as a rejection of Jimmy Carter and all the mistakes we have come to associate with his Administration, or we can win it on our own, by offering a positive alternative that promotes greater prosperity, greater employment, greater national security, and a more compassionate way of helping those who want nothing more from life than a chance to join in the competition that is the American birthright.

Whether we win is up to the American people. Whether we deserve to win is up to ourselves. And the man I am about to nominate will help ensure that we deserve to win that victory. He is a man of vision. He is dedicated to making America America again. We are not faced simply with an election in 1980. We are faced with a referendum on the American way of life. We are literally voting on our futures and on the kind of world we envision for ourselves and our children as we move into the 21st century.

I believe this man can build a better world, just as he has built upon each of his experiences to move from success to success.

Let me say one personal word. I say to the Delegates and to the Alternates and to the guests in this chamber, I say to those who may have supported other candidates for Vice President, I say to those who may have nominated other

candidates for President, this man deserves our nomination as Vice President. This man has earned that right. This man has your philosophy. (Applause.)

And let's make no mistake about it. Some of us have tried and failed. Some in this audience have tried and succeeded. This is not a time to stress our differences. This is a time to stress agreement, to talk about the unity in our Party. (Applause.)

And so I say with all the sincerity I can muster, it is my honor, it is my privilege, to nominate the next Vice President of the United States, George Bush. (Applause and standing ovation.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — And now to second the nomination of our Vice Presidential candidate, the Chair recognizes the Delegate from Massachusetts, Mr. Lowell Thomas.

LOWELL THOMAS SECONDING THE NOMINATION OF THE HONORABLE GEORGE BUSH FOR VICE PRESIDENT

MR. THOMAS. — Good evening, everybody.

I didn't know that I was from Massachusetts. I thought I was born in Ohio and spent most of my life (applause) and spent a great deal of my life in Colorado (applause) and now I live in New York.

I hope you won't take my remarks as a criticism of the previous speaker, Senator Dole, but I was just telling some of my media friends that it seemed to me that all nominee speeches should be limited to two minutes. (Applause.)

And I am going to try and cut that in half.

For over 70 years, as some of you may know, I have been going about the world coming in contact with people who have played a great part in running the nations of this planet. And during that time I have come in contact with many remarkable men. But none more unusual, none more gifted, none more talented than the man whose name I am going to mention in just a moment.

I journeyed through Central Asia with him. He is a superb human being, one of the most thoughtful, one of the most gracious, one of the most enlightened men I have ever known. And it is a great honor indeed to have this opportunity to play some small part — by the way, before I do, I want to mention to you the last time I spoke at a convention it was in the days when the sessions went all night. And I spoke at 4:00 in the morning and the audience was all asleep.

But to conclude my remarks, it is great to have an opportunity to help nominate a magnificent human being, to whom I would entrust my country, my life, I would even trust him with my wife. (Laughter.)

And his name is George Bush. (Applause and cheers.)

And so long until tomorrow.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Well, I am sure that Lowell Thomas knows exactly where he is from and he knows where he is going, too. He is a great man and the Party is very proud and happy to have him here . . . And the Chair apologizes to him.

The Chair now recognizes Julia Rivera de Vincenti of Puerto Rico for the purpose of seconding the nomination.

MS. JULIA RIVERA DE VINCENTI
DELEGATE FROM PUERTO RICO
SECONDING THE NOMINATION OF
THE HONORABLE GEORGE BUSH FOR VICE PRESIDENT

MS. DE VINCENTI. — Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen. (speaking in Spanish).

It is with great pride that I stand to second the nomination of the next Vice President of the United States, George Bush.

George Bush has been called upon to serve this country many times, and in each case he has excelled. Last night our next President Ronald Reagan, called upon him once again, and this dedicated public man once again answered the call.

It would take all evening to tell you of this man's years of experience in foreign affairs, government and business. I will simply say that George Bush has the experience, the convictions and the compassion that are ingredients of a great living being. Together Governor Reagan and Ambassador Bush will create a new era of prosperity at home and peace and cooperation among all peoples of the world.

It is my great honor to second the nomination of the next Vice President of the United States, George Bush. Thank you. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The Chair now recognizes the distinguished and able Senator from the State of Utah, Orrin Hatch, for the purpose of seconding the nomination.

THE HONORABLE ORRIN HATCH
UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM UTAH
SECONDING THE NOMINATION OF
THE HONORABLE GEORGE BUSH FOR VICE PRESIDENT

SENATOR HATCH. — Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, what a future this party has. I would be remiss if I didn't recognize the great Vice Presidential candidates that we have had this year and all of the great young leadership that we have in our party.

Howard Baker, the Minority Leader of the Senate, a great leader, a person who has brought us together in the Senate. Dick Lugar is one of the leading

intellects in this country and one of the great intellects of the United States Senate.

Jack Kemp. We all love Jack Kemp and Bill Roth for what they have done for this party.

Paul Laxalt is the most likeable guy in the United States Senate, but that is only half of it. He is a great leader, too.

Bill Simon. We all know what he has done in economics and finance in this country and his advice to many Presidents in this country.

Guy Vander Jagt, one of the great leaders of the House of Representatives — the best speaker in the Republican Party.

Don Rumsfeld, one of the truly great administrators and managers in this country.

And yes, Jesse Helms, the conscience of the United States Senate.

And they are only representative of a small number of the growing leadership and youth of leadership in this great party that we represent.

The American people are learning something very important about the Republican Party this evening. For many months they have watched us conduct an honorable contest for our party's nomination. And tonight, as I second the nomination of the next Vice President of the United States, they are watching this party come together as never before, in a united effort, in a program of economic growth and peace through strength; in short, ladies and gentlemen, a program of hope that stands in sharp contrast to the Democrats' program of despair.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is my pleasure to second the nomination of the next Vice President of the United States, George Bush. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The Chair now recognizes the lovely daughter of our Platform Committee Chairman, Senator John Tower, Miss Jeanne Tower, of the State of Texas.

MS. JEANNE TOWER
ALTERNATE DELEGATE FROM TEXAS
SECONDING THE NOMINATION OF
THE HONORABLE GEORGE BUSH FOR VICE PRESIDENT

MS. TOWER. — Mr. Chairman, my fellow Delegates, few men in history have combined so many lifetimes of achievement into one as has the man whose nomination I rise to second. Having served his country with courage and distinction in World War II, he went on to establish himself as a success in the vital field of energy production. As a legislator, he quickly earned the confidence and respect of his colleagues in his first term.

He was an admired chairman of his party. He was a superlative diplomat. He restored to the CIA a confidence, a sense of mission and morale that had been

shattered by the excessive intrusions and revelations of a congressional witch-hunt.

A warm and outgoing, humane man, he has impressed us by his stamina, his dedication and his vision. A great team player, he has inspired the young people of our nation and related to them so effectively the convictions and ideals of our great party.

He is so fitting a running mate for our superb candidate, Ronald Reagan, I am honored, Mr. Chairman, to second the nomination of George Bush of Texas for Vice President of the United States. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The Chair now recognizes the distinguished former Assistant Secretary of the Department of Labor, the Honorable Arthur Fletcher, a Delegate from the District of Columbia.

THE HONORABLE ARTHUR A. FLETCHER DELEGATE FROM THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA SECONDING THE NOMINATION OF THE HONORABLE GEORGE BUSH FOR VICE PRESIDENT

MR. FLETCHER. — Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I stand before this convention to second the nomination of a man who is uniquely qualified to help Governor Reagan and the Republican Party reach out across this great land and enlist all Americans in our crusade. Ours is a crusade for jobs, for economic growth, for opportunity, and for peace.

I know this man will join Governor Reagan on this most important quest.

I had a chance to work under his leadership at the United Nations and when he was the chairman of our party. I know he is a man of character, a man of determination. He is a man who is concerned for those who are less fortunate in our society. He is a man who wants to make the American dream a dream of reality for all Americans.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is my distinct honor and pleasure to second the nomination of the next Vice President of the United States, Ambassador George Bush. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — I now recognize my distinguished colleague in the House of Representatives from the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, the Honorable William Goodling, for the purpose of a second.

THE HONORABLE WILLIAM GOODLING MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM THE COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA SECONDING THE NOMINATION OF THE HONORABLE GEORGE BUSH FOR VICE PRESIDENT

MR. GOODLING. — Mr. Chairman — and after November, Mr. Speaker — ladies and gentlemen: The American people are crying for leadership. The free world is asking us once again to lead.

Last night this convention provided that leader when we nominated the great two-term Governor of California, Governor Ronald Reagan. (Applause.)

Tonight we will provide Governor Reagan with an outstanding running mate. I think I can best describe the warmth of Ambassador George Bush by using the words of my favorite song, "Reach Out and Touch." "Reach out and touch a soul that is dirty. Reach out and touch a spirit in despair. Reach out and touch a life torn and dirty. Reach out and touch a man who is lonely, if you care."

And George Bush shows that he cares about all Americans as the voters in Pennsylvania showed in the primary election. (Applause.)

Ambassador George Bush provides Governor Reagan with a team man who not only cares about people but who is extremely well qualified through experience in the armed services, the free enterprise system, and the Federal Government, to carry out all assignments given to him by our next President, Ronald Reagan.

It is with great pride on behalf of the Delegates from the great Commonwealth of Pennsylvania that I second the nomination for Vice President of the United States Ambassador George Bush. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Now to present the final seconding speech for our Vice Presidential nominee the Chair recognizes the very distinguished junior Senator from the State of Iowa, the Honorable Roger Jepsen.

THE HONORABLE ROGER JEPSEN
UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF IOWA
SECONDING THE NOMINATION OF
THE HONORABLE GEORGE BUSH FOR VICE PRESIDENT

MR. JEPSEN. — Thank you. Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I rise this evening on behalf of the great food-producing State of Iowa to second our Party's nomination of George Bush for the office of Vice President of the United States. (Applause.)

George Bush's lifelong service to our nation in the Congress, foreign affairs, and at home make him uniquely qualified to now serve our country in this new capacity.

George Bush knows how government works. He understands the complexity of foreign affairs, and his business background equips him to understand how to achieve energy independence so America will never again be hostage to OPEC tyranny. (Applause.)

George and Barbara Bush and their children captured the hearts of thousands of Iowans as they campaigned to and fro over our state. They are a fine, God-fearing American family. They personify the traditional family values that Iowans hold dear. And we grew to love and respect them.

One key value that I share with millions of Americans is the concern for the sanctity of unborn human life. George Bush has assured Governor Reagan that he personally values the sanctity of unborn human life. (Applause.)

That was good enough for Ronald Reagan and that is good enough for me.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is with great enthusiasm that I second the nomination of George Bush, the next Vice President of the United States. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The Chair will now recognize the Secretary of the Convention, Dr. Aris T. Allen, of Maryland, to call the roll of the states. The Assistant Reading Clerk, Robert Berry, of South Dakota, will verify the vote.

The Secretary will now call the roll. Dr. Allen.

ROLL CALL OF STATES FOR SELECTION OF NOMINEE FOR VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Alabama, 27 votes.

GUY HUNT of Alabama. — Mr. Secretary, the humble State of Alabama, not accustomed to bragging, the home of the national champion Alabama Crimson Tide coached by Bear Bryant, I yield to Alabama's Governor to cast this historic vote, Mr. Ray Scott.

MR. SCOTT. — Mr. Chairman,the very proud State of Alabama casts one vote for Mr. Crane and 26 votes for the next Vice President of the United States, Ambassador George Bush.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK (Robert Berry of South Dakota). — Alabama, 26 votes for George Bush, one vote for Crane.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Alaska, 19 votes.

MARILYN J. GAY of Alaska. — Mr. Chairman, Marilyn Gay, chairman, yields to Eldon Ulmer, National Committeeman.

MR. ULMER. — Alaska, the great frontier state and the state we have to look to to supply our energy in the future, casts 13 votes for George Bush, one vote for Congressman Henry Hyde, one vote for Senator Jesse Helms, and four votes abstain.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Alaska, 13 votes for George Bush, one vote for Henry Hyde, one vote for Senator Helms, four not voting.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Arizona, 28 votes.

THOMAS J. PAPPAS of Arizona. — Mr. Chairman, the great State of Arizona, as well known for the warmth of its welcome as it is for the rays of its sunshine, casts 28 solid votes for George Bush. (Applause.)

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Arizona, 28 votes for George Bush.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Arkansas, 19 votes.

HARLAN "BO" HOLLEMAN of Arkansas. — Mr. Chairman, Arkansas, being tired of sitting in the back row, committing ourselves to getting our state by a large enough majority that we literally are going to rip those out in front in 1984, casts 19 votes for Ambassador George Bush.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Arkansas, 19 votes for George Bush.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — California, 168 votes.

R. D. "BOB" NESEN of California. — Mr. Chairman, the great State of California casts 168 votes for George Bush.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — California, 168 votes for George Bush.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Colorado, 31 votes.

HOLLY COORS OF COLORADO. — Mr. Chairman, Colorado casts 28 votes for George Bush, two abstaining, and one vote for Eugene Schroeder, the founder of the American agricultural movement.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Colorado, 28 votes for George Bush, one vote for Eugene Schroeder, two not voting.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Connecticut, 35 votes.

MALCOLM BALDRIDGE of Connecticut. — Mr. Chairman, Connecticut, the state that gave us U. S. Senator Prescott Bush, proudly casts 35 votes for one of its own, the son of U. S. Senator Prescott Bush, and the next Vice President of the United States, the Honorable George Bush.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Connecticut, 35 votes for George Bush.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Delaware, 12 votes.

PIERRE A. DUPONT IV of Delaware. — Mr. Chairman, to announce the Delaware vote I present Delegate Frank DiMondi.

MR. DIMONDI. — Mr. Chairman, Delaware proudly casts 12 votes for George Bush.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Delaware, 12 votes for George Bush.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — District of Columbia, 14 votes.

ARTHUR A. FLETCHER of the District of Columbia. — The District of Columbia, whose delegation consists of an equal number of men and women, whites and minorities, old and young, wishes to enthusiastically cast all of its 14 votes for a great man, the next Vice President of the United States, George Bush.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — District of Columbia, 14 votes for George Bush.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Florida, 51 votes.

L. E. "TOMMY" THOMAS OF FLORIDA. — Before casting our votes, Florida would like to point out one oversight of this convention and announce its appreciation for a great United States Congressman who has not appeared here. Florida salutes Phil Crane. (Applause.)

Our vote is 47 votes for Bush, three abstentions and one opposed.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Would you repeat that, please? Would the Chairman of the Florida delegation please repeat that vote?

MR. THOMAS. — 47 Bush, three abstentions and one opposed. He didn't say who the hell he opposed. (Laughter.)

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Florida, 47 votes for George Bush, four not voting.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Georgia, 36 votes.

T. E. STIVERS of Georgia. — Mr. Chairman, Georgia casts 22 votes for George Bush, 11 votes for Jack Kemp, one vote for Donald Rumsfeld, and two abstentions.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Georgia, 22 votes for George Bush, one vote for Jack Kemp, one vote for Donald Rumsfeld — Georgia, 22 votes for George Bush, 11 votes for Jack Kemp, one vote for Donald Rumsfeld, two not voting.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Guam, 4 votes.

PEDRO DIAZ PEREZ of Guam — Mr. Chairman, from the Territory of Guam, the bastion of the Pacific that keeps awake 24 hours a day so that America can sleep in peace, is happy to cast the four most expensive votes in this convention to my former chairman of the National Republican Party, George Bush.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Guam, four votes for George Bush.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Hawaii, 14 votes.

HANNIBAL TAVARES. — Mr. Chairman, the State of Hawaii, the state of sugar and pineapples and everything nice, invites you all to its friendly shores, casts a unanimous vote of 14 for Bush as Vice President.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Hawaii, 14 votes for George Bush.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Idaho, 21 votes.

JAMES A. MCCLURE of Idaho. — Mr. Chairman, the great State of Idaho, the gem of the mountains, the home of the Idaho potatoes, knowing that the best way to get the job done this way is to send a Senator from Idaho to Washington, Senator Symms, who will vote for a strong national defense, I yield to our retiring National Committeewoman to announce our vote, Oriette Sinclair, of Twin Falls, Idaho.

She has lost her voice. We will turn it over to Congressman Hansen.

MR. HANSEN. — Idaho casts 18 votes, George Bush; two votes, Phil Crane; one vote for Congressman Kemp.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Idaho, 18 votes for George Bush, two votes for Phil Crane, one vote for Jack Kemp.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Illinois, 102 votes.

JAMES R. THOMPSON of Illinois. — Mr. Chairman, Illinois, the land of the Lincoln-Douglas debates, the land of the Illinois Caucus debates, casts its votes as follows: 4 votes, pass; 5 votes, Thompson; 6 votes, Kemp; 8 votes, Crane; and, Mr. Chairman, Illinois is as proud as punch to help contribute to the election of the next President and Vice President of the United States by casting 79 votes for our good friend Ambassador George Bush.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Illinois, 5 votes for James Thompson, 6 votes for Jack Kemp, 8 votes for Phil Crane, 79 votes for George Bush, 4 not voting.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Indiana, 54 votes.

BRUCE B. MELCHERT of Indiana. — Mr. Chairman, I yield to the next Governor of the State of Indiana, the Honorable Lieutenant Governor, Robert D. Orr.

MR. ORR. — On behalf of the Indiana delegation, and our Senatorial nominee, Dan Quayle, Indiana casts its entire 54 votes for George Bush.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Indiana, 54 votes for George Bush.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Iowa, 37 votes.

ROBERT D. RAY of Iowa. — Mr. Chairman, I yield to Congressman Chuck Grassley who, following this next election, will be casting votes in support of our President, Ronald Reagan, for the announcement of Iowa's vote.

MR. GRASSLEY. — Iowa proudly casts 37 votes for the next Vice President of the United States, George Bush.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Iowa, 37 votes for George Bush.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Kansas, 32 votes.

D. S. "PETE" MCGILL of Kansas. — Mr. Chairman, Kansas casts 28 votes for George Bush, 4 abstentions.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Kansas, 28 votes for George Bush, 4 not voting.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Kentucky, 27 votes.

M. GENE SNYDER of Kentucky. — Mr. Chairman, I yield to our great Congressman from the bluegrass, Larry Hopkins, to cast Kentucky's votes.

MR. HOPKINS. — Mr. Chairman, the State of Kentucky casts 24 votes for George Bush, two for Phil Crane, and one for Jesse Helms.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Would the chairman of the Kentucky delegation repeat that vote, please?

MR. HOPKINS. — Mr. Chairman, the State of Kentucky casts 24 votes for George Bush, two votes for Phil Crane, one vote for Jesse Helms.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Louisiana, 31 votes.

JOHN CADE, JR. of Louisiana — Mr. Chairman, I yield to the Republican Mayor of Lafayette, Doug Lastrapes.

MR. LASTRAPES. — Mr. Chairman, trusting in Ronald Reagan's leadership, knowing that George Bush will become a great Vice President and that he will join President Reagan in guaranteeing the right to life, Louisiana casts all 31 votes for our next Vice President, George Bush.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Louisiana, 31 votes for George Bush.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Maine, 21 votes.

HATTIE M. BICKMORE of Maine. — Mr. Chairman, Maine, the Pine Tree State, proudly casts all 21 votes for the Connecticut Yankee who brought the heart of Texas to the State of Maine, George Bush.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Maine casts 21 votes for George Bush.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — The beautiful and prudent State of Maryland, 30 votes.

ROBERT E. BAUMAN of Maryland. — Mr. Chairman, Maryland, the land of pleasant living, casts all of its 30 votes for George Bush.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Maryland, 30 votes for George Bush.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Massachusetts, 42 votes.

SILVIO O. CONTE of Massachusetts. — Mr. Chairman, Massachusetts, 42 votes, the great Commonwealth of Massachusetts, home of high technology, the home of the greatest educational institutions of the world, the home of Presidents and the home and the birthplace of the next Vice President of the United States, Milton, Massachusetts, casts one vote for Kemp, one vote for Helms, and 40 votes for Bush.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Massachusetts, one vote for Jack Kemp, one vote for Jesse Helms, 40 votes for George Bush.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Michigan, 82 votes.

WILLIAM G. MILLIKEN of Michigan. — Mr. Chairman, I yield to George Bush's State Chairman for the purpose of presenting the vote, Loret Ruppe.

MS. RUPPE. — Mr. Chairman, Michigan has its act together. We have party unity and we will have a great victory in November for all Americans. Michigan proudly casts all 82 votes for Ambassador George Bush.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Michigan, 82 votes for George Bush.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Minnesota, 34 votes.

ALBERT H. QUIE of Minnesota. — Mr. Secretary, Minnesota, the land of 10,000 lakes, hopefully the site of the 1984 Republican National Convention, proudly announces all 34 votes for George Bush.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Mississippi, 22 votes.

TRENT LOTT of Mississippi. — Mr. Chairman, Mississippi, and its representatives here assembled, in a spirit of unity, proudly casts all 22 of its votes for George Bush and the Reagan-Bush ticket.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Mississippi, 22 votes for George Bush.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Missouri, 37 votes.

GLEN BROGDEN of Missouri. — Mr. Chairman, the great midwestern State of Missouri, home of the Missouri Tigers, casts 35 votes for Ambassador George Bush, two votes for Senator Helms.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Missouri, 35 votes for George Bush, two votes for Jesse Helms.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Montana, 20 votes.

LOUISE GALT of Montana. — Mr. Chairman, Montana casts 20 votes for George Bush.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Montana, 20 votes for George Bush.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Nebraska, 25 votes.

CHARLES THONE of Nebraska. — Mr. Chairman, Nebraska proudly casts 25 votes for George Bush, our next Vice President.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Nebraska, 25 votes for George Bush.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Nevada, 17 votes.

PAUL LAXALT of Nevada. — Mr. Chairman, the great Silver State of Nevada, which had the great pleasure of placing in nomination the name of Ronald Reagan last night as President, is also proud to cast all 17 votes for George Bush.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Nevada, 17 votes for George Bush.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — New Hampshire, 22 votes.

LANE DWINELL of New Hampshire. — Mr. Chairman, New Hampshire, the fastest-growing state in the Northeast, makes its contribution to a winning team by casting all of its 22 votes for George Bush.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — New Hampshire, 22 votes for George Bush.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — New Jersey, 66 votes.

RAYMOND J. DONOVAN of New Jersey. — Mr. Chairman, New Jersey is the home of Pat Stuart. As co-chairman of its unified delegation, I yield to Nicholas Brady.

MR. BRADY. — New Jersey enthusiastically and unanimously casts 66 votes for George Herbert Walker Bush.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — New Jersey, 66 votes for George Bush.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — New Mexico, 22 votes.

ANDERSON CARTER of New Mexico. — (Speaking in Spanish). Mr. Chairman, the State of New Mexico proudly votes as follows: one not voting, one vote for Helms, one vote for Kemp, and 19 votes for the next Vice President of the United States, George Bush.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — New Mexico, one vote for Jesse Helms, one vote for Jack Kemp, 19 votes for George Bush, one not voting.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — New York, 123 votes.

BERNARD M. KILBOURN of New York. — Mr. Secretary, New York casts 117 votes for George Bush, five votes for Helms, one vote for Crane.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — New York, 117 votes for George Bush, five votes for Jesse Helms, one vote for Phil Crane.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — North Carolina, 40 votes.

JAMES E. HOLSHOUSER, JR. of North Carolina. — Mr. Chairman, the Tarheel State casts 35 votes for her favorite son, Senator Jesse Helms, five votes for the next Vice President of the United States, Ambassador George Bush.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Would the chairman of the North Carolina delegation please repeat that vote?

MR. HOLSHOUSER. — Mr. Chairman, North Carolina casts 35 votes for Senator Jesse Helms, five votes for Ambassador George Bush.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — North Carolina, 35 votes for Jesse Helms, five votes for George Bush.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — North Dakota, 17 votes.

JOHN SELLIE of North Dakota. — Mr. Chairman, North Dakota, the new energy state, votes 16 votes for George Bush, one vote for Phil Crane.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — North Dakota, 16 votes for George Bush, one vote for Phil Crane.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Ohio, 77 votes.

DAVID W. JOHNSON of Ohio. — Mr. Secretary, beautiful Ohio, with a great jobs and progress Governor, James A. Rhodes, casts 13 votes for Jack Kemp, one vote for John Ashbrook, one vote for Guy Vander Jagt, one abstention, and 61 votes for George Bush.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Ohio, 13 votes for Jack Kemp, one vote for John Ashbrook, one vote for Guy Vander Jagt, 61 votes for George Bush, one not voting.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Oklahoma, 34 votes.

SKIP HEALEY of Oklahoma. — Mr. Chairman, Oklahoma casts 33 votes for George Bush and one abstention.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Oklahoma, 33 votes for George Bush, one abstention.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Oregon, 29 votes.

DIANA EVANS of Oregon. — Mr. Chairman, I yield to Alan "Punch" Green, Chairman of the Oregon Bush Committee.

MR. GREEN. — Mr. Chairman, this is not a commercial. The beautiful State of Oregon would like also to express its profound appreciation to the wonderful City of Detroit, Michigan, for its outstanding hospitality during this convention.

Oregon's vote for Vice President of the United States is one for Crane, one for Helms and 27 for George Bush.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Oregon, one vote for Jesse Helms, one vote for Phil Crane, 27 votes for George Bush.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Pennsylvania, 83 votes.

RICHARD L. THORNBURGH of Pennsylvania. — Mr. Chairman, Pennsylvania's votes will be announced by our distinguished retiring senior Senator, the Honorable Dick Schweiker.

SENATOR SCHWEIKER. — Pennsylvania casts 82 votes for George Bush and one vote for Howard Baker.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Pennsylvania, 82 votes for George Bush, one vote for Howard Baker.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Puerto Rico, 14 votes.

LUIS A. FERRÉ of Puerto Rico. — Mr. Chairman, we want to cast our 14 votes for the man who won the first primary held in the nation, the 17th of February, in Puerto Rico, and that is the man who said in Spanish in Puerto Rico (speaking Spanish), George Bush.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Puerto Rico casts 14 votes for George Bush.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Rhode Island, 13 votes.

F. WILLIAM PENNOYER IV of Rhode Island. — Mr. Chairman, the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, whose Republican delegation is looking forward to working towards an American renaissance, casts eight votes for George Bush and five votes for Phil Crane.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Rhode Island, eight votes for George Bush, five votes for Phil Crane.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — South Carolina, 25 votes.

CARROLL A. CAMPBELL of South Carolina. — Mr. Chairman, the entire South Carolina delegation supports the ticket in November, but as a matter of personal conviction two delegates abstain on this vote. Therefore, South Carolina casts proudly 23 votes for the next Vice President of the United States, George Bush.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — South Carolina, 23 votes for George Bush, two not voting.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — South Dakota, 22 votes.

NORA W. HUSSEY of South Dakota. — Mr. Secretary, South Dakota, the Pheasant State, supports and stands for Ronald Reagan in his decision to choose George Bush as his Vice President by casting all 22 votes for George Bush.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — South Dakota, 22 votes for George Bush.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Tennessee, 32 votes.

LAMAR ALEXANDER of Tennessee. — Mr. Chairman, Tennessee, the beautiful Volunteer State, proudly and unanimously casts 32 votes for the next Vice President of the United States, George Bush.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Tennessee casts 32 votes for George Bush.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Texas, 80 votes.

ERNEST ANGELO, JR. of Texas — Mr. Chairman, the State of Texas casts seven votes for Jesse Helms, 73 votes for our fellow Texan, George Bush.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Texas casts seven votes for Jesse Helms, 73 votes for George Bush.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Utah, 21 votes.

WILLIAM A. STEVENSON of Utah. — Mr. Chairman, the great beloved State of Utah, the state with all of that wonderful powdered snow, proudly casts all 21 votes for that great American and the next Vice President of the United States, George Bush.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Utah casts 21 votes for George Bush.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Vermont, 19 votes.

LAWRENCE A. WRIGHT of Vermont. — Mr. Chairman, Vermont. As chairman of the delegation, I take pleasure in having the chairman of the Republican Governors Association, the man who is going to be reelected for an unprecedented third term as Governor of Vermont, the Honorable Richard Snelling, announce its vote.

GOVERNOR SNELLING. — Mr. Chairman, Vermont is delighted to cast its unanimous 19 votes for the next Vice President of the United States, Ambassador George Bush.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Vermont casts 19 votes for George Bush.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Virginia, 51 votes.

JOHN N. DALTON of Virginia. — Mr. Chairman, Virginia, where four out of our six Republican Congressmen have no Democratic opposition, the only state in the nation which in the last 13 years has not supported a single Democrat for President, not supported a single Democrat for Governor, and not supported a single Democrat for the United States Senate, casts 45 votes for George Bush and six votes for Jack Kemp.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Virginia, 45 votes for George Bush, six votes for Jack Kemp.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Virgin Islands, four votes.

PHILIP C. CLARK of Virgin Islands. — Mr. Secretary, with the indulgence of the Chair, I yield to the youngest delegate from our delegation for the purpose of casting the vote for the Virgin Islands.

KELLY EVANS of the Virgin Islands. — Mr. Chairman, the United States Virgin Islands, the American paradise, freedom's outpost in the Caribbean, is fully aware of the threat of Communism that is unchecked by Jimmy Carter. We proudly cast all four of our votes for the next Vice President of the United States, Ambassador Bush.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Virgin Islands casts four votes for George Bush.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Washington, 37 votes.

C. DALE DUVALL of Washington. — Mr. Secretary, the State of Washington casts 30 votes for Ronald Reagan's choice for Vice President, George Bush, two votes for Congressman Phil Crane, three votes for Congressman Jack Kemp, one vote for William Simon, and one abstention.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Washington casts 30 votes for George Bush, two votes for Phil Crane, three votes for Jack Kemp, one vote for William Simon, one not voting.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — West Virginia, 18 votes.

ARCH A. MOORE, JR. of West Virginia. — Mr. Chairman, West Virginia, the state that came here overwhelmingly committed to the nomination of Ronald Reagan and George Bush, is proud to cast its unanimous vote in support of the next Vice President, George Bush.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — West Virginia, 18 votes for George Bush.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Wisconsin, 34 votes.

LEE S. DREYFUS of Wisconsin. — Mr. Chairman, Wisconsin votes four oleomargarine votes abstaining, 30 butter and cheese votes for Bush.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Would the Chairman of the Wisconsin delegation please repeat that vote?

GOVERNOR DREYFUS. — Four votes abstain, 30 votes for Bush.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Wisconsin casts 30 votes for George Bush, four not voting.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Wyoming, 19 votes.

MALCOLM WALLOP of Wyoming. — Mr. Chairman, Wyoming has one abstention and 18 votes for the next Vice President, Mr. George Bush.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Wyoming casts 18 votes for George Bush, one not voting.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Mr. Chairman, the roll call of the States has been completed.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The Chair is prepared to announce the vote and this is the vote:

Crane 23, Hyde 1, Helms 54, Schroeder 1, Kemp 42, Rumsfeld 1, Thompson 5, Simon 1, Ashbrook 1, Vander Jagt 1, Baker 1. Not voting 31.

And for the next Vice President of the United States George Bush, 1,832 votes. (Cheers and applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Ladies and gentlemen of the convention, the Chair declares that the nominee of this convention for the Vice Presidency of the United States is the Honorable George Bush of Texas. (Applause and cheers.)

Now the question is should the nomination of the candidate be made unanimous?

All those in favor, vote aye. (Chorus of ayes.)

Opposed, no. (No response.)

The ayes have it and the nomination is unanimous and without objection the motion to reconsider is laid on the table.

TABULATION OF THE BALLOT FOR VICE PRESIDENT

States	*Votes*	*George Bush*	*Jesse Helms*	*Jack Kemp*	*Philip Crane*	*James Thompson*	*Donald Rumsfeld*	*John Ashbrook*	*William Simon*	*Howard Baker*	*Guy Vander Jagt*	*Henry Hyde*	*Eugene Schroeder*	*Not Voting*
Alabama	27	26			1									
Alaska	19	13	1									1		4
Arizona	28	28												
Arkansas	19	19												
California	168	168												

States	Votes	George Bush	Jesse Helms	Jack Kemp	Philip Crane	James Thompson	Donald Rumsfeld	John Ashbrook	William Simon	Howard Baker	Guy Vander Jagt	Henry Hyde	Eugene Schroeder	Not Voting
Colorado	31	28											1	2
Connecticut	35	35												
Delaware	12	12												
District of Columbia	14	14												
Florida	51	47												4
Georgia	36	22		11			1							2
Guam	4	4												
Hawaii	14	14												
Idaho	21	18		1	2									
Illinois	102	79		6	8	5								4
Indiana	54	54												
Iowa	37	37												
Kansas	32	28												4
Kentucky	27	24	1		2									
Louisiana	31	31												
Maine	21	21												
Maryland	30	30												
Massachusetts	42	40	1	1										
Michigan	82	82												
Minnesota	34	34												
Mississippi	22	22												
Missouri	37	35	2											
Montana	20	20												
Nebraska	25	25												
Nevada	17	17												
New Hampshire	22	22												
New Jersey	66	66												
New Mexico	22	19	1	1										1
New York	123	117	5		1									
North Carolina	40	5	35											
North Dakota	17	16			1									
Ohio	77	61		13					1			1		1
Oklahoma	34	33												1
Oregon	29	27	1		1									
Pennsylvania	83	82								1				
Puerto Rico	14	14												
Rhode Island	13	8			5									
South Carolina	25	23												2
South Dakota	22	22												

States	*Votes*	*George Bush*	*Jesse Helms*	*Jack Kemp*	*Philip Crane*	*James Thompson*	*Donald Rumsfeld*	*John Ashbrook*	*William Simon*	*Howard Baker*	*Guy Vander Jagt*	*Henry Hyde*	*Eugene Schroeder*	*Not Voting*
Tennessee	32	32												
Texas	80	73	7											
Utah	21	21												
Vermont	19	19												
Virginia	51	45		6										
Virgin Islands	4	4												
Washington	37	30		3	2				1					1
West Virginia	18	18												
Wisconsin	34	30												4
Wyoming	19	18												1
TOTALS:	1,994		54	23		1		1		1		1		1
		1,832		42		5		1		1		1		31

COMMITTEE TO NOTIFY THE HONORABLE GEORGE BUSH OF HIS NOMINATION

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The Chair appoints the following distinguished Republicans to the Committee to Notify George Bush that he has been nominated by this convention as its candidate for the Vice Presidency of the United States and to escort him to the podium.

They are: Naomi Andrews of Texas; Prescott Bush, Jr. of Connecticut, the brother of Ambassador Bush; Andrew Card of Massachusetts; Alexander Ellis, Jr. of Massachusetts; Representative John Paul Hammerschmidt of Arkansas; Elsie Hillman of Pennsylvania; Representative James Leach of Iowa; Governor William Milliken of Michigan. (Applause and cheers.)

Also Representative Ralph Regula of Ohio.

INTRODUCTION OF THE VICE PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEE'S FAMILY

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Let me now introduce you to our next Vice President's family. First, his lovely wife, Barbara; our vice presidential candidate's mother, Mrs. Prescott Bush; George W. Bush and his lovely wife, Laura; Jeb Bush, George's son; Marvin Bush and his lovely daughter Dorothy.

The Bush family. (Applause and cheers.)

INTRODUCTION OF THE PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEE'S FAMILY

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — And now, ladies and gentlemen, the next First Family of the United States of America.

Our Presidential candidate's lovely and gracious wife, Nancy; his daughter, Patti; his son, Ron; and another fine son, Michael and his wife Colleen; and his daughter Maureen.

The Reagans. (Applause, cheers and standing ovation.)

Ladies and gentlemen of the convention, now I have the great personal honor of presenting to you the next Vice President of the United States, the Honorable George Bush of Texas. (Standing ovation, applause and cheers.)

ACCEPTANCE SPEECH BY THE HONORABLE GEORGE BUSH REPUBLICAN NOMINEE FOR VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES FORMER AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED NATIONS

MR. BUSH. — Thank you very much, ladies and gentlemen. Mr. Chairman, my fellow Republicans and fellow Americans, let me just express my heartfelt thanks for the honor that you have given me; the opportunity to run on our party's national ticket with a great leader like Ronald Reagan. On behalf of Barbara and the rest of the Bush family, all I can say is that we are overwhelmed and grateful for your expression of confidence.

With a deep sense of commitment I accept your nomination to serve as our party's candidate for Vice President on a ticket headed by the leader of our party and the next President of the United States, Ronald Reagan. I accept.

I enthusiastically support our platform. I pledge to you my total dedication and energies in an united effort to see to it that next January 20th, Ronald Reagan becomes our nation's 40th President and that a great new era will begin for America in the decade of these '80's. We need change.

Because of Ronald Reagan's leadership, we Republicans emerge from this convention as a strong, united party rededicated to the principles that made our country great. There has been a spirit of victory in the air this past week in Detroit but if that spirit is to be translated into reality, it is up to each and every one of us to help carry Ronald Reagan's message of a strong, free America the length and the breadth of this land.

Let there be no mistake, though. Jimmy Carter, though he may in the past four years be a failed President, he is a formidable campaigner who can be expected to use the power of his office to suit his own political ends. And so, my fellow Republicans, I say to you, let's forget the pollsters and forget the pundits and remember only that political victories are hard; dedicated things come

about only by tough work and that in this crucial election year, the stakes for America and the free world are too great to allow ourselves to become complacent.

We have a great mission not unlike that great mission undertaken by our party 28 summers ago when another great Republican leader, Dwight Eisenhower, began his campaign to restore the faith of the American people in their government. Dwight Eisenhower, a man of decency, compassion and strength, led America three decades ago into an era of peace and prosperity. And so, Ronald Reagan, a man of decency, compassion and strength, will lead America into a new era of greatness in this decade of the 1980's. That is the mission, the great mission, all of us working together, joined by millions of disillusioned Democrats and disappointed Independents, must undertake in the campaign ahead.

My fellow Republicans, this is Ronald Reagan's night. He is the man whom you and the American people are waiting to hear. Let me then conclude these words of acceptance by paraphrasing what I told this convention last evening, just moments before you nominated our party standardbearer for the presidency.

I said then and I repeat tonight, let us, united in spirit and purpose, go forward from this convention city to make 1980 one of victory not only for Ronald Reagan and our party, but for the United States of America and the cause of freedom throughout the world.

Thank you very, very much.

(At the conclusion of this acceptance speech, which had been interrupted frequently with applause, the assembly rose and applauded and cheered for several minutes.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Ladies and gentlemen, if you will please be seated. I am sure you will note that the screen has come down and that has got to mean to all of us that we have a film prepared for us and I assure you the film is not 20 years old.

(A documentary film of the life of Ronald Reagan was presented.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The Chair appoints the following distinguished Americans to the Committee to Escort Governor Reagan to the podium:

Senator Howard Baker of Tennessee; Representative Philip Crane of Illinois; Senator Robert Dole of Kansas; Ben Fernandez of California; Senator John Heinz of Pennsylvania; and Representative Guy Vander Jagt of Michigan.

And now, ladies and gentlemen, the moment we have all awaited, the next President of the United States, the Honorable Ronald Reagan of California. (Applause, cheers and standing ovation.)

GOVERNOR REAGAN. — Thank you. Thank you. Thank you very much.

Thank you. Thank you. Thank you very much. We are using up prime time.

Thank you very much. You are singing our song.

ACCEPTANCE SPEECH BY THE HONORABLE RONALD REAGAN REPUBLICAN NOMINEE FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES FORMER GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

GOVERNOR REAGAN. — Mr. Chairman, Mr. Vice President-to-be, this convention, my fellow citizens of this great nation:

With a deep awareness of the responsibility conferred by your trust, I accept your nomination for the Presidency of the United States. I do so with deep gratitude and I think also I might interject, on behalf of all of us, our thanks to Detroit and the people of Michigan and to this city for the warm hospitality.

I thank you for your wholehearted response to my recommendation in regard to George Bush as the candidate for Vice President.

I am very proud of our party tonight. This convention has shown to all America a party united, with positive programs for solving the nation's problems; a party to build a new consensus with all those across the land who share a community of values embodied in these words: family, work, neighborhood, peace and freedom.

Now, I know that we have had a quarrel or two, but only as to the method of attaining a goal. There was no argument here about the goal. As President, I will establish a liaison with the fifty Governors to encourage them to eliminate, wherever it exists, discrimination against women. I will monitor federal laws to ensure their implementation and to add statutes if they are needed.

More than anything else, I want my candidacy to unify our country, to renew the American spirit and sense of purpose. I want to carry our message to every American, regardless of party affiliation, who is a member of this community of shared values.

Never before in our history have Americans been called upon to face three grave threats to our very existence, any one of which could destroy us. We face a disintegrating economy, a weakened defense, and an energy policy based on the sharing of scarcity.

The major issue of this campaign is the direct political, personal and moral responsibility of Democratic Party leadership — in the White House and in the Congress — for this unprecedented calamity which has befallen us. They tell us

they have done the most that could humanly be done. They say that the United States has had its day in the sun; that our nation has passed its zenith. They expect you to tell your children that the American people no longer have the will to cope with their problems; that the future will be one of sacrifice and few opportunities.

My fellow citizens, I utterly reject that view.

The American people, the most generous on earth, who created the highest standard of living, are not going to accept the notion that we can only make a better world for others by moving backwards ourselves. Those who believe we can, have no business leading this nation.

I will not stand by and watch this great country destroy itself under mediocre leadership that drifts from one crisis to the next, eroding our national will and purpose. We have come together here because the American people deserve better from those to whom they entrust our nation's highest offices — we stand united in our resolve to do something about it.

We need a rebirth of the American tradition of leadership at *every* level of government and in private life as well. The United States of America is unique in world history because it has a genius for leaders — many leaders — on many levels. But, back in 1976, Mr. Carter said, "Trust *me*." And a lot of people did. Now, many of those people are out of work. Many have seen their savings eaten away by inflation. Many others on fixed incomes, especially the elderly, have watched helplessly as the cruel tax of inflation wasted away their purchasing power. And, today, a great many who trusted Mr. Carter wonder if we can survive the Carter policies of national defense.

"Trust me" government asks that we concentrate our hopes and dreams on one man; that we trust him to do what is best for us. Well, my view of government places trust not in one person or one party, but in those values that transcend persons and parties. The trust is where it belongs — in the people. The responsibility to live up to that trust is where *it* belongs, in their elected leaders. That kind of relationship, between the people and their elected leaders, is a special kind of compact.

Three hundred and sixty years ago, in 1620, a group of families dared to cross a mighty ocean to build a future for themselves in a new world. When they arrived at Plymouth, Massachusetts, they formed what they called a "compact," an agreement among themselves to build a community and abide by its laws.

This single act — the voluntary binding together of free people to live under the law — set the pattern for what was to come.

A century and a half later, the descendants of those people pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor to found this nation. Some forfeited their fortunes and their lives; none sacrificed honor.

Four score and seven years later, Abraham Lincoln called upon the people of all America to renew their dedication and their commitment to a government of, for, and by the people.

Isn't it once again time to renew our compact of freedom; to pledge to each other all that is best in our lives; all that gives meaning to them, for the sake of this, our beloved and blessed land?

Together let us make this a new beginning. Let us make a commitment to care for the needy; to teach our children the virtues handed down to us by our families; to have the courage to defend those values and virtues and the willingness to sacrifice for them.

Let us pledge to restore, in our time, the American spirit of voluntary service, of cooperation, of private and community initiative; a spirit that flows like a deep and mighty river through the history of our nation.

As your nominee, I pledge to you to restore to the federal government the capacity to do the people's work without dominating their lives. I pledge to you a government that will not only work well, but wisely; its ability to act tempered by prudence, and its willingness to do good balanced by the knowledge that government is never more dangerous than when our desire to have it help us blinds us to its great power to harm us.

The first Republican President once said, "While the people retain their virtue and their vigilance, no administration by any extreme of wickedness or folly can seriously injure the government in the short space of four years."

If Mr. Lincoln could see what has happened in the last three and a half years, he might hedge a little on that statement. But, with the virtues that are our legacy as free people and with the vigilance that sustains liberty, we still have time to use our renewed compact to overcome the injuries that have been done to America these three and a half years.

First, we must overcome something the present administration has cooked up: a new and altogether indigestible economic stew, one part inflation, one part high unemployment, one part recession, one part runaway taxes, one part deficit spending, seasoned with an energy crisis. It is an economic stew that has turned the national stomach!

Ours are not problems of abstract economic theory. These are problems of flesh and blood; problems that cause pain and destroy the moral fiber of real people who should not suffer the indignity of being told by the government that it is all somehow their fault. We do not have inflation because, as Mr. Carter says, we have lived too well.

The head of the government which has utterly refused to live within its means and which has, in the last few days, told us that this coming year's deficit will be $60 billion, dares to point the finger of blame at business and labor, both of which have been engaged in a losing struggle just trying to stay even.

High taxes, we are told, are somehow good for us, as if, when government spends our money it isn't inflationary, but when we spend it, it is.

Those who preside over the worst energy shortage in our history tell us to use less, so that we will run out of oil, gasoline and natural gas a little more

slowly. Conservation is desirable, of course, for we must not waste energy. But conservation is not the sole answer to our energy needs.

America must get to work producing more energy. The Republican program for solving economic problems is based on growth and productivity.

Large amounts of oil and natural gas lay beneath our land and off our shores, untouched because the present administration seems to believe the American people would rather see more regulation, more taxes and more controls than more energy.

Coal offers a great potential. So does nuclear energy produced under rigorous safety standards. It could supply electricity for thousands of industries and millions of jobs and homes. It must not be thwarted by a tiny minority opposed to economic growth which often finds friendly ears in regulatory agencies for its obstructionist campaigns.

Now, make no mistake. We will not permit the safety of our people or our environmental heritage to be jeopardized, but we are going to reaffirm that the economic prosperity of our people is a fundamental part of our environment.

Our problems are both acute and chronic, yet all we hear from those in positions of leadership are the same tired proposals for more government tinkering, more meddling and more control — all of which led us to this sorry state in the first place.

Can anyone look at the record of this administration and say, "Well done"? Can anyone compare the state of our economy when the Carter administration took office with where we are today and say, "Keep up the good work"? Can anyone look at our reduced standing in the world today and say, "Let's have four more years of this"?

I believe the American people are going to answer these questions as you have answered them in the first week of this November and their answer will be: "No, we have had enough!" And, then it will be up to us beginning next January 20th to offer an administration and Congressional leadership of competence and more than a little courage.

We must have the clarity of vision to see the difference between what is essential and what is merely desirable; and then the courage to bring our government back under control.

It is essential that we maintain both the forward momentum of economic growth and the strength of the safety net beneath those in our society who need help. We also believe it is essential that the integrity of all aspects of Social Security be preserved.

Beyond these essentials, I believe it is clear our federal government is overgrown and overweight. Indeed, it is time for our government to go on a diet. Therefore, my first act as Chief Executive will be to impose an immediate and thorough freeze on federal hiring.

Then, we are going to enlist the very best minds from business, labor and whatever quarter to conduct a detailed review of every department, bureau and agency that lives by federal appropriation. We are going to enlist the help and ideas of many dedicated and hard-working government employees at all levels who want a more efficient government just as much as the rest of us do. I know that many of them are demoralized by the confusion and waste they confront in their world as a result of failed and failing policies.

Our instructions to the groups we enlist will be simple and direct. We will remind them that government programs exist at the sufferance of the American taxpayer and are paid for with money earned by working men and women. Any programs that represent a waste of their money — a theft from their pocketbooks — must have that waste eliminated or that program must go. It must be by Executive Order where possible, by Congressional action where necessary. Everything that can be run more effectively by state and local government we should turn over to state and local government, along with the funding sources to pay for it. We are going to put an end to the money merry-go-round where our money becomes Washington's money, to be spent by states and cities exactly the way the federal bureaucrats tell us it has to be spent.

I will not accept the excuse that the federal government has grown so big and powerful that it is beyond the control of any President, any administration or Congress. We are going to put an end to the notion that the American taxpayer exists to fund the federal government. The federal government exists to serve the American people. On January 20th we are going to reestablish that truth.

Also on that date we are going to initiate action to get substantial relief for our taxpaying citizens and action to put people back to work. None of this will be based on any new form of monetary tinkering or fiscal sleight-of-hand. We will simply apply to government the common sense that we all use in our daily lives.

Work and family are at the center of our lives, the foundation of our dignity as a free people. When we deprive people of what they have earned, or take away their jobs, we destroy their dignity and undermine their families. We can't support families unless there are jobs; and we can't have jobs unless the people have both money to invest and the faith to invest it.

These are concepts that stem from an economic system that for more than 200 years has helped us master a continent, create a previously undreamed-of prosperity for our people and has fed millions of others around the globe. That system will continue to serve us in the future if our government will stop ignoring the basic values on which it was built and stop betraying the trust and good will of the American workers who keep it going.

The American people are carrying the heaviest peacetime tax burden in our nation's history — and it will grow even heavier, under present law, next January. We are taxing ourselves into economic exhaustion and stagnation, crushing our ability and incentive to save, invest and produce.

This must stop! We must halt this fiscal self-destruction and restore sanity to our economic system. I have long advocated a 30 percent reduction in income tax rates over a period of three years. This phased tax reduction would begin with a 10 percent "down payment" tax cut in 1981, which the Republicans in Congress and I have already proposed. A phased reduction of tax rates would go a long way toward easing the heavy burden on the American people. But we should not stop there.

Within the context of economic conditions and appropriate budget priorities during each fiscal year of my Presidency, I would strive to go further. This would include improvement in business depreciation taxes so we can stimulate investment in order to get plants and equipment replaced, put more Americans back to work and put our nation back on the road to being competitive in world commerce. We will also work to reduce the cost of government as a percentage of our Gross National Product.

The first task of national leadership is to set realistic and honest priorities in our policies and our budget, and I pledge that my administration will do that.

When I talk of tax cuts, I am reminded that every major tax cut in this century has strengthened the economy, generated renewed productivity and ended up yielding new revenues for the government by creating new investment, new jobs and more commerce among our people.

The present administration has been forced by us Republicans to play follow-the-leader with regard to tax cuts. But in this election year we must take with the proverbial "grain of salt" any tax cut proposed by those who have already given us the greatest single tax increase in our nation's history.

When those in leadership give us tax increases and tell us we must also do with less, have they thought about those who have always had less — especially the minorities? This is like telling them that just as they step on that first rung of the ladder of opportunity, the ladder is being pulled up from under them. That may be the Democratic leadership's message to the minorities, but it won't be our message.

Ours will be: we have to move ahead, but we are not going to leave *anyone* behind.

Thanks to the economic policies of the Democratic Party, millions of Americans find themselves out of work. Millions more have never even had a fair chance to learn new skills, hold a decent job, or secure for themselves or their families a share in the prosperity of this nation.

It is time to put America back to work, to make our cities and towns resound with the confident voices of men and women of all races, nationalities and faiths, bringing home to their families a paycheck they can cash for honest money.

For those without skills, we will find a way to help them get new skills.

For those without job opportunities, we will stimulate new opportunities, particularly in the inner cities where they live.

For those who abandoned hope, we will restore hope and we will welcome them into a great national crusade to make America great again.

When we move from domestic affairs and cast our eyes abroad, we see an equally sorry chapter in the record of the present administration.

— A Soviet combat brigade trains in Cuba, just 90 miles from our shores.

— A Soviet army of invasion occupies Afghanistan, further threatening our vital interests in the Middle East.

— America's defense strength is at its lowest ebb in a generation, while the Soviet Union is vastly outspending us in both strategic and conventional arms.

— Our European allies, looking nervously at the growing menace from the East, turn to us for leadership and fail to find it.

— And, incredibly, more than 50 — as you have been told from this platform so eloquently already — more than 50 of our fellow Americans have been held captive for eight months by a dictatorial foreign power that holds us up to ridicule before the world.

Adversaries large and small test our will and seek to confound our resolve, but we are given weakness when we need strength; vacillation when the times demand firmness.

The Carter Administration lives in the world of make-believe. Every day it dreams up a response to that day's troubles, regardless of what happened yesterday and what will happen tomorrow. But you and I live in a real world where disasters are overtaking our nation without any real response from Washington.

I condemn this make-believe, its self-deceit and, above all, its transparent hypocrisy.

For example, Mr. Carter says he supports the volunteer army, but he lets military pay and benefits slip so low that many of our enlisted personnel are actually eligible for food stamps. Reenlistment rates drop and just recently, after he fought all week against a proposed pay increase for men and women in the military, he then helicoptered out to the carrier, the *U.S.S. Nimitz,* which was returning from long months of duty in the Indian Ocean, and told the crew of that ship that he advocated better pay for them and their comrades! Where does he stand now that he is back on shore?

I will tell you where *I* stand. I do not favor a peacetime draft or registration, but I do favor pay and benefit levels that will attract and keep highly motivated men and women in our volunteer forces and an active reserve trained and ready for an instant call in case of an emergency.

You know, there may be a sailor at the helm of the ship of state, but the ship has no rudder. Critical decisions are made at times almost in comic fashion,

but who can laugh? Who was not embarrassed when the administration handed a major propaganda victory in the United Nations to the enemies of Israel, our staunch Middle East ally for three decades, and then claimed that the American vote was a "mistake," the result of a "failure of communication" between the President, his Secretary of State and his U.N. Ambassador?

Who does not feel a growing sense of unease as our allies, facing repeated instances of an amateurish and confused administration, reluctantly conclude that America is unwilling or unable to fulfill its obligation as leader of the free world?

Who does not feel rising alarm when the question in any discussion of foreign policy is no longer, "Should we do something?", but "Do we have the capacity to do anything?"

The administration which has brought us to this state is seeking your endorsement for four more years of weakness, indecision, mediocrity and incompetence. No American should vote until he or she has asked, is the United States stronger and more respected now than it was three and a half years ago? Is the world today a safer place in which to live?

It is the responsibility of the President of the United States, in working for peace, to ensure that the safety of our people cannot successfully be threatened by a hostile foreign power. As President, fulfilling that responsibility will be my number one priority.

We are not a warlike people. Quite the opposite. We always seek to live in peace. We resort to force infrequently and with great reluctance — and only after we have determined that it is absolutely necessary. We are awed, and rightly so, by the forces of destruction at loose in the world in this nuclear era. But neither can we be naive or foolish. Four times in my lifetime America has gone to war, bleeding the lives of its young men into the sands of beachheads, the fields of Europe and the jungles and rice paddies of Asia. We know only too well that war comes not when the forces of freedom are strong. It is when they are weak that tyrants are tempted.

We simply cannot learn these lessons the hard way again without risking our destruction.

Of all the objectives we seek, first and foremost is the establishment of lasting world peace. We must always stand ready to negotiate in good faith, ready to pursue any reasonable avenue that holds forth the promise of lessening tensions and furthering the prospects of peace. But let our friends and those who may wish us ill take note: the United States has an obligation to its citizens and to the people of the world never to let those who would destroy freedom dictate the future course of life on this planet. I would regard my election as proof that we have renewed our resolve to preserve world peace and freedom. This nation will once again be strong enough to do that.

This evening marks the last step, save one, of a campaign that has taken Nancy and me from one end of this great nation to the other, over many months

and thousands and thousands of miles. There are those who question the way we choose a President; who say that our process imposes difficult and exhausting burdens on those who seek the office. I have not found it so.

It is impossible to capture in words the splendor of this vast continent which God has granted as our portion of his creation. There are no words to express the extraordinary strength and character of this breed of people we call Americans.

Everywhere we have met thousands of Democrats, Independents and Republicans who come from all economic conditions, all walks of life, bound together in that community of shared values of family, work, neighborhood, peace and freedom. They are concerned, yes, but they are not frightened. They are disturbed, but not dismayed. They are the kind of men and women Tom Paine had in mind when he wrote — during the darkest days of the American Revolution — "We have it in our power to begin the world over again."

Nearly 150 years after Tom Paine wrote those words, an American President told the generation of the Great Depression that it had a "rendezvous with destiny." I believe this generation of Americans today also has a rendezvous with destiny.

Tonight, let us dedicate ourselves to renewing the American compact. I ask you not simply to "trust *me*," but to trust your values — our values — and to hold me responsible for living up to them. I ask you to trust that American spirit which knows no ethnic, religious, social, political, regional or economic boundaries; the spirit that burned with zeal in the hearts of millions of immigrants from every corner of the earth who came here in search of freedom.

Some say that spirit no longer exists. But I have seen it — I have felt it — all across this land; in the big cities, the small towns and in rural America. It is still there, ready to blaze into life if you and I are willing to do what has to be done. We have to do the practical things, the down-to-earth things such as creating policies that will stimulate our economy, increase productivity and put America back to work.

The time is *now* to limit federal spending; to insist on a stable monetary reform and to free ourselves from imported oil.

The time is *now* to resolve that the basis of a firm and principled foreign policy is one that takes the world as it is and seeks to change it by leadership and example, not by harangue, harassment or wishful thinking.

The time is *now* to say that we shall seek new friendships and expand and improve others, but we shall not do so by breaking our word or casting aside old friends and allies.

And, the time is *now* to redeem promises once made to the American people by another candidate, in another time and another place.

He said, " . . . For three long years I have been going up and down this country preaching that government — federal, state and local — costs too

much. I shall not stop that preaching. As an immediate program of action, we must abolish useless offices. We must eliminate unnecessary functions of government . . .

". . . we must consolidate subdivisions of government and, like the private citizen, give up luxuries which we can no longer afford."

And then he said, "I propose to you, my friends, and through you that government of all kinds, big and little, be made solvent and that the example be set by the President of the United States and his Cabinet."

Those were Franklin Delano Roosevelt's words as he accepted the nomination for President in 1932.

The time is *now*, my fellow Americans, to recapture our destiny, to take it into our own hands. To do this it will take many of us working together. I ask you tonight all over this land to volunteer your help in this cause so that we can carry our message throughout the land.

Isn't it time that we, the people, carried out those unkept promises? That we pledge to each other and to all America on this July day 48 years later that now we intend to do just that!

I have thought of something that is not a part of my speech, and I worry whether I should do it. Can we doubt that only a Divine Providence placed this land, this island of freedom, here as a refuge for all those people in the world who yearn to breathe free — Jews and Christians enduring persecution behind the Iron Curtain, the boat people of Southeast Asia, of Cuba and of Haiti, the victims of drought and famine in Africa, the Freedom Fighters in Afghanistan, and our own countrymen held in savage captivity.

I will confess that I have been a little afraid to suggest what I am going to suggest. I am more afraid not to.

Can we begin our crusade joined together in a moment of silent prayer.

(A moment of silence followed.)

God bless America.

(Throughout this speech, Governor Reagan was interrupted many times by applause and cheers and enthusiastic demonstrations.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The next President of the United States asked me to quiet this place down. I always do what a President tells me to do.

Ladies and gentlemen, I now recognize Dr. Donald G. Lester, Executive Presbyter of the Detroit Presbytery, for the purpose of offering the benediction.

BENEDICTION

BY

DR. DONALD G. LESTER
Executive Presbyter, Detroit Presbytery

Let us not depart to our homes without a quiet moment of knowledge, that we do not live in our own strength, that we do not have wisdom sufficient for these days, but we depend upon the higher power.

As Governor Reagan has admonished you, let us be still and know that we have a God. Let us pray:

We will remember the noise and the clamor, O God, but help us to remember the quiet moment when we acknowledge our dependence upon You. We would praise You this night for our heritage as a nation. Our ancestors, neighbors, friends have come from many lands, but our common love of freedom and justice have made us one.

We have diversity of language, of culture and of race, yet You have instilled in us a commitment to each other to learn to live together.

We express to You, O God, as we part, our deepest concern for the moment in which we live, troubles which plague our human family require solutions that demand the best that is in us. The cries of hunger, the moans of despair, the sighs of emptiness and loneliness are but a few of the sounds of the masses which flood in upon us and demand our response.

Give each of us the courage of our convictions to know that we have some of the answers. Guide us in our finding more of the answers.

And now may the prayer of St. Francis be our prayer:

"Where there is hatred, let us sow love; where there is injury, pardon; where there is discord, union; where there is doubt, faith; where there is despair, hope; where there is darkness, light; and where there is sadness, joy.

"Grant that we may not so much seek to be consoled as to console; to be understood as to understand; to be loved as to love; for it is in giving that we receive; it is in pardoning that we are pardoned; and it is in dying that we are born to eternal life."

And now may the peace of God go with you all. Amen.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Would you please stay in your places while the Reagan family and Bush family depart the auditorium.

Ladies and gentlemen, this convention is about to come to a close, and I hope I will be pardoned for personally thanking all of you for being the greatest bunch of Delegates, Alternates and guests any convention ever had. You are great.

And you have done a great job. You came here to nominate the next President and Vice President of the United States.

You did it and you will go home and make sure that it happens.

So now I recognize Vince Fechtel, Jr. from the State of Florida for the purpose of offering a motion.

MR. FECHTEL. — Mr. Chairman, together we made this new beginning. Now let's take our platform of strong stance, straight answers and America First home to the people.

With God's help we will do this. Having completed the business of the 32nd Republican National Convention, I move we adjourn sine die.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The question is on the motion of the Delegate from Florida.

All in favor, say aye. (Great chorus of ayes.)

All opposed, no. (No response.)

The ayes have it and the motion is agreed to.

And having completed our business, I declare that the 32nd National Convention of the Republican Party is now adjourned sine die.

God bless you.

(Whereupon, at 10:40 p.m., the 32nd Republican National Convention adjourned sine die.)

CONVENTION ARRANGEMENTS

The Chairman of the Republican National Committee appointed from among the members and officers of the committee several committees bearing responsibility for the 1980 Republican National Convention. The Committee on the Selection of a Site was named on July 21, 1978. This committee met in Washington, D. C. in the fall to receive presentations from the cities interested in having the convention (Dallas, Detroit, Kansas City, Minneapolis, New Orleans, Miami Beach). New York City expressed an interest after this meeting. All cities were visited by all or part of the Committee on Site. The report was made to the whole Republican National Committee at a meeting held on January 23, 1979, in Washington, D. C. After much debate, the Committee voted to hold the 1980 Convention in Detroit, Michigan.

Other committees appointed to handle various functions related to the preparation for and holding of the 1980 Convention: The Committee on Call, Committee on Contests, Committee on Rules and the Committee on Arrangements.

The names of all of the convention committees as originally appointed, and names of successors to all vacancies or changes, are as follows:

COMMITTEE ON CONVENTION SITE

Bill Brock, Tennessee, *Chairman*
Ody J. Fish, Wisconsin, *Vice Chairman*
Betty Andujar, Texas
Marian Carter, Colorado
Robert S. Carter, District of Columbia
Arlene H. Ham, South Dakota
William H. Stanhagen, Virginia
Mary Louise Smith, Iowa, *Adviser*

COMMITTEE ON CALL

Chairman, Bernard M. Kilbourn, New York

Alabama, Jean Sullivan
Alaska, Yvonne Alford
Arizona, Thomas J. (Tom) Pappas
California, Michael B. Montgomery, succeeded by Truman F. Campbell
Colorado, Marian Carter, succeeded by Philip D. (Phil) Winn
Connecticut, Mary H. Boatwright
Delaware, Jerome O. (Jerry) Herlihy

Florida, William C. Cramer
Georgia, Roena Moseley
Guam, Ramona T. Perez
Hawaii, Frank E. Cooper
Idaho, Dennis Olsen
Indiana, John C. Hart
Kansas, Morris Kay
Louisiana, George Despot
Maine, Gordon Smith
Maryland, Allan C. Levey
Massachusetts, Bruce Crane, succeeded by Gordon M. Nelson
Michigan, Melvin L. (Mel) Larsen
Minnesota, Robert J. (Bob) Brown
Missouri, Eyvon Mendenhall
Nebraska, Ralph J. Knobel
Nevada, Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr.
New Hampshire, Victoria Zachos
New Jersey, David F. Norcross
New York, Bernard M. Kilbourn, *Chairman*
North Carolina, Betty Lou Johnson
North Dakota, John M. Sellie
Ohio, Earl T. Barnes
Oklahoma, Clarence E. Warner
Oregon, Walter L. Huss, succeeded by Robert O. Voy
Pennsylvania, Elsie H. Hillman
Puerto Rico, Sarita G. Gonzalez
Rhode Island, Donald E. Roch
South Dakota, Arlene H. Ham, succeeded by Dan Parish
Utah, W. Robert (Bob) Wright
Virginia, George N. McMath, succeeded by Dr. Alfred B. Cramer III
Virgin Islands, Viola I. (Joan) Burgess
West Virginia, John McCuskey
Wisconsin, J. Michael Borden
Wyoming, James P. (Jim) Castberg

COMMITTEE ON CONTESTS

Chairman, *John C. McDonald, Iowa
Vice Chairman, Crete B. Harvey, Illinois

Arkansas, John P. Hammerschmidt
District of Columbia, Cecil G. Grant
Kentucky, Edwin G. Middleton
Montana, Jean G. Birch
New Mexico, C. Jack Emmons
South Carolina, Raymond A. (Ray) Harris
Tennessee, Mark C. Hicks, Jr.

Texas, Betty Andujar
Vermont, Stewart A. Smith

* In accordance with Rule 24(c) of the Rules adopted by the 1976 Republican National Convention, the Chairman of the Committee on Contests, John C. McDonald, is a member of the Arrangements Committee by reason of his office.

COMMITTEE ON RULES

Chairman, *Perry O. Hooper, Alabama

Vice Chairman, Elizabeth J. Pfeifer, Wisconsin

Alabama, Perry O. Hooper, *Chairman*
Alaska, Edith Holm
Arizona, Ralph E. Staggs
Arkansas, Leona A. Troxell
California, Virginia Rice
Colorado, Jo Anne Gray
Connecticut, John Alsop
Delaware, Eugene D. (Gene) Bookhammer
District of Columbia, Paul Hays, succeeded by Robert S. Carter
Florida, Paula F. Hawkins
Georgia, Carl L. Gillis, Jr.
Guam, Edward M. Calvo
Hawaii, Carla W. Coray
Idaho, Orriette Sinclair
Illinois, Harold B. Smith, Jr.
Indiana, Margaret C. Hill
Iowa, Stephen W. Roberts
Kansas, Marynell D. Reece
Kentucky, Nelda L. Barton
Louisiana, Frank Spooner
Maine, Henrietta Page Crane
Maryland, Lawrence J. Hogan
Massachusetts, Paula (Polly) Logan
Michigan, Peter B. Fletcher
Minnesota, Vern F. Neppl
Mississippi, Clarke Reed
Missouri, Jewett Fulkerson
Montana, William R. Mackay, Sr.
Nebraska, William E. Morrow, Jr.
Nevada, Lucie Humphrey
New Hampshire, Robert P. Bass, Jr.
New Jersey, Bernard M. Shanley
New Mexico, Robert C. Davidson
New York, Richard M. Rosenbaum

North Carolina, John P. East
North Dakota, Peter B. Wold
Ohio, Martha C. Moore
Oklahoma, Grace Boulton
Oregon, George P. Stadelman
Pennsylvania, Andrew L. (Drew) Lewis, Jr.
Puerto Rico, Jaime Pieras, Jr.
Rhode Island, Frederick Lippitt
South Carolina, Beverly J. Gosnell
South Dakota, William F. Lenker
Tennessee, Thomas W. Beasley
Texas, Ernest Angelo, Jr.
Utah, Amy Y. Valentine
Vermont, John M. (Jack) Lindley III
Virginia, William H. Stanhagen
Virgin Islands, Melvin H. Evans
Washington, Dennis Dunn
West Virginia, Arch A. Moore, Jr.
Wisconsin, Elizabeth J. Pfeifer, *Vice Chairman*
Wyoming, David B. Kennedy

* In accordance with Rule 24(c) of the Rules adopted by the 1976 Republican National Convention, the Chairman of the Committee on Rules, Perry O. Hooper, is a member of the Arrangements Committee by reason of his office.

COMITTEE ON ARRANGEMENTS

Officers

Bill Brock of Tennessee, *Chairman*
Robert S. Carter of the District of Columbia, *Vice Chairman*
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Ray C. Bliss of Ohio, *Adviser to the Committee on Arrangements*

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Jeanne K. Geraghty of Tennessee, *Chairman*
Keith L. Brown of Colorado, *Vice Chairman*
Gerald P. Carmen, succeeded by Victoria Zachos of New Hampshire
Bruce Crane succeeded by Gordon M. Nelson of Massachusetts
Priscilla Humphreys of West Virginia
David Little of Idaho

Dorothy Liljegren succeeded by Evie Teegen of Minnesota
Priscilla B. Rakestraw of Delaware
Bill Taylor succeeded by Henry B. Sayler of Florida

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Louise Gore of Maryland
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Margaret (Margie) Kelly of Wyoming
William M. Laub of Nevada
William H. (Bill) Macon of Missouri
Dorotha Moore of Oregon
Matthew (Matt) Patton of Georgia

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McDill (Huck) Boyd of Kansas
Edward Brennan of Hawaii
Luis A. Ferré of Puerto Rico
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Madeline B. Harwood of Vermont
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A. Lynn Lowe of Arkansas
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Noël L. Gross of New Jersey, *Vice Chairman*
Mary Dent Crisp of Washington, D.C.
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Nora Hussey of South Dakota
Lee Nunn succeeded by Liz Thomas of Kentucky
Michael L. (Mike) Retzer of Mississippi
Gerridee Wheeler of North Dakota

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Jon M. Huntsman of Utah
Frederick K. Biebel, succeeded by Ralph E. Capecelatro of Connecticut
Frances Shipman of New Mexico

Eldon R. Ulmer of Alaska
Chester R. (Chet) Upham, Jr. of Texas
Ben Nordell, succeeded by Aubyn A. Curtiss of Montana
Artilia B. Cruz of Guam

Host Committee

Ranny Riecker of Michigan, *Chairman*
Peter B. Fletcher of Michigan
Melvin L. (Mel) Larsen of Michigan

In accordance with Rule 24(c) of the Rules adopted by the 1976 Republican National Convention, the Chairman of the Committee on Contests and the Chairman of the Committee on Rules are members of the Arrangements Committee by reason of their office.

John C. McDonald, *Chairman*
Committee on Contests

Perry O. Hooper, *Chairman*
Committee on Rules

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

(Organization following the Convention)

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Co-Chairman

BETTY HEITMAN ..... Louisiana

Deputy Chairman

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Robert Y. Eckels, *President National Conference of Republican County Officials*
Paul D. Coverdell, *President National Republican Legislators Association*

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE
1980
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	Jean Sullivan (Mrs. Ira O.)	Selma
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	*Carroll F. Jones (Mrs.)	Concord
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	Noël L. Gross (Mrs. Nelson)	Saddle River
	*David F. Norcross	Moorestown
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	April Lynn Westbrook (Mrs.)	Hobbs
	*C. Jack Emmons	Albuquerque
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	*Bernard M. Kilbourn (Dr.)	Albany
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	Diane McCoy (Mrs.)	Summerfield
	*Jackson F. (Jack) Lee	Raleigh

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	*John M.Sellie	Cathay
OHIO	James A. Rhodes	Upper Arlington
	Martha C. Moore (Miss)	Cambridge
	*Earl T. Barnes	Columbus
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	Grace Boulton (Mrs. Dee)	Oklahoma City
	*Harold V. Hunter	Oklahoma City
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	Dorotha Moore (Mrs.)	Moro
	*Robert O. Voy (Dr.)	Tigard
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	Elsie H. Hillman (Mrs. Henry L.)	Pittsburgh
	*Martha Bell Schoeninger (Mrs. John)	Harrisburg
PUERTO RICO	Hernán Padilla	San Juan
	Julia Rivera de Vicenti	Rio Piedras
	*Luis Ferré	San Juan
RHODE ISLAND	Frederick Lippitt	Providence
	Elinor J. Clapp (Mrs. Charles E.)	Barrington
	*Donald E. Roch	West Warwick
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	Beverly J. Gosnell (Mrs. Wm. K.)	Charleston
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	Nora Hussey (Mrs. Shirley B.)	Sturgis
	*Dan Parish	Murdo
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	*Thomas W. Beasley	Nashville
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	Fran Chiles (Mrs. Eddie)	Fort Worth
	*Chester R. (Chet) Upham, Jr.	Mineral Wells
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	Alberta (Beppy) Gibbons (Mrs. D. L.)	Blanding
	*William A. (Bill) Stevenson	Salt Lake City
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	Madeline B. Harwood (Mrs. Clifford B.)	Manchester Center
	*John M. (Jack) Lindley III	Montpelier
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	Helen Obenshain (Mrs. Richard)	Richmond
	*Alfred B. Cramer III (Dr.)	Culpeper
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	*Viola I. (Joan) Burgess (Mrs)	St. Croix
WASHINGTON	Dennis Dunn	Redmond
	Bernece (Bunny) Bippes (Mrs. Paul)	Tekoa
	*Max E. Benitz	Seattle
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	Priscilla Humphreys (Mrs. Irvin)	Huntington
	*John McCuskey	Bridgeport
WISCONSIN	Ody J. Fish	Hartland
	Helen Bie (Mrs.)	Green Bay
	*J. Michael Borden	Janesville
WYOMING	Harold Hellbaum	Chugwater
	Margaret (Margie) Kelly (Mrs. Sam, Jr.)	Rawlins
	*Edwin J. (Ed) Witzenburger	Cheyenne

*State Chairmen entitled to membership under Rule 19 (b)

INDEX

SESSIONS OF THE CONVENTION

First — 1 to 49
Second — 50 to 80
Third — 81 to 378
Fourth — 379 to 452
Fifth — 453 to 508

A

Abell, Richard; remarks by 21
Adams, Don W.; report on role of Republican State Chairmen 40
Address by:
Abell, Richard 21
Adams, Don W. 40
Armstrong, Anne L. 360
Baker, Howard H., Jr. 461
Barton, Nelda L. 42
Bauman, Robert E. 465
Bethune, Ed 406
Bliss, Ray C. 422
Brickley, James 53
Brock, Bill 398
Chennault, Anna C. 39
Cianci, Vincent A., Jr. 77
Cohen, William 58
Conable, Barber, Jr. 416
Connally, John B. 356
Del Junco, Tirso 381
De Vincenti, Julia Rivera 478
Dole, Robert 420, 474
Dreyfus, Lee Sherman 359
duPont, Pierre S. IV 397
Evans, Diana 433
Evans, Thomas B., Jr. 437
Fernandez, Benjamin 74

Ferré, Luis A. 435
Fletcher, Arthur A. 480
Ford, Gerald R. 68
Gibble, Stephen R. 24
Goldwater, Barry M., Jr. 348
Goldwater, Barry M., Sr. 349
Goodling, William 480
Haig, Alexander M., Jr. 402
Hallett, Carol 364
Hatch, Orrin 478
Heckler, Margaret 321
Heinz, John 331
Heitman, Betty 329
Helms, Jesse 51, 466
Hills, Carla 328
Hooks, Benjamin L. 339
Janklow, William 385
Jepsen, Roger 481
Kamali'i, Kina'u Boyd 433
Kemp, Jack 366
Kissinger, Henry A. 373
Laxalt, Paul 429
Lowery, William 343
Lugar, Richard G. 46
Lujan, Manuel 455
McClure, James A. 371
Milliken, William G. 54
Murphy, Tom 4
Newman, Connie 387
O'Neil, David 355
Orr, Robert D. 45
Quayle, Dan 460
Rhodes, John J. 322
Rocco, John A. 436
Rosenbaum, Richard 432
Rowe, Max L. 437
Rumsfeld, Donald H. 65
Scranton, William III 434
Smith, Mary Louise 326, 436
Snelling, Richard A. 335
Sweetser, Susan Williams 436
Thomas, Lowell 477
Tower, Jeanne 479
Treen, David C. 382, 434
Vander Jagt, Guy 407
Warner, John W. 344
White, Linda Carole 435
Young, Coleman A. 5

Yurchuck, Betty I. 23
Adjournment of Convention Sine Die 508
Allen, Aris T:
Call of Roll of States for Nomination for President 422
Call of Roll of States for Nomination for Vice President 469
Call of Roll of States for Selection of Nominee for President 438
Call of Roll of States for Selection of Nominee for Vice President ... 482
Elected Secretary of the Convention 20, 213
Amendments; procedure for presentation of 17
Anton, Susan 79
Armstrong, The Honorable Anne L.; address by 360
Arrangements for Convention:
Committee on 512
Resolution of Appreciation to 396
Athey, Robert; elected Assistant Sergeant at Arms 20, 213

B

Baker, The Honorable Howard H., Jr.; address by 461
Bartlett, Joe:
Candidate for U. S. House of Representatives,
1st District of West Virginia 469
Elected Chief Reading Clerk 20
Barton, Nelda L.; address by 42
Bauman, The Honorable Robert E.; statement of 465
Benedictions (see Prayers)
Berry, Donnell; elected Assistant Chief Page 20, 213
Berry, Robert E.; elected Assistant Reading Clerk 20, 213
Bethune, The Honorable Ed; introduction of
The Honorable Guy Vander Jagt 406
Bliss, Ray C.:
Presentation of Gold Convention Badge to 422
Remarks by 422
Boone, Pat; Pledge of Allegiance (1st Sess.) 2
Brickley, James; introduction of
The Honorable William G. Milliken 53
Brock, Bill:
Address by 398
Chairman of Republican National Committee 1
Presentation of Gold Convention Badge to Gerald R. Ford 73
Presentation of Gold Convention Badge to 48
Presiding Officer of Convention 1–58
Response to presentation of Gold Convention Badge 458
Bush, The Honorable George
Acceptance Speech 495
Committee to Notify and Escort Candidate 494

Introduction of Vice Presidential Nominee's Family 494
Nominated for Vice President; ballot 482
Nominated for Vice President by Robert Dole 474
Nominated for Vice President; seconding speeches 477–482
Pre-nomination address 417

C

Call for the Convention 7
Motion dispensing with completion of reading the Call 7
Campbell, Glen; sang National Anthem with Tanya Tucker (1st Sess.) ... 2
Canada; expression of appreciation and tribute to 456
Carr, Vicki 79
Carter, Robert S.; presentation of Gold Convention Badge to 327
Chaplains of Convention, elected 20, 213
Prayer by:
Cunningham, Father William T. (scheduled for benediction 1st Sess., delayed in arrival)
Dearden, John Cardinal 454
Graham, Dr. Billy 50
Hatch, The Honorable Orrin 451
Hertz, Rabbi Richard 380
Hudnut, The Honorable William III 377
Johnson, Aaron 79
Lester, Dr. Donald G. 507
Moore, The Reverend Jerry A., Jr. 2, 49
Timothy, Bishop 82
Chennault, Anna C.; introduction of film 39
Cianci, Vincent A., Jr.; remarks by 77
Cochran, Thad; resolution on Committee on Credentials 26
Cohen, William; introduction of The Honorable William E. Simon 60
College Republican National Committee; remarks by Chairman 24
Colors, presentation of:
Boy Scout Troop No. 879 of Tonquish District of the Detroit Area Council (1st Sess.) 2
Fred Beaudry Post No. 126 of the Detroit American Legion (2nd Sess.) 50
Shafer-Rachelle Veterans of Foreign Wars, Post 678 of Detroit (3rd Sess.) 81
ROTC Unit of the Northern High School of Detroit (4th Sess.) ... 379
Cadet Girl Scouts of Metropolitan Detroit (5th Sess.) 453
Committees of the Convention:
Announcement of meetings of 27, 28, 29
Arrangements 512
Credentials:
Committee on 29
Report of 83

Resolution to appoint 26
Escorting to Platform:
Nancy Landon Kassebaum 18
John J. Rhodes 214
George Bush 494
Ronald Reagan 496
Notification of Nomination:
George Bush 494
Ronald Reagan 450
Permanent Organization:
Committee on 32
Report of 213
Resolution to appoint 27
Resolutions:
Committee on 37
Report of (Platform) 215
Resolution to appoint 28
Rules and Order of Business:
Committee on 34
Report of 194
Resolution to appoint 28
Conable, The Honorable Barber, Jr.; introduction of The Honorable George Bush 416
Connally, The Honorable John B.; address by 356
Connors, Mike 79
Credentials:
Committee on 29
Report of Committee on 83
Resolution to appoint Committee on 26
Cunningham, Father William T.; elected Chaplain 20, 213
Curb, Mike:
Special Theme Presentation 79
Presentation of Gold Convention Badge to Bill Brock 458

D

Danzansky, Stephen I.; presentation of portion of Platform 223
Dearden, Cardinal John:
Elected Chaplain 20, 213
Prayer by 454
Defore, Don; Pledge of Allegiance (3rd Sess.) 81
Del Junco, Tirso; introduction of The Honorable David C. Treen 381
Deputy Secretary of the Convention; call of Roll of States for nomination for Vice President 470
Derham, Dick; report of Committee on Rules and Order of Business 194

De Vincenti, Ms. Julia Rivera; seconding the nomination of George Bush for Vice President 478
Dixon, Fred L., elected Tally Clerk 20, 213
Dole, The Honorable Robert:
Special Presentation to Ray C. Bliss 422
Nomination of George Bush for Vice President 474
Donald Vails Choraleers of Detroit; pre-session entertainment 453
Dow, Judith; sang National Anthem (3rd Sess.) 81
Dreyfus, The Honorable Lee Sherman; introduction of The Honorable Anne L. Armstrong 359
du Pont, The Honorable Pierre S. IV; introduction of The Honorable Bill Brock 397

E

Ebsen, Buddy 79
Entertainment: 79
Susan Anton
Vikki Carr
Mike Connors
Buddy Ebsen
Dorothy Hamill
Gordie Howe
Michael Landon
Vicki Lawrence
Wayne Newton
Donny and Marie Osmond
Richard Petty
Ginger Rogers
Jimmy Stewart
Lyle Waggoner
Efrem Zimbalist, Jr.
Mike Curb, Lieutenant Governor, composer of song, "Together . . . A New Beginning"
Syd Vinnedge, Producer
Art Fisher, Producton Consultant
Rod Warren, writer
Escort Committees:
George Bush 494
Nancy Landon Kassebaum 18
Ronald Reagan 496
John J. Rhodes 214
Evans, Ms. Diana; seconding the nomination of Ronald Reagan 433
Evans, The Honorable Thomas B., Jr.; seconding the nomination of Ronald Reagan 437

F

Fechtel, Vince, Jr.; motion to adjourn sine die 508
Fernandez, Benjamin; address by 74
Ferré, Luis A.; seconding the nomination of Ronald Reagan 435
Films:
"Who are the Delegates?" (1st Sess.) 4
"Who are the Delegates?" (2nd Sess.) 53
Introduction of The Honorable Gerald R. Ford 68
"Who are the Delegates?" (3rd Sess.) 82
"Who are the Delegates?" (4th Sess.) 381
"Who are the Delegates?" (5th Sess.) 455
Documentary film of the life of Ronald Reagan 496
Fisher, Art 79
Fletcher, Arthur A.:
Motion to dispense with the reading of the Call 7
Seconding the nomination of George Bush for Vice President 480
Ford, The Honorable Gerald R.:
Address by 68
Introduction of by film 68
Presentation of Gold Convention Badge to 73
Presentation of check for Ford Library and Museum 73

G

Gavel; presentation of to Josephine L. Good 42
Gibble, Stephen R., remarks by 24
Gibbs, June N.:
Presentation of Call for Convention 7
Presentation of Temporary Officers of Convention 18
Presentation of Temporary Roll 17
Goldwater, The Honorable Barry M., Jr.; introduction of father 348
Goldwater, The Honorable Barry M., Sr.; address by 349
Good, Josephine L., presentation of gavel to 42
Goodling, The Honorable William; seconding the nomination of George Bush for Vice President 480
Graham, Dr. Billy:
Elected Chaplain 20, 213
Prayer by 509
Grant, Johnny; Pledge of Allegiance (4th Sess.) 379
Grassley, Charles; resolution on Committee on Permanent Organization 27
Gross, Noël L.:
Call of Roll of States for nomination for Vice President 470
Elected Deputy Secretary of the Convention 20, 213

H

Haig, The Honorable Alexander M., Jr.; address by 402
Hallett, Carol; introduction of The Honorable Jack Kemp 364
Hamill, Dorothy 79
Harmon, Manny; Music Director 1, 50, 81, 379, 453
Hatch, The Honorable Orrin:
Elected Chaplain 20, 213
Prayer by 451
Seconding nomination of George Bush for Vice President 478
Hawkins, Paula; Vice Chairman of Committee on Rules and Order of Business 195
Heckler, The Honorable Margaret; remarks by and introduction of the Honorable John J. Rhodes 321
Heinz, The Honorable John; report on 1980 Senatorial Campaign 331
Heitman, Betty; address by 329
Helms, The Honorable Jesse:
Introduction of Dr. Billy Graham 51
Statement of 466
Hertz, Rabbi Richard:
Elected Chaplain 20, 213
Prayer by 380
Hills, Carla; remarks by 328
Hinson, The Honorable John; resolution on publication of convention proceedings 395
Holt, The Honorable Marjorie; resolution to ratify the National Committee 391
Hooks, Benjamin L.; remarks by 339
Hostages of Iran; moment of silence observed for 3, 52, 82, 380, 455
Howe, Gordie 79
Hudnut, The Honorable William H. III:
Elected Chaplain 20, 213
Prayer by 377
Hurtado, Alex; resolution on the Rules for the Convention 20
Hynes, Robert D., Jr.; elected Assistant Parliamentarian 20, 213

I

Introductions (see Address by)
Invocations (see Prayers)
Iranian Hostages (see Hostages)

J

Janklow, The Honorable Willia.n; introduction of The Honorable Connie Newman 385

Javits, Jacob K.; statement in memory of
Nelson Aldrich Rockefeller 457
Jepsen, The Honorable Roger; seconding the nomination of
George Bush for Vice President 481
Johnson, Aaron:
Elected Chaplain 20, 213
Prayer by 79

K

Kamali'i, Kina'u Boyd; seconding the nomination of Ronald Reagan 433
Kanoyton, Silverenia Q.; elected Assistant Sergeant at Arms 20, 213
Kassebaum, The Honorable Nancy Landon
Address by 56
Committee to Escort to Platform 18
Elected Temporary Chairman 18
Introduction of 56
Presided as Temporary Chairman 58–214
Kemp, The Honorable Jack; address by 366
Keynote Address by The Honorable Guy Vander Jagt 407
Kissinger, The Honorable Henry A.; address by 373

L

Landon, Alf M.; introduction of The Temporary Chairman (film) 56
Landon, Michael 79
Laria, James, Jr.; elected Assistant Chief Page 20, 213
Lawrence, Vicki 79
Laxalt, The Honorable Paul; nomination of Ronald Reagan for President .. 429
Lessey, S. Kenric; elected Assistant Sergeant at Arms 20, 213
Lester, Dr. Donald G.:
Elected Chaplain 20, 213
Prayer by 507
Livingston, The Honorable Bob; motion to adjourn 80
Lott, The Honorable Trent; presentation of portion of Platform 235
Lowe, A. Lynn; elected Chief Sergeant at Arms 20, 213
Lowery, William; introduction of The Honorable John W. Warner 343
Lugar, Richard G.:
Introduction of by Robert D. Orr 45
Address by 46
Lujan, The Honorable Manuel: address by
(tribute and appreciation to Canada) 455

M

Mackey, Barbara Gayle; elected Assistant Chief Page 20, 213
McClanahan, Robert R.; elected Assistant Sergeant at Arms 20, 213
McClure, The Honorable James A.; introduction of
The Honorable Henry A. Kissinger 371
McCorkle, Cliff; presentation of portion of Platform 225
McDonald, John C.; report of Committee on Credentials 83
Melchert, Bruce B.; elected Assistant Sergeant at Arms 20, 213
Michel, Bob; sang National Anthem (2nd Sess.) 50
Michel, Laurie; elected Chief Page 20, 213
Milliken, William G.; address by 54
Moore, Arch A., Jr.; annnouncement of meeting of newly elected
National Committee 395
Moore, The Reverend Jerry A., Jr.:
Elected Chaplain 20, 213
Prayers by 2, 49
Murphy, Tom; introduction of the Mayor of Detroit 4
Murray, Hyde H.; elected Assistant Parliamentarian 20, 213
Music:
Burch, Shelly 379
Campbell, Glen 2
Dow, Judith 81
Michel, Bob 50
Harmon, Manny, Director of
Convention Orchestra 1, 50, 81, 379, 453
Republican Glee Club of Columbus, Ohio 81
Vails, Donald, Choraleers 453

N

National Anthem, sung by:
Glen Campbell and Tanya Tucker (1st Sess.) 2
Bob Michel (2nd Sess.) 50
Judith Dow (3rd Sess.) 81
Shelly Burch (4th Sess.) 379
Princess Pale Moon (5th Sess.) 454
National Committee:
List of Members of newly-elected Committee 391
Notice of Meeting of 395
Ratification of 391
National Federation of Republican Women; address by President 329
National Republican Heritage Groups Council; remarks by Chairman 39
Newman, The Honorable Connie; address by 386
Newton, Wayne 79

Nominating and Seconding Speeches (see Speeches)
Nominations:
Resolution to fill vacancies 215
Roll Call for Nominations for President 422
Roll Call for Nominations for Vice President 469
Rule restricting number and length of speeches making and seconding nominations 423
Speeches making and seconding nominations (see Speeches)

O

Officers of the Convention:
Permanent, Election of 213
Resolution of Appreciation to 396
Temporary, Election of 20
Official Photograph of Convention 214
O'Neil, David; introduction of The Honorable John B. Connally 355
Orr, Kay; resolution on Rules and Order of Business 28
Orr, Robert D.; introduction of Richard G. Lugar 45
Osmond, Donny 79
Osmond, Marie 79

P

Perez, Pedro Diaz; resolution dispensing with the reading of the names selected for committee membership 29
Permanent Chairman:
Address by 322
Committee to Escort to Platform 214
Election of 213
Introduction of by Margaret Heckler 321
Permanent Organization:
Committee on 32
Report of Committee on 213
Resolution to Appoint Committee on 27
Permanent Roll 84
Petty, Richard 79
Platform:
Adoption of 239
Presentation of portion by Patricia Stewart 219
Presentation of portion by Marilyn Thayer 221
Presentation of portion by Stephen I. Danzansky 223
Presentation of portion by Cliff McCorkle 225
Presentation of portion by The Honorable David Stockman 228
Presentation of portion by Faith R. Whittlesey 231
Presentation of portion by The Honorable Trent Lott 235

Pledge of Allegiance by:
Boone, Pat (1st Sess.) 2
Defore, Don (3rd Sess.) 81
Gann, Paul (5th Sess.) 453
Grant, Johnny (4th Sess.) 379
Webb, Jim (2nd Sess.) 50
Prayers by:
Dearden, John Cardinal 454
Graham, Dr. Billy 50
Hatch, The Honorable Orrin 451
Hertz, Rabbi Richard 380
Hudnut, The Honorable William III 377
Johnson, Aaron 79
Lester, Dr. Donald G. 507
Moore, The Reverend Jerry A., Jr. 2, 49
Timothy, Bishop of Detroit Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America 82
Presentation of:
Check to The Honorable Gerald R. Ford for Ford Library and Museum 73
Gavel to Josephine L. Good 42
Gold Convention Badge to Ray C. Bliss 422
Gold Convention Badge to Bill Brock 458
Gold Convention Badge to Robert S. Carter 327
Gold Convention Badge to The Honorable Gerald R. Ford 73
President:
Acceptance of Nomination 497
Ballot on Nomination 495
Committee to Escort Candidate 496
Committee to Notify Candidate 450
Nominating and Seconding Speeches 429–438
Roll Call for Nominations 422
Princess Pale Moon; sang National Anthem (5th Sess.) 454

Q

Quayle, The Honorable Dan; introduction of The Honorable Howard H. Baker, Jr. 460
Quie, Albert H.; resolution to fill vacancy on ticket 215
Quillen, The Honorable James H.:
Elected Parliamentarian 20, 213
Introduction of The Honorable Margaret Heckler 321

R

Reagan, The Honorable Ronald:
Acceptance Speech 497
Committee to Escort to Platform 496

Committee to Notify of Nomination 450
Introduction of by documentary film of life 496
Nominated for President, ballot 448
Nominated for President by The Honorable Paul Laxalt 429
Nominated for President, seconding speeches 432–438
Recommendation that The Honorable George Bush be selected as Vice Presidential Nominee 450

Remarks (see Address by)

Republican Glee Club of Columbus, Ohio; pre-session entertainment 81

Republican National Committee (see National Committee)

Republican National Hispanic Assembly; remarks by former Chairman 74

Republican State Chairmen's Advisory Committee; remarks by Chairman .. 4

Resolutions: (also see Platform)
Adoption of Report of Committee on Resolutions 239
Committee on 37
Report of Committee (Platform) 215
Resolution to Appoint Committee on 28

Resolutions relative to Appointment of Committees on:
Credentials 29
Permanent Organization 32
Resolutions (Platform) 37
Rules and Order of Business 34

Resolutions relative to:
Appreciation to Detroit 6
Appreciation to the State of Michigan 55
Appreciation (general) 396
Dispensing with completion of reading the Call 7
Dispensing with reading names for Committee membership 29
Election of Permanent Officers 213
Election of Temporary Officers 20
Printing of Proceedings of Convention 395
Ratification of Members of National Committee 391
Rules (Permanent) adoption of 196
Rules (Temporary) adoption of 20
Vacancy on Ticket 215

Rhodes, The Honorable John J.:
Address as Permanent Chairman 322
Committee to Escort to Platform 214
Elected Permanent Chairman 213
Introduction of by The Honorable Margaret Heckler 321
Presiding Officer of Convention 214–508

Rinaldo, Matthew J.; resolution to elect Temporary Officers 20

Rocco, John A.; seconding the nomination of Ronald Reagan 436

Rockefeller, Nelson Aldrich; memorial tribute 457

Rogers, Ginger 79

Roll Call of States:
Nomination for President 422
Nomination for Vice President 469
Selection of Candidate for Pesident 438
Selection of Candidate for Vice President 482
Rosenbaum, Richard; seconding the nomination of Ronald Reagan 432
Rousselot, John; resolution of appreciation to the State of Michigan 55
Rowe, Max L.; seconding the nomination of Ronald Reagan 437
Rules of Convention:
Adoption of Report of Committee on Rules and Order of Business 196
Committee on Rules and Order of Business 34
Rules for nominating and seconding speeches 423
Temporary Rules; adoption of 20
Rules and Order of Business:
Committee on 34
Report of Committee on 194
Resolution to Appoint Committee 28
Rumsfeld, The Honorable Donald H.; address by 65

S

Scranton, William III; seconding the nomination of Ronald Reagan 434
Seconding Speeches for Presidential Candidate:
Ronald Reagan by Diana Evans 433
Ronald Reagan by The Honorable Thomas B. Evans, Jr. 437
Ronald Reagan by Luis A. Ferré 435
Ronald Reagan by Kina'u Boyd Kamali'i 433
Ronald Reagan by John A. Rocco 436
Ronald Reagan by Richard Rosenbaum 432
Ronald Reagan by Max L. Rowe 437
Ronald Reagan by William Scranton III 434
Ronald Reagan by Mary Louise Smith 436
Ronald Reagan by Susan Williams-Sweetser 436
Ronald Reagan by The Honorable David Treen 434
Ronald Reagan by Linda Carole White 435
Seconding Speeches for Vice Presidential Candidate:
George Bush by Julia Rivera De Vincenti 478
George Bush by Arthur A. Fletcher 480
George Bush by The Honorable William Goodling 480
George Bush by The Honorable Orrin Hatch 478
George Bush by The Honorable Roger Jepsen 481
George Bush by Lowell Thomas 477
George Bush by Jeanne Tower 479

Secretary of the Convention:
Call of Roll of States for nominating President 424
Call of Roll of States for selection of nominee for President 439
Call of Roll of States for selection of nominee for Vice President ... 482
Elected 20, 213
Secretary of the Republican National Committee 7, 17, 19
Sellie, John; resolution of appreciation (general) 396
Senatorial Candidates introduced 334–335
Shuster, The Honorable Bud; resolution on Committee on Resolutions 28
Smith, Mary Louise:
Address by 326
Presentation of Gold Convention Badge to Robert S. Carter 327
Seconding nomination of Ronald Reagan 436
Snelling, The Honorable Richard A.; report on Republican Governors 335
Speeches:
Acceptance of Candidate for President 497
Acceptance of Candidate for Vice President 495
Nominating Speech for Presidential Candidate 429
Nominating Speech for Vice Presidential Candidate 474
Statements (see Address by)
Stewart, Jimmy 79
Stewart, Patricia; presentation of portion of Platform 219
Stockman, The Honorable David; presentation of portion of Platform 228
Sweetser, Susan Williams; seconding the nomination of Ronald Reagan ... 436

T

Temporary Chairman:
Address by 56
Committee to Escort to Platform 18
Election of 18
Introduction of 56
Temporary Officers:
Election of 20
List of 19
Temporary Roll; presentation of 17
Temporary Rules 20
Thayer, Marilyn; presentation of portion of Platform 221
Theme; presentation of "Together . . . A New Beginning" 79
Thomas, Gerri B.; report of Committee on Permanent Organization 213
Thomas, Lowell; seconding the nomination of George Bush for Vice President 477
Thompson, The Honorable James; motion to recess 49

Timothy, Bishop of Detroit Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America:
Elected Chaplain 20, 213
Prayer by 82
Tower, Ms. Jeanne; seconding the nomination of George Bush for Vice President 479
Tower, The Honorable John; report of Committee on Resolutions 215–239
Treen, The Honorable David C.:
Address by 382
Seconding the nomination of Ronald Reagan 434
Tucker, Tanya; sang National Anthem with Glen Campbell (1st Sess.) ... 2
Tuttle, Robert H.; motion to adjourn 452

U

Upham, Chet; resolution of appreciation to Detroit 6

V

Vacancies in Nomination 215
Vander Jagt, The Honorable Guy; Keynote Address by 407
Vice President:
Acceptance of Nomination 495
Ballot on Nomination 484–494
Committee to Notify and Escort Candidate 494
Nominating and Seconding Speeches 474–482
Roll Call for Nominations 469
Recommendation for Nominee for Vice President 450
Vinnedge, Syd 79

W

Waggoner, Lyle 79
Warren, Rod 79
Warner, The Honorable John W.; address by 344
Webb, Jim; Pledge of Allegiance (2nd Sess.) 50
Weber, Sandra Winne; elected Tally Clerk 20, 213
White, Ms. Linda Carole; seconding the nomination of Ronald Reagan ... 435
Welcome to Detroit by Mayor Coleman A. Young 5
Whittlesey, Faith R.; presentation of portion of Platform 231

Y

Young, Coleman A., Mayor of Detroit; address of Welcome 5
Young Republican National Federation
Remarks by Chairman 21
Remarks by Co-Chairman 23
Yurchuck, Betty I.; remarks by 23

Z

Zimbalist, Efrem, Jr. 79